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Copenhagen 12 August to 17 August 1991

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ANN MOSS, PHILIP DUST, PAUL GERHARD SCHMIDT, JACQUES CHOMARAT, and FRANCESCO TATEO

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Eighth International Congress

Copenhagen, 11 - 16 August 1991

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for the Eight International IANLS Congress

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Sunday, 11 august

16.00–19.00 Registration
18.00–19.00 Meeting of the Executive Committee
19.00–21.00 Informal welcome reception

Monday, 12 august

9.00–10.00 Registration
10.00–10.45 Official opening ceremony
10.45–11.00 Coffee break

11.00–12.00

Plenary session Chair: Walther Ludwig
IIRO KAJANTO, Queen Christina in Latin Panegyrics.

13.00–14.00

Meeting of the "Amici Thomae Mori"

14.00–16.00

Poetry I, Italy, 14th–16th centuries. Chair: Judith Rice Henderson
FRED J. NICHOLS, Petrarch's Liber sine nomine and the Limits of Language.
JOHN B. DILLON, Lycidas and Aegon in Sannazaro's De partu Virginis.
Z. R. W. M. VON MARTELS, The Chrysopoeia by G. A. Augurelli.

Translation from Greek to Latin I. Chair: Gilbert Turnoy
DOMENICO DEFILIPPIS, Una traduzione umanistica dei Cynegetica dello pseudo-Oppiano: Il De venatione et de aucupio di Belisario Acquaviva d'Aragona.
JAN L. M. PAPY, Lipsius as a Translator of Greek Epigrams?

History of learning. Chair: Birger Munk Olsen
MIECZYSLAW MEJOR, "Polyanthea Nova" von Joseph Lang: ein Exempel der neu-lat. Florilegien.
ANN BLAIR, The Languages of Natural Philosophy in Late Sixteenth-Century France: Jean Bodin's Universae naturae theatrum and its French translation.

Patronage in the 16th century. Chair: Roger Green
JOHANN RAMMINGER, Die Macht der Musik: Historich-mythologische Topoi in den

Gedichten der 'Harmoniae poeticae' an Paul Hofheimer (RISM 1539–26).

ISABELLA NUOVO, Institutio Principis e ideale principesco in una corte meridionale: Belisario Acquaviva d'Aragona, duca di Nardò, e Antonio Galateo.

LARS BOJE MORTENSEN, The dedication. Its functions and some Danish statistics from the Nordic Neolatin database.

Rhetoric. Chair: Jan Lindhardt

PER LANDGREN, The Use of learning.

RAIJA SARASTI-WILENIUS, Daniel Achrelii Oratory.

JERZY STARNAWSKI, Die lateinische Korrespondez des Ko-aditors des ermländischen Bistums, Martinus Cromerus, aus der Botschaft nach Dänemark (1569–1571).

The new world. Chair: Karl August Newhausen

COLETTE DEMAIZIERE, Comment sous Louis XIV voyait-on la Nouvelle France? in Historia Canadensis du jésuite Creuxius, 1664.

GEOFFREY EATOUGH, Versions of Peter Martyr's First Decade.

O. A. W. DILKE, The use of Latin on maps in the great age of exploration.

16.30–18.00

Poetry II, pastoral. Chair: Stefan Zablocki

LEE PIEPHO, The Latin Eclogues of Giles Fletcher The Elder.

HANS DEHNHARD, Wie liest man Petrarchas "Laurea occidens" (Bucolicum Carmen X)? (Allegorie und poetische Kryptographie).

Translation from Greek to Latin II. Chair: Gilbert Tournoy

FRANCESCO TATEO, La traduzione umanistica del De virtute morali di Plutarco.

MARIANNE PADE, Thucydides in the sixteenth century: the fortuna of the speeches.

Character and style, 16th century. Chair: Roger Green

CLARENCE H. MILLER, Style and Meaning in More's Utopia.

ELIZABETH MCCUTCHEON, Latin and Its Uses in William Bullein's Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence.

Prosody and Orthography. Chair: Johnny Christensen

TERENCE P. TUNBERG, Prose Rythym in Humanistic Latin.

PIET STEENBAKKERS, Towards a History of Diacritics in Latin: Notes on the function, origins, and obsolescence of the accentuation system of Latin in 16th- and 17th-century printed texts.

Tuesday, 13 august
9.00–11.00

Seminar Aa: The Renaissance City as Ideal and Reality in Art and Literature. Organizer: Lise Bek

KLAUS ARNOLD, Bilder und Texte. Stadtbeschreibung und Städtelob bei Hartmann Schedel.

XAVIER BARON, Medieval Traditions in the English Renaissance: Depictions of London by John Stow and Thomas Dekker.

PAUL M. CLOGAN, The Imagery of the City of Thebes. Ethos or Praxis.

KARL AUGUST NEUHAUSEN, Urbs Bonna quomodo Latinis litteris inde a decimo sexto ineunte fere saeculo descripta sit et laudata.

Seminar Ab: Das Verhältnis von neulateinischer und deutscher Literatur. Organizer: Eckhard Bernstein

JOACHIM KNAPE, Die ersten deutschen Übersetzungen von Petrarcha-Briefen.
JAMES A. PARENTE, JR., Neo-Latin Drama and German Literary History.

Seminar Ac: El neolatín y cultura mexicana. Organizer: Mauricio Beuchot
MAURICIO BEUCHOT, La poesía neolatina como vehículo de ideas filosóficas y teológicas. El ejemplo de Diego José Abad.
ROBERTO HEREDIA, El neolatín y los inicios de la identidad nacional.
IGNACIO OSORIO, La himnodia neolatina mexicana.
GERMÁN VIVEROS, Neolatín y cultura mexicana.

Semiar Ad: Dutch Humanism after Erasmus. Organizers: Chr. Heesakkers & H. J. M. Nellen
CORRY RIDDERIKHOFF, Dutch Humanism 1550–1650: General introduction.
ARIE WESSELING, Emblems in the Light of Erasmus' Adages.
CHRIS HEESAKKERS, The Oratio funebris at Leyden University.

11.00–12.15

Plenary session Chair: Walther Ludwig
JACQUES CHOMARAT, La critique du monachisme par Erasme.

12.15–14.00

Meeting of the Advisory Board. Chair: F. Tateo.

13.00–14.00

Meeting of the American Association of Neo-Latin Studies.

14.00–16.00

Poetry III, cosmopolites of the 16th century. Chair: Dietrich Briesemeister
DIRK SACRÉ, Le poète néo-latin Girolamo Faletti (†1564).
M.-M. DE LA GARANDERIE, Germain de Brie ecrivain.

Latin and vernacular I. Chair: James A. Parente, Jr.
MARJU LEPAJÕE, Reiner Brockmann: A Neo-Latin or an Estonian Poet?
LOTHAR MUNDT, Lateinish-deutsche Parallelbearbeitungen in der Lyrik Daniel Czepkos.
HANS AILI, Swedish War Propaganda in Latin, German, and Swedish.

Philosophy I, scholasticism and humanism in the 16th century. Chair: Julia H. Gaisser
JAN NOBLE PENDERGRASS, Early Parisian Humanists in the Letters and Poetry of Germain Maciot.
JAMES V. MEHL, The Evolution of Johannes Murmellius' Approach to the artes liberales.

Erasmus on women and children. Chair. Richard J. Schoeck
CLARE M. MURPHY, In Praise of Women and Children: A Little Known Side of Erasmus.
M. J. HEATH, Erasmus and the Laws of Marriage.

Words and ideas I. Chair: Jerzy Axer
KATHARINE DAVIES, "Superstition" in Jean Bodin and his Classical Sources.
PHILIP C. DUST, Otium in Milton's Latin Poetry and "Il Penseroso".
MONIQUE MUND-DOPCHIE, L' "Ultima Thule" de Pythéas dans les textes de la Renaissance et du XVIIe siècle. La réalité et la rêve.

Historical criticism. Chair: Sigurður Pétursson

KAREN SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN, The beginnings of Danish history in the Rerum Danicarum Historia of Johannes Pontanus. (1571–1639)
CATHERINE J. CASTNER, Flavio Biondo's Italia Illustrata: Beginnings of a Critical Method.
PETER FISHER, Olaus Magnus and the limits of credence.

16.30–18.00

Poetry IV, cosmopolites of the 16th century. Chair: Dietrich Briesemeister
F. AKKERMAN, Marcantonio Flaminio's voyage to Naples (1538). On Carmen II,7.
GEORGE HUGO TUCKER, Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus (1517–1597), Poet of Exile.

Latin and nationalism. Chair: Erik Dal
STEFAN RHEIN, Nationalbewußtsein bei Philipp Melanchthon.
INGER EKREM, Historiography in Norway, a nation under Danish sway, during the Renaissance and Reformation (1536-1614).

Philosophy II, dialectics. Chair: Julia H. Gaisser
JUDITH RICE HENDERSON, Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic as Critical Tools: Some Sixteenth-Century Commentaries on Cicero's Ep. fam. I.ix.
DONALD GILMAN, From Dialectics to Poetics: Johann Sturm's Definition of Dialogue.

Encomiastic poetry. Chair: Iiro Kajanto
PERNILLE HARSTING, 'Homerulus noster Danicus' - Jakob Jespersen (Jacobus Jasparus): Epithalamium Francisci a Lotharingia ac Christinae a Dania, 1541.
BRENDA M. HOSINGTON, In Praise of Marguerite de Navarre: The 'tresnobles, tresillustres, tresçavantes' Seymour Sisters' Hecatodistichon.

Words and ideas II. Chair: Jerzy Axer
GERMAIN P. MARC'HADOUR, The word 'pontifex' in Thomas More's Utopia.
JONATHAN S. ROSE, Similes in Emanuel Swedenborg's Vera Christiana Religio (1771).

Dutch humanism. Chair: Chris Heesakkers
H. J. M. NELLEN, Johan van Beverwijck's 'De vitae termino'.
EDWIN RABBIE, Hugo Grotius' Ordinum Pietas.

19.30

Reception and exhibition of books and manuscripts.

Det kongelige Bibliotek (The Royal Library).
Christians Brygge 8. Entrance through the Library Garden.
(For registered participants).

Wednesday, 14 august
9.00–10.30

Poetry V, Love poetry. Chair: Fred J. Nichols
DAVID PRICE, Janus Secundus's Poetics of Licence.
PETER ZEEBERG, Alchemy, astrology, and Ovid. A love poem by Tycho Brahe.

Latin and vernacular II, translation of neo-Latin. Chair: Johnny Christensen
CHARLES BÉNÉ, Destin d'un best-seller néo-latin: La diffusion européenne de l'Institutio de Marko Marulić.
ELLEN S. GINSBERG, From Translation to Original Creation: Du Bellay as Self-Translator.

Philosophy III, 15th–16th centuries. Chair: James Murphy

LOUIS VALCKE, Jean Pic de la Mirandole et le retour au style de Paris: Portée d'une critique littéraire.

MARC VAN DER POEL, Is Agrippa von Nettesheim an Erasmian Humanist?

Early Italian humanism I. Chair: Terence O. Tunberg

HOWARD JONES, Cosma Raimondi's Defensio Epicuri (1430).

OUTI MERISALO, The Language of Tito Livio Frulovisi.

Views on contemporary Latin. Chair: H. D. Schepelern

FRITZ SAABY PEDERSEN, Oluf Borch (1626–90), a Danish Anomalist.

ARNOLD L. KERSON, Diego José Abad's Defense of Non-Italian Writers of Latin.

11.00–12.00

Plenary session Chair: Walther Ludwig

PETER LEBRECHT SCHMIDT, Persönlichkeit, Erlebnis und Dichtung im Werk des Jesuiten Jakob Balde.

13.00

Excursion to Frederiksborg and Kronborg Castles.
(Special registration required).
Busses depart from main entrance.

Thursday, 15 August
9.00–11.00

Seminar Ba: Das Therma der Quelle in der Dichtung. Organizer: Jürgen Blänsdorf

JÜRGEN BLÄNSDORF: Bandusia. Aspekte eines poetischen Themas in der neulateinischen Dichtung Italiens und Frankreichs.

DIETER JANIK: Quellendichtung und Quellenmotivik bei französischen und italienischen Dichtern des 16. Jahrhunderts.

ECKART SCHÄFER: Das Quellengedicht in der Literatur Deutschlands

Seminar Bb: Die vita-activa/vita-contemplativa-Diskussion im Renaissance-Humanismus. Organizer: K. A. E. Enenkel

K. A. E. ENENKEL, Die humanistische vita activa - vita contemplativa-Diskussion: Francesco Petrarcas De vita solitaria.

J. L. DE JONG, Aeneas tamquam unicum exemplar ad vitam degendam.

MANFRED LENTZEN, Die Konzeption der "anima rationalis" im dritten Buch von Landinos Dialog "De anima".

Seminar Bc: The Copenhagen Manuscripts of Erasmus. Organizer: Richard J. Schoeck

ERIKA RUMMEL, "With No Thought Of Publication": Erasmus' private language.

Other Contributors: Richard J. Schoeck, Erik Petersen.

The seminar will discuss various aspects of the Erasnus autographs in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (including the treatise "Manifesta Mendacia").

Seminar Bd: Didaktik der neulateinischen Literatur an Schule und Hochschule Organizer: Hermann Wiegand
Contributors: Franz Wachinger, Herman Weigand

The seminar will discuss various efforts to integrate Neo-Latin literature in the curricula of schools and universities, and present model interpretations of particular didactic interest.

11.15–12.15

Plenary session Chair: Walther Ludwig
MICHELE FEO, "Littere" e "litteratura" nel Medioevo e nell'Umanesimo.

13.00–14.00

Meeting of the editorial board of the Library of Renaissance Humanism.

14.00–15.15
Workshops

RICHARD J. SCHOECK, MARTINA RÜTT, HANS-WERNER BARTZ, AND ROGER GREEN, neo-latin wordlist.
IVAN BOSERUP, machine-readabale corpus of nordic latin texts 1100–1800.

15.30–18.00

Business meeting

19.00–20.00

Reception at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
(For registered participants.)

20.00

Public lecture at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
STELLA P. REVARD, 'The Tangles of Neaera's Hair': Milton and Neo-Latin Ode
Address: Dantes Plads.

Friday, 16 august
9.00–10.30

Poetry VI, Lotichius. Chair: Eckart Schäfer
BERNHARD COPPEL, Johannes Franciscus Ripensis und Petrus Lotichius Secundus: die poetischen Zeugnisse einer humanistischen Freundschaft.
WILHELM KÜHLMANN, "De se aegrotante" - Zur Bewältigung von Krankheitserfahrungen in der humanistischen Lyriktradition.

Latin and vernacular III. Chair: Niels Haastrup
BERNHARD KYTZLER, Die neulateinischen Wörter im Deutschen.
MARY ELLA MILHAM, Platina and Martino's Libro de arte coquinaria.

Philosophy IV. Chair: Fritz Saaby Pedersen
JOSEPH S. FREEDMAN: Philosophical Writings on the Family (Oeconomica) in 16th and 17th Century Europe.
ROBERT GINSBERG, Equality in Hobbes's De Cive.

Early Italian humanism II. Chair: Francesco Tateo
BENJAMIN G. KOHL, Valerius Maximus in the Early Italian Renaissance: Explication and Imitation.

MARC LAUREYS: Giovanni Cavallini and the classical authors: Roman humanism in the 14th century.

Poetry in the Latin school. Chair: Hermann Wiegand

FIDEL RÄDLE, zur lateinisch-deutschen Symbiose im späten Jesuitendrama.

LORE WIRTH-POELCHAU, Lateinische und deutsche Casualcarmina des 17. Jahrhunderts aus Siebenbürgen.

Textual criticism in the 16th century. Chair: Sten Ebbesen

JULIA HAIG GAISSER: Catullus and the Tresviri Amoris: Marc-Antoine de Muret, Achilles Statius, and Joseph Scaliger.

JOHN N. GRANT: Emendatio and Pietro Bembo: the text of the Culex.

11.00–12.00

Plenary session Chair: Walther Ludwig

ANN MOSS, Being in Two Minds: The Bilingual Factor in Renaissance Writing.

Meeting of the Executive Committee.

14.00–16.00

Poetry VII, 17th century poets. Chair: Hans Aili

FIAMETTA PALLADINI, S. Pufendorf e due poeti neolatini olandesi (P. Francius e J. Broukhusius).

HANS HELENDER, Olof Hermelin.

SIGURÐUR PÉTURSSON, Jonas Widalinus Thorkilli Filius: Calliopes Respublica.

Latin and vernacular IV, Italy, 15th century. Chair: Lene Waage Petersen

ANGELO MAZZOCCO: Latin and Vernacular: A Study of the Interaction of Latin and Vernacular in Early Quattrocento Florence.

ANTONIO IURILLI, Latino e volgare nell'Esposizione del 'Pater noster' di Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo.

Neo-Latin critical theory I. Chair: Eric Jacobsen

PHILIP ROLLINSON: Pontano and Viperano on Rhetoric, History, and Poetry.

PAUL R. SELLIN, The Contribution of Humanist Poetics in the Netherlands to Critical Theory in the Seventeenth Century.

Reception of the classics I. Chair: Egil Kraggerud

CRAIG KALLENDORF, Inclyta Aeneis: A Sixteenth-Century Neo-Latin Tragicomedy.

HOWARD B. NORLAND: Legge's Neo-Senecan Richardus Tertius.

Utopias and fantastic voyages. Chair: Svend-Aage Jørgensen

DAVID MARSH: Alberti's Momus: Lucianic Satire in the Renaissance.

KAREN PINKUS, The Moving Force in Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

URSULA GREIFF, Traces of Stoicism and neo-Stoicism in neo-Latin Utopian writing.

Reformation. Chair: Leif Grane

VALERIE R. HOTCHKISS, The Legend of the Female Pope in the Reformation.

INGRID A. R. DE SMET, Hadrianus Hecquetius Atrebatensis (1510/15-1580): a Carmelite and 'le monde à l'envers'.

AKKIE STEENBEEK, The Conceptual Background of the Controversy between Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Etaples.

16.30–18.00

Poetry VIII, epigrams. Chair: Hans Aili

MONIKA GRÜNBERG-DRÖGE, The Aediloquium ceu disticha ... by Geoffrey Tory: a Presentation.

MARION LAUSBERG, Der Ringkampf zwischen Pan und Eros im antiken und im neulateinischen Epigramm.

Latin and vernacular V, Italy, 15th–16th century. Chair: Lene Waage Petersen

NIKOLAUS THURN, Die "Carlias", ein lat. Karlsepos, und ihre italienischen Vorbilder.

G. TOURNOY, F. Florio's Novella The Relationship between the printed editions, the autograph manuscript, and the translations in the vernacular.

Neo-Latin critical theory II. Chair: Eric Jacobsen

RODGER FRIEDMAN, Nutricia: Poliziano's Cult of Poetry.

COLETTE NATIVEL, La Traité du sublime et la pensée esthétique anglaise de Junius à Reynolds.

Reception of the classics II, Ovid. Chair: Egil Kraggerud

PAUL GERHARD SCHMIDT, Transformation und Substitution von Ovids Fasten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert.

JEAN-CLAUDE MOISAN, Clément Marot et Raphael Regius: l'insertion de la glose et du commentaire dans la traduction des Métamorphoses d'Ovide.

Erasmus. Chair: Erika Rummel

HARRY VREDEVELD, "Accept me as a fool": Erasmus' De senectute carmen as a rhetorical poem.

FRANK T. COULSON, Erasmus as a commentator of classical texts.

20.00

Banquet

(Københavns Universitet Amager, the canteen at "trappe 4")

§§§

Executive Committee

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ACTA CONVENTUS NEO-LATINI HAFNIENSIS

Presidential Address at the Opening Ceremony of the Eighth International Congress for Neo-Latin Studies

WALTHER LUDWIG

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends and colleagues: First, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the rector of the University of Copenhagen, Professor Nathan, for his friendly salutation and also for the support which he has given to this congress, especially for the lecture rooms which he has put at our disposal. I am certain that I speak on behalf of all participants at this congress when I offer him our best thanks for this.

Almost exactly twenty years ago, on August 23 1971, Professor IJsewijn opened the First International Congress for Neo-Latin Studies in Louvain, which he had convened on his own initiative in order to provide an international and interdisciplinary forum of communication for Neo-Latin scholars, who work in many countries and who were and are institutionally housed in various disciplines. The participants at that congress, of whom many are still among us, decided to found an international association which could serve as a permanent basis for such congresses and promote the development of Neo-Latin studies. A committee was established for the elaboration of suitable statutes, on the basis of which the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies was founded at our second congress in Amsterdam in 1973. Since then, the members of the Association have met for congresses in Tours, Bologna, St. Andrews, Wolfenbüttel, and Toronto, and we now convene for our Eighth Congress in Copenhagen. We chose this great city not only because we have always had a very active Danish group at our congresses and in view of the strong Neo-Latin tradition in this country, but also in recognition of the praiseworthy fact that Neo-Latin scholars in the northern European countries have worked together in the last five years on a combined Nordic Neo-Latin project, which is supported by various scholarly institutions and foundations in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

In the course of our congresses, a steady group of regular participants developed. At each congress new scholars joined us. This time, we welcome

new participants and shall hear new speakers. The rationale for our conventions has always remained the same. It is founded on the fact that, in the centuries since the Renaissance, the Latin language was used to such a degree in many areas of art, literature and science as well as in daily life, that a cultural history of modern times is not possible without the intensive study of the numerous Latin texts produced in those centuries. And it is also founded on the conviction that a knowledge and understanding of these phenomena will be considerably advanced by the personal contact of the scholars involved and by the discussion of new results and discoveries with scholars from other disciplines and countries.

A characteristic feature of our congresses has always been the abundance of papers about a great variety of themes of Neo-Latin research. This obviously has advantages and disadvantages. The great quantity of papers is unavoidable. It is a consequence of the character of our international association with its diversity of membership and a consequence as well of the general financial conditions of such congresses. The great quantity of papers may at first confuse the visitor, but it is a sign of the vitality of our scholarship and it offers, so to speak, a full program for each line of Neo-Latin interest. In the past, the desire for a general thematic frame was voiced more than once. The organizing committee for this congress responded to this by appealing for papers which deal with interactions between Neo-Latin language and literature and vernacular languages and literatures. Many proposals within this thematic frame were sent in and were incorporated into our program. At the same time, the organizing committee also received many interesting and worthwhile proposals outside this general theme, which deserved to be accepted into the program, especially under the conditions just described. Thus, the congress offers again a panoramic view of present Neo-Latin research, within which special emphasis is given to the problems connected with the interactions between Neo-Latin and the national languages and literatures.

Three types of presentation serve this purpose: the plenary lecture, the short paper with discussion, and the seminar. The variety of the topics discussed at this congress certainly has the merit of making us aware of the width of the field of our research and of showing to each single scholar how his or her own work is integrated in the present state of Neo-Latin studies.

During the lifetime of our association there has been a surge of interest in Neo-Latin research and increasing productivity. Since our last congress in Toronto, several great works have been published in our field. Besides important articles, there are new editions, translations and monographs, works on single authors and general presentations. They will be the basic and, so to speak, classic works of scholarship in our area for a long time.

Neo-Latin research is young, productive and difficult. It is young, because the awareness that the great field of Neo-Latin literature should be investigated by cooperative efforts involving many disciplines developed only in the sixties. Neo-Latin research has developed into a discipline in its own

right, although it always depends on successful cooperation with other disciplines. The former Neo-Latin research, which should not be underestimated, happened sporadically, at the fringe of adjacent disciplines, through the endeavors of outsiders. Classicists only rarely looked into modern times, medieval Latinists did not, as a rule, regard the humanists as an area of their research, the scholars of Romance and German literature regarded the national Latin literature as part of their discipline, but did not pay much attention to it. Only in the last decades have periodicals which open their pages extensively to Neo-Latin research and series for Neo-Latin editions and monographs come into being, although there are not yet enough possibilities for publication in our field. And only in the last decades, have the earlier achievements of great single philologists, philosophers and historians in the field of Neo-Latin research become increasingly appreciated.

As a young discipline, Neo-Latin research is productive. Here, much has still to be done which in other philological and historical disciplines has been adequately done during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For most Neo-Latin authors we do not need better, but rather the *first* modern critical editions. The texts have yet to be collected, sifted, and evaluated, to be analyzed and interpreted. They have to be integrated into their synchronic and diachronic, literary and social contexts. New discoveries surprise the scholar at almost every step.

Earlier research literature rarely exists, and if it exists it is often remote and difficult to find. Neo-Latin research is also difficult because it always has to be interdisciplinary and the scholar always comes to Neo-Latin research from a certain discipline which he or she knows best. The understanding of the Latin language should be easy for the classicist, and he should discover intertextual relations with ancient authors without difficulty, but he will have difficulties in elucidating the historical background of a Neo-Latin text and in finding the relevant modern literature for its interpretation. On the other hand, the historian, or the scholar of English, German or Romance literature who looks at a Neo-Latin text should easily manage to integrate it into its contemporary situation and should be well acquainted with relevant modern methods of research, but he sometimes lacks the solid linguistic understanding, commits errors in translation and does not see intertextual lines to antiquity. Each of us must try to overcome the difficulties of Neo-Latin research caused by its interdisciplinary character.

For these very reasons, a congress like ours has a very important function in bringing together Neo-Latin scholars of various disciplines. It may help to build bridges between the disciplines, to give new impulses and to show new ways. In this hope, and in this expectation, I declare the Eighth International Congress for Neo-Latin Studies opened.

Hamburg

Plenary Papers

Erasme et le monachisme

JACQUES CHOMARAT

Erasme n'aimait pas les moines; on le sait et on sait qu'il n'était pas le seul; leur satire, devenue un thème populaire bientôt après la fondation des ordres franciscain et dominicain au XIIIe siècle, semble relever de l'histoire du folklore plutôt que de l'histoire religieuse. C'est peut-être pour cela qu'on ne l'a pas étudiée chez Erasme malgré la place qu'elle occupe dans son oeuvre. Les moines y sont non seulement une cible de la satire, mais aussi un repoussoir qui lui permet de mieux exprimer sa propre pensée. Faute de pouvoir traiter à fond ce vaste sujet, on se bornera à esquisser une synthèse en laissant la parole à Erasme le plus souvent possible et en gardant présente à l'esprit la question capitale: sa critique vise-t-elle une forme dégénérée du monachisme ou son essence même? par suite celui-ci doit-il être réformé et ramené à sa pureté première ou bien disparaître? On examinera d'abord les griefs d'inspiration humaniste: l'ignorance des moines et leur hostilité aux bonnes lettres, puis l'oppression que les ordres religieux exercent sur leurs membres et leur pouvoir sur la société; on analysera ensuite l'opposition entre piété monastique et piété chrétienne, entre "religiones" et "religio Christi"; enfin on effleurera le problème: quelles conclusions pratiques Erasme tire-t-il de sa condamnation de principe, son attitude est-elle modifiée par le développement de la Réforme?

§ § §

Premier grief, formulé dès la première oeuvre avant l'âge de vingt ans[1] et inlassablement ressassé: l'ignorance des moines et en particulier parmi eux des théologiens qui se croient savants et se font appeler "Magistri nostri," mais ne connaissent guère qu'Aristote latinisé et ses commentateurs. Ce qu'ils ignorent c'est ce que le texte premier des *Antibarbari* appelle "litterae

[1] *ASD* I–1, 35, 17: "Nondum annum vigesimum attigeram, cum hoc operis sum agressus."

seculares" ou "literatura gentilis"[2] et qui deviendra dans la version de 1520 "bonae, humanae, liberales, elegantiores, politiores litterae"; les religieux ainsi visés sont des minorites, des jacobites, des carmélites[3] (par où il faut sans doute entendre: carmes). Erasme n'a alors aucune connaissance personnelle directe de tels personnages; il se fait l'écho d'ouvrages venus d'Italie qui dénoncent chez eux l'ignorance et le refus du vrai latin, de la grammaire, des auteurs, de la poésie et de l'éloquence païennes, de Virgile et de Cicéron; il s'exprime en "humanista"[4] face aux détenteurs du savoir scolastique, du pouvoir universitaire; il va de soi que son passage chez les scotistes de la Sorbonne ne fera que renforcer son hostilité dédaigneuse envers franciscains et aussi dominicains.

Il ne se borne pas à attaquer leur obscurantisme comme un état de fait. Selon lui l'ignorance est prescrite aux moines par les règlements dus à leurs fondateurs, du moins certains eux-mêmes incultes comme Benoît "paene idiota"[5] ou François d'Assise "vnus absque litteris";[6] ce dernier avait interdit aux siens d'apprendre ce qu'ils ne savaient pas à leur entrée dans l'ordre[7]; ceux-ci croient donc, selon le colloque *Concio siue Merdardus*, que "c'est un élément de la piété ('religionis') de ne pas connaître le latin que leur cher François ignorait"[8]—entendons: le vrai latin; l'*Eloge de la Folie* affirmait déjà: "Ils estiment que le comble de la piété est d'avoir si peu de teinture des lettres qu'ils ne sachent même pas lire."[9] Le commentaire de Lister aggrave encore le trait: "Certains croient qu'il est impie de connaître les lettres, surtout les bonnes."[10] La responsabilité en incombe aux fondateurs: "Vous constatez, dit Moria, que les premiers fondateurs de la *religio* ('primos illos religionis auctores') ont été des ennemis tout à fait acharnés des lettres";[11] bien qu'il soit usuel de prendre ici le mot latin au sens de "religion" ou de "foi,"[12] cette interprétation est inacceptable: la religion chrétienne n'a eu qu'un seul fondateur, le Christ; les apôtres n'ont pas droit à cette appellation; de plus, s'ils étaient ignorants, ils n'étaient en aucune manière des ennemis acharnés des lettres; *religio* signifie ici "la vie des religieux," c'est-à-dire des moines; sont donc visés les François, les Benoît, et sans doute en

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[2] Ibid., 23, Introduction de Kumaniecki.

[3] Ibid., 57 et 75.

[4] Ibid., 69, 11: "humanitatis literis . . . sine quibus nullae constant literae."

[5] *Paraclesis*, Holborn, 146, 36: "regulam ab homine eoque paene idiota et idiotis scriptam."

[6] *Eccle. ASD* V–4, 234, 914 (*LB*.5.843.D).

[7] Ibid., 383, 421 sq. Voir *Règles des moines*, ed. Lapierre (Paris, 1982), 150.

[8] *ASD* 1–3, 663, 368: "Putant nonnullam esse religionis partem si cum suo Francisco ne Latine quidem loqui sciant"; la suite de ce texte donne des exemples de mots "barbares" employés par François d'Assise: "caperonem" au lieu de "galerus," "vestimentibus" pour "vestibus."

[9] *ASD* IV-3, 160, 529–30.

[10] *LB* 4.471. F, note 3.

[11] *ASD* 189, 146–47 (*LB* 499.D): "acerrimos literarum hostes fuisse."

[12] Renaudet, Radice: foi (*faith*); Nolhac, Miller: religion.

remontant plus haut les Pauls et les Antoines,[13] initiateurs de la vie monastique en son sens premier, celle des solitaires, qui le demeurèrent peu de temps car leur réputation de sainteté attira près d'eux dans le désert de nombreux compagnons.

Après l'ignorance Erasme dénonce le caractère oppressif du monachisme: il soumet à des règles identiques les personnalités les plus différentes. L'*Adage* 2 cite Platon: "Des choses égales pour des gens inégaux seront inégales" (*Lois* 757 A) et le glose: "De même que *summum ius, summa iniuria*, de même *summa aequalitas summa fit inaequalitas*."[14] De cette égalité inique Erasme a fait l'expérience au couvent; il la décrit quand il retrace la vie de son ami le franciscain Jean Vitrier: "C'est une existence de fous (*fatuorum*) plutôt que de religieux de se régler sur le signal d'une cloche pour dormir, se réveiller, se rendormir, parler, se taire, aller, venir, se mettre à manger, cesser de manger, enfin toujours se conduire selon une prescription humaine plutôt que selon la règle du Christ: rien n'est plus inique que l'égalité entre êtres si inégaux."[15] Retenons, afin d'y revenir plus loin, que les règles des ordres religieux sont des institutions humaines et qu'elles s'opposent à la règle du Christ qui, elle, est divine. Soulignons pour l'instant que la vie du couvent transforme des êtres humains en marionnettes, en automates, elle efface la personnalité de chacun, ne tient nul compte de leur *varietas*. On sait l'importance de cette notion dans la pensée d'Erasme;[16] c'est sur elle que repose sa pédagogie: le bon éducateur sait respecter les tendances naturelles propres à chaque enfant; au lieu de les combattre, de chercher à les détruire, il les infléchit de façon à les mettre toutes, si diverses soient-elles, au service du bien, car la même tendance peut, au prix d'un léger changement de direction, devenir une vertu ou un vice. Le *De utilitate colloquiorum* le dit un peu autrement: "Les uns ont telle qualité, les autres telle autre; les uns sont séduits par une chose, les autres par une autre, et il y a mille manières d'amener les hommes à la piété."[17] De cela la règle uniforme et contraignante n'a pas le moindre soupçon.[18]

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[13] *Moria ASD* IV-3, 168, 672; voir aussi *Adage Sileni Alcibiadis* (Sérapion et Paul), *Colloque Conuiuium religiosum* (Paul et Antoine) et ci-dessous note 45.

[14] *LB* 2.15.B: τοῖς ἀνίσοις τὰ ἴσα ἄνισα γίγνοιτ' ἄν. Erasme traduit le verbe par un futur.

[15] Allen 1211, t. IV, 508, 32–36: "... fatuorum esse vitam potius quam religiosorum ad nolae signum dormire, expergisci, redormiscere, loqui, tacere, ire, redire, cibum capere, desinere pastu, denique nihil non facere ad praescriptum humanum potius quam ad Christi regulam: nihil iniquius esse quam inter tam inaequales aequalitatem, etc."

[16] *Gramm. rhét.* 721 sq., 915; sur la *varietas* dans la langue grâce à la *copia*: 719 sq. Cf. ci-dessous note 72, deuxième citation.

[17] *ASD* I-3, 748, 274–75. Aliis aliae sunt dotes et alios alia capiunt, milleque modis homines trahuntur ad pietatem.

[18] Rabelais, admirateur d'Erasme, imagine une abbaye libre, Thélème: "en leur règle n'était que cette clause: Fay ce que voudras."

Cet esclavage (*seruitutis*) n'a pas toujours existé; au Ve siècle, selon la *Hieronymi Stridonensis vita* (1517), chaque moine "gardait ses biens, conservait le droit de partir et de revenir à son gré, il jouissait d'un *dulcissimum ac liberrimum otium*; chacun était incité à l'étude, au jeûne, à la récitation de psaumes, à la veille, soit par son propre désir, soit par l'exemple d'autrui; il n'y était pas contraint par de misérables règlements humains. Leur vêtement était simple, sans faire pourtant l'objet d'une prescription; chacun prenait celui qui lui plaisait, sans qu'il eût rien qui attirât l'attention ... Enfin si quelqu'un venait à regretter d'avoir choisi ce mode de vie, son seul châtiment était d'être tenu pour inconstant."[19]

Aujourd'hui tout est changé: emploi du temps strict, habit uniforme obligatoire destiné à singulariser chaque ordre; et si quelqu'un désire quitter le mode de vie des moines, il se voit accusé du pire des crimes, d'avoir trahi le Christ pour Bélial, d'avoir commis une "apostasie,"[20] c'est-à-dire une désertion. On sait qu'Erasme lui-même connut la mésaventure d'être dénoncé comme apostat pour avoir substitué à l'habit de chanoine régulier de saint Augustin celui de prêtre séculier![21]

La violence qu'un ordre monastique exerce sur ses membres il l'exerce aussi d'une autre manière sur des enfants pour recruter de nouveaux adhérents; Erasme en donne un exemple dans son *Dialogue sur la prononciation correcte du latin et du grec* où l'on voit un maître essayer d'entraîner un adolescent dans la vie religieuse en le terrorisant par la menace de la damnation: "S'ils voient un enfant bien doué ou très riche, ils s'appliquent davantage à le briser et à l'abattre pour le préparer à leur genre de vie comme s'ils dressaient un poulain; ils ne le lâchent pas, mais par des caresses, des menaces, par la terreur, des adjurations, d'horribles récits ils l'étouffent, l'oppriment, l'écrasent jusqu'à ce qu'ils l'entraînent dans leur troupeau ou, si c'est impossible, dans un autre."[22]

D'autre part chaque ordre essaie d'exercer son emprise tyrannique sur la société entière. Ce thème, récurrent dans les *Colloques*, est traité dans l'*Adage* 1765 *Vt fici oculis incumbunt* "Comme des verrues pèsent sur les yeux"; cette image "on l'appliquera aussi non sans pertinence à ces gens fâcheux et insupportables dont on ne peut se débarrasser qu'au prix d'un grand dom-

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[19] *Hier. Strid. vita* in *Erasmi opuscula*, ed. Ferguson, 145, lignes 309–22: "Primum enim res manebat integra, siquis ita censuisset, manebat commigrandi remigrandique quo vellent potestas, manebat dulcissimum ac liberrimum otium. Ad studium, ieiunia, psalmos, vigilias aut suopte incitabantur animo aut exemplis inuitabantur, non cogebantur hominum constitutiunculis. Vestitus erat simplex, nec is tamen praescriptus, sed suo cuique arbitrio sumptus, non qui prodigiosa nouitate faceret insignem. ... Denique si quem forte sui instituti paenitentia cepisset, tota demum poena erat inconstantiae nota." Pour "seruitutis" voir note 68.

[20] Sur ce mot voir *Eccles.* 3, *LB* 5.1024.E.

[21] Lettre de 1514 à Servais Roger, Allen 296, t. I, 572, 199–204.

[22] *ASD* I–4, 29, 499–518.

mage (*magno malo*). . . .[23] Ce que des aristocrates impies sont pour la chose publique, certains des ordres qu'on appelle d'ordinaire mendiants le sont sans doute pour l'Eglise. Je n'accuse pas ceux des moines qui sont pieux, je n'attaque pas l'ordre lui-même, mais je blâme les mauvais moines qui partout forment la très grande majorité."[24] Ces formules sont-elles plus qu'une précaution à la fois charitable et prudente, on peut se le demander en voyant comment Erasme analyse les formes et moyens du despotisme que tentent d'exercer les moines: "Ils règnent dans les sermons. . . . Ils se sont emparés du pouvoir absolu dans les universités (*scholis*). . . . Avec une sévérité pire que celle des anciens censeurs ils jugent les professions de foi: un tel est chrétien, tel autre demi-chrétien, celui-ci hérétique, celui-là archihérétique; les fidèles déversent dans leur sein les actes secrets de leur vie et leurs pensées les plus cachées."[25] Les ordres mendiants participent à la vie publique, ils se mêlent des traités, des mariages, des spectacles. "Enfin on ne peut même pas mourir sans eux"; sur ce point on se reportera aux *Colloques Funus* ou *Exsequiae seraphicae* qui montrent comment franciscains et dominicains rivalisent pour tirer profit jusqu'au bout de ceux qu'ils aident à passer dans l'autre vie.[26] Puis l'*Adage* continue: "Il n'y a pas de cour princière où ils ne se soient introduits. Si des monarques ont résolu quelque forfait éhonté, c'est par eux qu'ils l'exécutent. Si des souverains pontifes s'engagent dans une entreprise quelque peu contradictoire avec l'ancienne sainteté apostolique, ils utilisent de préférence les services de ces gens-là. Par exemple y a-t-il une guerre, une levée de troupes, un impôt, une indulgence honteuse, ils sont les protagonistes de ces pièces. Mais ils en imposent au peuple par une apparence de sainteté."[27] Pourquoi "apparence," on le verra bientôt. Mais, poursuit l'*Adage*, ces moines si gênants, si pénibles, on ne saurait les éliminer de but en blanc: "Ces frelons à l'aiguillon pire que celui des guêpes, ni Rois ni Souverains Pontifes ne pourraient les abattre et les expulser de la vie publique sans un grand désastre pour la religion chrétienne, tant ils ont fortifié leurs factions, rempli l'univers de leurs places-fortes et de leurs effectifs, construit chaque jour de nouveaux nids."[28] Donc "bien que

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[23] *LB* 2.564. A: "Accommodabitur haudquaquam inepte et in hos qui cum graues sint et intolerabiles, tamen auelli non queunt nisi magno malo."

[24] Ibid., 654.D: "At quod optimates impii sunt Reipublicae, id fortasse sunt Ecclesiae nonnulli ex his ordinibus, quos vulgus mendicantes vocant. Pios non accuso, nec ordinem incesso, malos noto, quae vbique maxima turba est."

[25] Ibid., 654.E: "Regnant in concionibus. . . . Tyrannidem occuparunt in scholis. . . . Hi plus quam censoria seueritate pronunciant de fidei professione. 'Hic Christianus est, hic semichristianus, hic haereticus, hic sesquihaereticus.' In horum sinus populus effundit occultos vitae actus et secretissimas animi cogitationes." L'épithète de "sesquihaereticus" est appliquée par des moines à Erasme lui-même selon le *Colloque Adolescens et scortum*, *ASD* I–3, 341, 87.

[26] *ASD* I–3, 537 sq. et 686 sq.

[27] *LB* 2.654.F.

[28] Ibid., 655.A: "Hos fucos omnibus crabronibus aculeatiores, etc." Il est difficile de préciser la différence entre "fucus" et "crabro."

ce soit là un fardeau très accablant, on ne s'en débarrasse pas sans risque."[29]

La comparaison avec les frelons, d'origine platonicienne,[30] est riche de plusieurs sens. Elle vise d'abord la paresse des Ordres Mendiants qui vivent du travail d'autrui, sans rien faire; ils devraient plutôt prendre exemple sur saint Paul qui, pour n'être à charge à personne, ne craignit pas de travailler de ses propres mains.[31] En second lieu ces moines-frelons sont méchants et dangereux; leur arme principale est la dénonciation calomnieuse en privé ou du haut de la chaire; Erasme, qui en a été victime, en parle avec une passion contenue dans la *Lingua* (1525) et dans plus d'une lettre. "Ce qu'un Franciscain quelconque a pu dire *inter pocula* se répand en un mois dans l'Ordre tout entier par les messagers dont partout ils disposent. Pour ce méfait ils ne se contentent pas d'abuser des banquets et du respect dû à la table, ils dénigrent aussi leur prochain dans leurs commentaires des textes saints, dans leurs sermons sur l'Evangile, dans les confessions privées et ainsi les fidèles s'initient à cet art diabolique là même où ils devraient apprendre à connaître l'Evangile. Les parents envoient leurs enfants dans des écoles publiques pour qu'ils y étudient les arts libéraux et ils y apprennent l'art le moins libéral qui soit: dénigrer son prochain."[32] Erasme incrimine tout particulièrement les franciscains de l'Observance, présents dans tous les pays, gardant une certaine apparence de sainteté qui leur donne crédit; "dans leurs sermons et leurs cours publics souvent ils s'en prennent au nom d'Erasme."[33]

Mais leur force tient principalement au fait que chaque ordre forme un tout; grâce à son organisation, à la discipline de ses membres il a une puissance redoutable; un conflit avec un seul membre de l'ordre se change en lutte contre l'ordre entier. Par trois fois Erasme rapporte la boutade du pape Alexandre VI pour qui il était moins dangereux d'offenser n'importe quel puissant souverain qu'un seul petit frère franciscain ou dominicain; car pour ceux-ci "il est juste de châtier l'affront fait à l'Ordre et le mal fait à l'un d'entre eux parmi les plus infimes est fait à l'Ordre tout entier."[34] Par

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[29] Ibid., 655.C: "Ea res cum molestissima sit, tamen non sine periculo tollitur."

[30] Platon *Rép.* 8.552.CE; la comparaison des moines mendiants avec des frelons improductifs, pillards et agressifs, se trouve ailleurs encore: Allen 2127, t. VIII, 96, 19, etc.

[31] *Actes* 18:3. Contre l'oisiveté des Mendiants: *Annot. au N. T. LB* 6.173.D, 909.D, note 14; *Colloque Conv. rel. ASD* I–3, 259, 885 sq.; *Lingua ASD* IV–1, 322, 48 sq.; *De pronunt. ASD* I–4, 30, 527–44; etc. Ils devraient évangéliser le Nouveau Monde: *ASD* V–4, 144–50.

[32] *ASD* IV–1, 321, 989–97; ligne 990 corriger *pro* en *per.*

[33] Allen 2126, t. VIII, 94, 160–64; Erasme donne des noms.

[34] "Alexander sextus . . . fertur ita loqui solitus se malle e summis monarchis aliquot offendere quam vnum quemlibet fraterculum ex ordine mendicantium" (*Colloque Concio siue Merdardus, ASD* I–3, 665, 450–53); ". . . tutius esse regem quamlibet potentem laedere quam quemlibet ex ordine Franciscanorum aut Dominicanorum.—Ordinis laesam dignitatem vlcisci phas est, et quod vni ex minimis male fit, fit toti ordini." (*Exsequiae Seraphicae, ASD* I–3, 698, 426–30); "tutius sibi putare quemlibet e summis regibus offendere quam vnum quemuis e gregibus istorum mendicorum, qui sub abiecti nominis praetextu veram in orbem Christianum exercerent tyrannidem. Etiamsi hoc quod paucorum vitio committitur, non opinor aequum in ordi-

cette unité organique chaque ordre est comparable à une armée, dont on sait que la force repose sur la discipline; en détruisant ou en rabotant la personnalité de chacun de ses membres il lui procure aussi une sorte de compensation: la soumission à l'ordre est participation à son pouvoir collectif.[35] Ignorance et hostilité au savoir nouveau dictées par la règle ou les supérieurs, sujétion à une sorte d'esclavage, puissance sur la société, toutes ces aberrations découlent du fait central qui est l'obéissance, premier des voeux monastiques; elles sont donc liées à l'essence du monachisme et c'est celui-ci qui constituerait ainsi par lui-même dès l'origine une déviation ou une corruption de la religion chrétienne.

§ § §

Il faut maintenant examiner si cette hypothèse est confirmée par l'étude directe du problème fondamental: que doit-on penser des moines d'un point de vue chrétien? Certains ont une conduite qui contredit à la fois leurs voeux et la morale; Erasme trace d'eux quelques croquis caricaturaux: moines goinfres[36] ou libidineux, clients des prostituées,[37] avides d'argent,[38] apparaissent dans l'*Eloge de la Folie* et les *Colloques*. Il y a plus grave; chez ceux même qui ne sont pas coupables de ces excès la piété consiste trop souvent en pratiques matérielles et extérieures: jeûne, respect de prescriptions vestimentaires ou alimentaires, récitation impeccable de prières apprises par coeur à des heures préfixées de chaque jour, etc., alors que la piété vraiment chrétienne consiste en dispositions du coeur et de l'âme.[39] C'est cette idée fort connue que résume le fameux "monachatus non est pietas" de l'*Enchiridion* en 1503.[40] On peut être pieux sans être moine et on peut être un bon moine sans être vraiment pieux. Dans les règles de la vie monastique certains peuvent trouver une aide pour atteindre la piété, mais pour d'autres elles sont une gêne et un obstacle. Rien de plus dangereux que de les confondre avec la piété, car elles deviennent alors une "piété impie."[41]

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nem vniuersum conferre." (Allen 694, t. III, 117, 29–33).—Erasme rapporte une affaire d'assassinat perpétré par des franciscains en Pologne (*Exs. Ser. ASD* I–3, 697, 388 sq.)

[35] La Société de Jésus, créée en 1540, qui assimile et répand la culture humaniste, se verra adresser des reproches de ce genre lorsqu'elle sera devenue à son tour une puissance redoutée aux XVIIIe et même XIXe siècles. La Société de Jésus n'a-t-elle pas servi en partie de modèle à Lénine pour l'organisation de son parti, de son propre aveu?

[36] *Moria ASD* IV–3, 162, 560.

[37] *Adolescens et scortum ASD* I–3, 342, 102–5; *Sileni Alcibiadis ASD* II–5, 170, 209–11; sur le lesbianisme dans les couvents de femmes: *Virgo misogamos ASD* I–3, 294, 165.

[38] *Annot. N. T. LB* 6.174.C, etc.; *Coll. Franciscani ASD* I–3, 389 sq.

[39] *Moria ASD* IV–3, 160, 538–48; *Lettre à Paul Volz*, Allen 858, t. III, 373, 449–66; *Eccles.* 2, *ASD* V–4, 281, 768–70: "Apostolus enim non erat monachus, certe quales nunc sunt, sed omnes Christianos vult esse mundo mortuos, quae res in affectibus sita est, non in cultibus, cibis aut aliis externis obseruationibus"; etc.

[40] Holborn, 135, 8.

[41] Erasme est revenu plusieurs fois sur le "monachatus non est pietas," par exemple: "Ita

C'est donc un grave abus de langage déjà dénoncé par Valla[42] qui conduit les moines à se faire appeler les "religieux," c'est-à-dire les "pieux" par excellence, et à placer leur ordre sur le même plan que la religion fondée par le Christ en lui donnant aussi le nom de *religio*.[43] Inversement quiconque est détaché et comme purifié intérieurement de ce monde-ci est ce que les moines prétendent être, à tort en général. "Monachus est quisquis pure Christianus est," dit le dernier chapitre du *De Contemptu mundi*;[44] les trois voeux sont seulement une source d'illusion: "beaucoup se prennent pour des Antoines et des Pauls parce qu'ils ne fréquentent pas les prostituées, ne dansent pas, ne s'enivrent pas, alors qu'intérieurement ils sont tout suants de haine et d'envie, gonflés d'orgueil, d'humeur sombre et intraitable, et s'aiment eux-mêmes."[45] —bref ne sont pas chrétiens au vrai sens du mot.

Erasme va encore plus loin. Dans la *Paraphrase* de 1 *Cor.* 3:4 il met en cause l'existence même des ordres religieux. Ce texte capital ne semble pas avoir attiré l'attention; c'est pour le faire que j'ai choisi ce sujet. La Ie *Epître aux Corinthiens* parle des querelles, des clans qui se sont formés parmi les chrétiens de Corinthe; certains disent "Moi, je suis de Paul," d'autres "Moi, d'Apollos," ou "Moi, de Képhas" ou "Moi, de Christ." L'apôtre leur rappelle que c'est le Christ qui a été crucifié pour tous, que c'est en son nom que tous ont été baptisés. Dans sa *Paraphrase* de 3:4 Erasme se tient d'abord près du texte, puis il s'en éloigne au moins en apparence peu à peu.

> Alors que vous avez un fondateur et un chef commun à tous, l'un dit pourtant: "Moi, je suis paulinien," un autre de son côté: "Moi, je suis apollonien." C'est avec des appellations analogues que les disciples de la philosophie humaine rivalisent entre eux: "Moi, je suis aristotélicien, moi platonicien, moi stoïcien, moi épicurien."[46] S'il est choquant que vous transfériez la gloire et l'autorité dues au Christ sur nous qui sommes d'authentiques apôtres, qui vous avons enseigné seulement ce que nous avons reçu de l'Esprit du Christ, comment tolérer que vous

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si monachismus est obseruatio trium votorum supra Christianismum communem, magna pietas est monachismus. Sin est professio tantum eorumdem votorum cum his quae adhaerent voto obedientiae, cuiusmodi sunt lana, linum, color, cingulum coriaceum aut canabeum, calcei aperti aut integri, pisces, oua, legumina, monachismus nec est pietas nec a Christo institutum" (Lettre de 1527 à Robert Aldridge, Allen 1858, t. VII, 139, 479–85).

[42] *De Professione religiosorum*, ed. Cortesi (Padoue, 1986), ch. 4, en particulier § 12: ". . . non feci illiberaliter in vos, quod religiosos appellare dubitarim, cum et multi aliorum, qui istam sive sectam sive regulam professi non sunt, religiosi vocari debeant, quia sanctissime viuunt, et multi vestrorum vocari non debeant, quia coinquinatissime," (21); Erasme reprend l'idée, entre autres, dans *Moria ASD* IV–3, 158, 524 sq.; *Eccles.* 3 *LB* 5.1022. C sq.

[43] Voir le texte des *Paraphrases* cité ci-dessous.

[44] *ASD* V–1, 84, 208; ce chapitre est généralement considéré comme ajouté après coup, mais S. Dresden met ce point en doute, 30–31.

[45] *ASD* V–1, 84–85, 217–26.

[46] Cf. *Paraclesis*, Holborn, 140, 19–21.

empruntiez les noms d'hommes quelconques, peut-être de faux Apôtres, et que vous attribuiez à de petits hommes (*homunculis*) la fondation (*auctoritatem*) du salut et de la vie religieuse qui est due au Christ seul? Supposons qu'un nommé Frangilius ou Benotius ou Augulius ou Carmilius ou de n'importe quel autre nom, car ce sont seulement des exemples, ait imaginé une discipline humaine de vie, irez-vous aussitôt, tirant gloire de leurs noms, vous lancer dans une compétition honteuse entre vous, irez-vous effacer le nom du Christ et transformer des humains en fondateurs de la vraie religion, alors que son unique fondateur est le Christ? Un pas de plus et, non contents de ces appellations fabriquées, c'est aussi par votre vêtement, votre nourriture et toute votre manière de vivre que vous manifesterez et développerez le désaccord de vos esprits; et ainsi, de même que les gardes des satrapes font connaître par une couleur jaune ou rouge ou par un quadrillage multicolore ou d'autres traits distinctifs les différents chefs auxquels ils obéissent, vous aussi, soumis à des hommes comme si vous aviez reçu d'eux la liberté et la vie, vous vous glorifierez de porter leurs noms, comme s'il était trop peu glorieux d'être appelés chrétiens? avez-vous honte de ce nom? ne vous suffit-il pas de proclamer le Christ par l'innocence de votre vie? Vous découpez ce qui est un et vous déchirez la gloire du Christ pour la partager entre de petits hommes. Je n'explique pas encore quels ils sont.[47]

Mais est-il besoin d'explication pour reconnaître François, Benoît, Augustin, à peine déformés en ces noms plaisants de Frangilius, Benolius, Augulius, c'est-à-dire les fondateurs (réels ou, dans ce dernier cas, légendaire) des franciscains, des bénédictins, des augustins? Erasme leur ajoute Carmilius, créateur imaginaire des carmes, ce qui fait un troisième ordre mendiant; les autres ordres religieux, en particulier les dominicains, sont englobés sous la formule "de n'importe quel autre nom." Ce que saint Paul, ou plutôt son paraphraste, décrit ici comme une supposition irréelle ou un futur, c'est

[47] *LB* 7.866.F–867.B. Le "nous qui sommes d'authentiques Apôtres" pose un problème mineur: est-ce un pluriel de "modestie" ou englobe-t-il Képhas et Apollos? En tout cas dans les *Annotations* relatives à ce passage (*LB* 6.670.E–F, n. 10) et à 1 *Cor.* 1:12 il n'y a pas trace de l'exégèse qui identifie Képhas à saint Pierre et Apollos au pieux personnage de *Actes.* 18–19; on pourrait donc voir en eux de "faux Apôtres." La première de ces *Annotations* formule déjà avec force l'une des idées de la *Paraphrase*: "Ils sont identiques et sans aucune différence, pour autant que tous deux (scil. Paul et Apollos) mènent l'affaire pour un autre, aucun d'eux pour lui-même de telle sorte que les Corinthiens devraient se donner un nom tiré du leur propre, comme s'ils étaient leurs créateurs (*auctoribus*) et se diviser en factions. Mais si saint Paul s'irrite ainsi contre les Corinthiens parce qu'ils ont pris les noms de ceux dont ils avaient reçu le baptême et leur première initiation aux mystères du Christ, que dirait-il des factions (*factionibus*) de notre temps où ceux qu'on appelle religieux (*religiosi*) se divisent entre eux par mille noms, mille vêtements, cérémonies, règles. Quelle concorde chrétienne naît de là entre eux, je ne désire pas le rappeler ici." Il faut donc écarter le "nous" de "modestie" et ne pas voir en Képhas et Apollos de faux Apôtres.

l'histoire passée et la vérité de toujours du monachisme. Erasme utilise ailleurs le même procédé:[48] présenter la réalité comme une fiction, de manière à nous faire prendre conscience de ce qu'il y a en elle d'anormal ou de choquant, mais que nous ne remarquons pas par la force de l'habitude. En identifiant avec tant de netteté les fondateurs d'ordres monastiques aux fauteurs de factions blâmés et admonestés par saint Paul, Erasme prononce une condamnation sans équivoque des ordres religieux du point de vue chrétien.

En substance trois idées principales sont présentes dans le texte. D'abord les ordres religieux sont par leur nature même source de dissensions, de divisions, de discorde (*dissidium animorum*, *dissecatis*, *distrahitis*) alors que la *philosophia Christi* prêche l'amour d'autrui, l'entente et la concorde. Déjà l'*Eloge de la Folie* raillait: "Ces hommes qui ont fait voeu de charité apostolique suscitent d'incroyables tragédies qui bouleversent tout pour une différence dans la manière de ceindre le vêtement"; "l'objet de leur zèle n'est pas de ressembler au Christ, mais de ne pas se ressembler entre eux"[49] et la seule énumération de leurs noms multiples[50] rendait sensibles cette division, ces conflits latents ou manifestes, contraires à la charité chrétienne. Seconde idée, les fondateurs de ces ordres sont des hommes: *hominum qualiumcumque*, *homunculis*, *homines*, *hominibus*, *homunculos*; ils ont institué une règle de vie tout humaine, *humanum vitae institutum*, par opposition à la règle du Christ, qui est divine. Ces hommes, du moins certains d'entre eux, sont peut-être de pseudo-apôtres[51] qui cherchent leur intérêt personnel au lieu de travailler pour le Christ. En troisième lieu, et c'est l'idée la plus virulente, ces *religiones* se posent en rivales de la *religio* du Christ; les François et les Benoît, dit ailleurs[52] Erasme, sont comme divinisés et presque égalés au Christ par leurs sectateurs; ils sont ici comparés à des satrapes, c'est-à-dire à des souverains temporels chefs d'armée, alors que le soldat chrétien n'a qu'un *impera-*

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[48] Pour se moquer du costume des soldats: *ASD* I–3, 399, 355–65.

[49] *ASD* IV–3, 160, 545–46 et 551–52.

[50] *ASD* IV–3, 553–56.

[51] *Annot. N. T. LB* 6.790.D, note 25 sur 2 *Cor.* 2:13: "Apostolus enim agit eius negotium a quo missus est, isti (scil. Pseudapostoli) suis commodis seruiunt"; voir la *Paraphrase* du même passage en *LB* 7.935.E: "Nam isti quidem non ex animo, sed ad suum quaestum ac fastum praedicant Euangelium, etc."

[52] *Eccles. ASD* V–4, 325, 950–59: un prédicateur franciscain place François d'Assise au-dessus des anges, des séraphins, de la Vierge et semble sur le point de l'égaler au Christ. Dans sa *Responsio aduersus febricitantis cuiusdam libellum* (1529) Erasme cite son adversaire Pantalabus-Carvajal: " 'Per Mosen data est Lex, sed Dei, non Mosi: sic Benedicti, Francisci, Augustini regulae per homines proditae sunt, sed a Deo profectae.' Quid superest, nisi vt illis tantum tribuamus quantum tribuimus Scripturis diuinis?" (*LB* 10.1674.DE). Voir encore *Paraclesis*, Holborn, 147, 2–7: ". . . Cur illi plus tribuunt regulae ab homine scriptae quam uniuersi Christiani suae regulae, quam omnibus tradidit Christus, quam omnes ex aequo professi sunt in baptismo?"

tor, le Christ, auquel il a prêté serment (*sacramentum*)[53] lors de son baptême qui est un enrôlement (*dare nomen*); ainsi devenir franciscain ou dominicain, etc., c'est une manière de renier le titre de Chrétien, c'est déserter l'armée du Christ pour une nouvelle armée. Ce reniement est symbolisé par le changement de prénom de celui qui prononce ses voeux: "Il s'engage au service du Christ sous le nom de Pierre, et au moment où il va entrer à celui de Dominique il est appelé Thomas."[54] Il avait été baptisé Pierre, il devient Frère Thomas. L'appartenance à l'armée de Dominique, de François, de Képhas ou d'Apollos prime scandaleusement la seule qui devrait compter: à l'armée du Christ. "Si dans une armée un serviteur quitte la tenue qui lui a été donnée par son maître, il semble avoir renié ce maître; et nous, nous applaudissons celui qui revêt une tenue autre que celle qui lui avait été donnée par le Christ, maître de tous; et on est puni plus gravement pour avoir changé ce nouveau vêtement que si on a cent fois rejeté l'uniforme donné par son général en chef et maître, c'est-à-dire l'innocence de l'âme."[55] C'est le monachisme qui pervertit ainsi le jugement: les contemporains d'Erasme punissent ceux qui renoncent au vêtement d'un ordre religieux, mais ne sont pas scandalisés par le vrai reniement: l'oubli des préceptes du Christ. En réalité la faute ou l'erreur ne consiste pas à quitter un ordre religieux, mais à y entrer, car alors on passe du service du Christ à celui d'un homme. Etre franciscain, dominicain, etc., autant de manières de ne plus être chrétien! L'idée avait déjà été formulée avec moins de véhémence, mais très clairement par Valla.[56] L'originalité d'Erasme est de la faire exprimer par Paul lui-même.

S'il y a opposition entre ordres religieux et religion du Christ, il s'ensuit que la prospérité de ceux-là est la décadence de celle-ci. C'est ce qu'Erasme expliquait dès 1514 à son supérieur de Steyn, Servais Roger: "magnam Christianae pietatis perniciem ex istis quas vocant religionibus exortam esse,

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[53] Le chrétien est un soldat: *Enchiridion militis christiani*; Valla, *De Prof. relig.*, ed. Cortesi, 46: "... qui Christi militem esse se meminit."

[54] *Coll. Virgo misogamos*, *ASD* I-3, 295, 199-203: "ad exemplum priscum eorum qui olim seruos essent mercati, commutant nomen in baptismo inditum, ac pro Petro siue Ioanne vocant Franciscum aut Dominicum aut Thomam. Petrus dedit nomen Christo, et Dominico initiandus vocatur Thomas."

[55] *Coll. Virgo misogamos ASD* I-3, 295, 203-7: "Si militaris seruus abiiciat vestem a domino datam, videtur abdicasse dominum; et nos applaudimus illi qui vestem accipit quam Christus omnium dominus non dedit; et ob hanc mutatam grauius punitur quam si centies abiiciat vestem imperatoris ac domini sui, quae est mentis innocentia." Cf. *Coll. Franciscani ASD* I-3, 401, 436-39: "Quaere a susceptoribus tuis quid professus sis in baptismo, quam vestem illic acceperis. Et humanam regulam desideras, qui patronum habeas Iesum Christum?" C'est sans doute pour cette raison que les membres de l'ordre fondé par Ignace de Loyola s'appellent "jésuites" et non "loyolites" ou "ignatiens."

[56] *De Prof. rel.* ed Cortesi, ch. *De obedientia* 9.4.45-46: "Nonne ante promiseras Deo, dum baptismate initiatus es, te honeste sancteque victurum, omnibus mandatis eius obedientem futurum? Quid sibi vult secunda promissio? Quid hominibus spondes quod Deo spoponderas? Quomodo potes donare quod ante donaueras?"

tametsi pio fortassis studio primum inductae sunt":[57] "la ruine désastreuse de la piété chrétienne est née de ce qu'on appelle les religions, même si elles ont été introduites par un zèle peut-être pieux"; il ne faut pas traduire ici *religiones* par "les dévotions" ou "the religious obligations"; l'expression *quas vocant* signifie qu'Erasme condamne une impropriété usuelle, déjà critiquée par Valla et qui le sera encore dans l'*Ecclesiastes*: les *religiones* sont les ordres religieux (monastiques). Le mot *fortassis* jette un doute cruel sur les mobiles réels de leurs fondateurs, comme faisait *pseudapostoli* dans la *Paraphrase*: peut-être pieux, peut-être mondains, terrestres, désir de gloire ou de puissance? La même thèse est reprise dix-sept ans plus tard en 1531 dans le *Colloque Concio siue Merdardus* qui évoque l'"uniuersus tumultus quo nunc concutitur orbis Christianus";[58] et le personnage qui exprime le point de vue d'Erasme explique: "Tout cet incendie a pris naissance à cause des moines, il s'est développé jusqu'au point où nous le voyons toujours à cause d'eux, et ils tâchent maintenant de l'éteindre tout bonnement en versant de l'huile sur le feu, comme on dit."[59] Donc le monachisme est un fléau, l'attachement au monde sous l'apparence de la piété, la ruine de la religion du Christ, la cause de l'actuel désastre.

§ § §

Toutefois si Erasme a bien prononcé une condamnation sans réserve des ordres monastiques, a-t-il demandé explicitement leur suppression, comme il le semblerait logique? Il s'en défend lorsqu'on lui reproche de l'avoir fait; en 1525 il écrit dans la *Lingua*: "Ici on me demandera: 'Quoi donc? tu condamnes le costume, la vie religieuse, les jeûnes et l'obéissance des moines?' Non, je les loue comme une pédagogie pour les faibles jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient parvenus à un stade plus avancé; ce que je condamne, c'est la superstition ou plutôt l'hypocrisie de ceux qui, tout en étant scrupuleux (*religiosi*) pour les choses extérieures, sont sans scrupules (*irreligiosi*) pour la vraie piété."[60] En disant "je les loue" Erasme ne se dément-il pas lui-même? non, car il répète ce que disait l'*Enchiridion*: les règles monastiques peuvent constituer une aide pour certains, ceux qu'il appelle ici "les faibles," sur le chemin de la piété; c'était, sinon un éloge, du moins une justification partielle; mais au terme de leur formation et guéris de leur faiblesse initiale les moines, devenus vraiment pieux, n'auront plus besoin des règles, devront-ils

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[57] Allen 296, t. I, 567, 75–78; quelques lignes plus loin Erasme conseille: "baptismi sacramentum (= l'engagement solennel pris au baptême) summam religionem (= entrée en "religion") ducere, neque spectare vbi viuas (au monastère ou ailleurs), sed quam bene viuas."

[58] *ASD* I–3, 664, 398.

[59] *ASD* I–3, 664, 408–10. Voir encore *De vtilitate colloquiorum* à propos de l'*Ichthyophagia*: "... constitutiones humanae ..., praepostera mortalium iudicia, quibus iam olim mundus plenus est, et vnde totus hic orbis tumultus natus est."

[60] *ASD* IV–1, 325, 159–63.

alors quitter le couvent et mener la vie commune, le pourront-ils? Erasme reste muet sur cette question.

Dans les années où le conflit religieux s'exaspère il est souvent sur la défensive, il s'efforce de se protéger sans se renier. Par exemple en avril 1529 il répond au franciscain Carvajal qui lui reproche d'avoir critiqué les moines dans ses *Epîtres dédicatoires* des *Paraphrases* "et souvent ailleurs." L'un des arguments d'Erasme dans sa défense laisse songeur: "Comment la *Paraphrase* aurait-elle pu critiquer les moines, puisqu'en ce temps-là ils n'existaient pas encore?"[61] Il est vrai, mais cela n'empêche pas la *Paraphrase*, comme on l'a vu, de parler de Frangilius, Benotius, etc.[62] Heureusement pour son auteur Carvajal n'a pas relevé (ou pas compris?) ce passage, pas plus que les auteurs de l'*Index expurgatorius* du Concile de Trente: l'artifice des noms déformés a-t-il suffi à les aveugler sur le vrai sens du texte?

Quoi qu'il en soit de ce point, le problème demeure: pourquoi Erasme qui condamne le monachisme dans son essence n'a-t-il à aucun moment demandé explicitement la suppression des ordres religieux? On trouve l'esquisse d'une réponse dans l'*Adage* 1765 que l'on a déjà commenté plus haut: "Si écrasant que soit ce fardeau, il est dangereux de le rejeter."[63] Toute révolte, toute révolution sont à écarter non seulement parce que saint Paul invite à respecter les pouvoirs établis,[64] mais aussi parce que les révolutionnaires, selon la sagesse humaine fondée sur l'expérience, produisent par leur violence un mal pire que celui qu'ils veulent supprimer. Si des transformations sont nécessaires, dit l'*Hyperaspistes* en 1526, "cela devrait se faire par l'autorité des grands ou du moins avec l'accord du très grand nombre, et progressivement."[65] Par malheur, poursuit-il, "aujourd'hui certains s'y prennent comme s'ils pouvaient d'un seul coup créer un monde soudain entièrement neuf,"[66] mais en fait "jamais les choses humaines ne sont allées assez bien, jamais elles n'iront assez bien en ce monde pour qu'il n'y ait pas

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[61] *LB* 10.1674.A–C. Carvajal pense peut-être à: "Quid enim sunt humanae professiones, nisi simulachra quaedam huius sanctissimae professionis, hoc est, reuocamenta quaedam Christianismi prolapsi ad mundum. Norunt Monachi suas professiones huiusmodi ceremoniis commendare populo. . . . Quanto magis id facere conuenit in hac longe religiosissima professione, qua non homini, sed Christo damus nomina: nec iuramus in regulam Francisci aut Benedicti, sed in regulam Euangelicam" (*LB* 7 f° ++ 3 v°). En dehors des *Paraphrases* les références seraient nombreuses; voir par exemple ci-dessus note 15 et note 52 in fine.

[62] Ni Carvajal ni l'*Index expurgatorius* ne critiquent la *Paraphrase* de 1 *Cor.* 3:4; l'*Index* demande la suppression de "Quî frigidis ceremoniis cum ignea caritate Christi (conuenit)?" dans la *Paraphrase* de 1 *Cor.* 3:15 (*LB* 10.1837.E).

[63] Voir note 29.

[64] *Rom.* 13:1–7; *Titus* 3:1.

[65] *Hyperaspistes* 2: "Si quid erat corrigendum in moribus, aut immutandum in ritibus, id agendum erat ex auctoritate magnatum aut certe ex consensu plurimorum, denique paulatim" (*LB* 10.1483.B).

[66] "Nunc quidam rem sic aggrediuntur, quasi possint repente nouum Orbem derepente condere" (*LB* 10.1483.C).

beaucoup à corriger; mais devant certaines il vaut mieux fermer les yeux, certaines doivent être acceptées par égard pour les sentiments des simples; celles qui ne peuvent être approuvées doivent ou bien être tolérées si l'on voit qu'une tentative de cure serait plus dangereuse que la maladie elle-même ou bien être corrigées avec habileté et progressivement, de façon qu'elles paraissent non point supprimées, mais refoulées par de meilleures qui les remplacent."[67] Ces réflexions concernent l'ensemble des problèmes soulevés par la Réforme luthérienne et ce qui s'en est suivi; mais elles s'appliquent en particulier au monachisme. Erasme n'avait d'ailleurs pas attendu les années troubles pour y réfléchir; dès 1516 dans ses *Scholies* sur les *Lettres* de saint Jérôme il préconisait quelques mesures que l'on peut interpréter comme les premières étapes d'une extinction progressive: "Et peut-être aujourd'hui aussi il serait plus avantageux pour l'Eglise chrétienne qu'il y eût moins de monastères, dont nous voyons bien que la plupart sont tombés dans des moeurs fort peu pieuses, que tous eussent le même costume, les mêmes prières, le même genre de vie, enfin qu'il y eût le moins possible de servitude et de cérémonies car celles-ci conviennent plus à des juifs qu'à des chrétiens et elles peuvent rendre superstitieux, mais non pieux."[68] Les mesures proposées s'éclairent par ce qui a été dit plus haut: moins de monastères, moins de moines, disparition des multiples ordres tous ramenés à un seul, ce qui réduirait querelles et conflits, enfin conversion à une vraie piété fondée sur le mouvement libre et spontané du coeur. Avec leurs méthodes radicales Luther et les Réformateurs ont déchaîné la violence; le premier "s'est comporté comme s'il semblait chercher la révolte qu'il aurait fallu éviter par-dessus tout."[69] Le résultat est que, là où ils n'ont pas été chassés, les moines sont devenus beaucoup plus dangereux qu'auparavant: "Auparavant (avant la Réforme) on dédaignait Théologiens et Moines; maintenant à cause de vous ils ont acquis le pouvoir tyrannique de dépouiller de ses ressources celui à qui ils sont hostiles, de le jeter dans les fers, enfin de le brûler, comme plusieurs déjà l'ont éprouvé et comme tous le craignent. Auparavant on pouvait cracher sur Moines et Théologiens, maintenant vous leur avez donné de telles armes que c'est un crime capital de dire un mot contre l'un d'eux."[70] Alors que faire? la méthode

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Hier. *Epist.* t. I, 41: "Et haud scio an nunc quoque magis expediret ecclesiae Christianae, si pauciora forent monasteria, quorum magnam partem ad mores parum religiosos prolapsam videmus, essetque omnium idem cultus, eaedem preces, eademque vitae ratio. Postremo quam minimum seruitutis ac ceremoniarum, quae magis ad Judaeos pertinent quam ad Christianos: et superstitiosos facere possunt, pium non possunt."

[69] Ibid., 1483.E.: "ita se gessit, quasi seditionem, quam in primis vitatam oportuit, affectasse videatur."

[70] *Epistola in pseudeuangelicos* (3 déc. 1529), *LB* 10.1583.C; cette année-là Erasme a vu à Bâle le Bildersturm et a dû partir pour Fribourg. L'allusion au bûcher (*exurendi*) s'entend sans doute de Louis de Berquin traducteur de Luther et d'Erasme, brûlé en mars 1529 à Paris.

maintenant proposée par Erasme (fin 1529) est individuelle: "S'il y a quelqu'un qui n'aime pas la masse des moines, qu'il choisisse dans leur multitude tous les meilleurs. Si le genre entier lui déplaît, qu'il tienne ses enfants et sa femme à l'écart de leur société. Nul n'est obligé de leur donner ou de leur léguer quoi que ce soit. Si tous veillaient à ce qu'il y ait dans leur paroisse des dispensateurs du Verbe divin compétents, les ordres mendiants seraient exclus sans tapage. Si les collèges de chanoines se mettaient à étudier les saintes lettres et à vivre purement, ils feraient peser une grande impopularité sur les moines qui vivent dans l'impureté. Bien plus les moines eux-mêmes peuvent se guérir s'ils s'appliquent à être ce qu'on dit qu'ils sont."[71] (C'est-à-dire: religieux, pieux.) Ces méthodes n'ont pas eu d'effet bien visible, à supposer qu'elles aient été appliquées par beaucoup; il est peu probable qu'Erasme se soit fait des illusions.

Sur le fond des choses sa pensée n'avait pas changé; il suffit de lire au livre trois de l'*Ecclesiastes*, sa dernière grande oeuvre (1535), les belles analyses qu'il a consacrées à un certain nombre de mots, tous liés au monachisme, et dont chacun comporte deux interprétations, l'une fausse, l'autre juste; ce sont les mots "monde," "saint," "frère," "religion," et "religieux," "obéissance," "perfection," "chair," "apostat," "voué à Dieu."[72] Chaque fois l'un des sens est celui que les moines eux-mêmes ont mis en vigueur, l'autre est celui qui découle de l'enseignement du Christ. Aux exemples de "religion" et "religieux" déjà commentés, ajoutons-en un seul autre: "perfection"; selon la conception monastique ceux qui s'abstiennent totalement de viande sont plus parfaits que ceux qui s'en abstiennent partiellement, etc. ; selon le sens évangélique "celui qui a progressé jusqu'à un degré de charité tel qu'il désire sincèrement rendre service à tous, qu'ils en soient dignes ou non, celui-là ne revendiquera pas, mais il aura pourtant mérité le titre de parfait, dans la mesure où la perfection se rencontre en cette vie."[73] Bref, une dernière fois à la conception matérielle, monastique, de la piété, s'oppose la conception spirituelle, chrétienne: *monachatus non est pietas*. Les inventions humaines des Frangilius, Benotius, etc., doivent disparaître, mais peu à peu, sans violence, car ce serait combattre un mal par un autre, c'est-à-dire trahir l'enseignement du Christ.

Paris

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[71] *Responsio ad epistolam apologeticam* (= *Ad fratres Germaniae Inferioris et Frisiae Orientalis*) du 1er août 1530 (*LB* 10.1629.E).

[72] *Eccles.* 3, *LB* 5.1020.D–1025.F; cette liste est celle des mots effectivement expliqués, dans leur ordre; elle ne correspond pas tout à fait à la liste initiale qui annonce: "mundus, religio, religiosus, sanctus, frater, obedientia, apostasia, perfectio, eleemosyna, paupertas."

[73] Ibid., 1024.B: "Qui profecit ad eum caritatis gradum, vt ex animo de omnibus bene mereri cupiat, siue digni sint siue indigni, is sibi quidem non vindicabit, sed tamen promeruit perfecti titulum, quatenus in hac vita contingit perfectio. Nec vllum est vitae genus in quo non liceat esse perfectos, iuxta suum cuique modum." (Dans cette dernière formule en reconnaît l'idée de *varietas*.) Sur la perfection: "Professio trium votorum non affert perfectionem Euangelicam, sed imitatio Christi." (*Annot. in Mc* 6, 9, *LB* 6.174.C)

"Litterae" e "litteratura" nel medioevo e nell'umanesimo

MICHELE FEO

A Eugenio Massa in
ricordo degli anni pisani

Nell'anno 1155 a Roma un eretico, consegnato da Federico Barbarossa nelle mani del papa Adriano IV come merce di scambio politica, saliva il patibolo per essere impiccato ed arso. Accingendosi a raccontarne gli ultimi momenti, l'Anonimo poeta epico incaricato di immortalare le gesta dell'imperatore in Lombardia, è preso da un moto di pietà. Rivolgendosi all'eroe negativo, sfortunato e sconfitto, esce in un compianto lirico e gli chiede fra l'altro:

> Docte, quid, Arnalde, profecit *litteratura*
> tanta tibi?

Che Arnaldo da Brescia fosse uomo di grande *litteratura* ("vir multe *litterature*") l'Anonimo asserisce anche in un altro passo. Dell'eretico non ci è rimasto scritto alcuno e non ci è possibile perciò controllare l'affermazione del poeta, né per quel che riguarda la quantità e l'estensione della sua *litteratura*, né la qualità e il contenuto di essa. Tuttavia non par dubbio che qui siamo di fronte a un concetto di "letteratura" diverso da quello che a noi oggi è usuale. La *litteratura* di cui Arnaldo era ben provveduto, quella *litteratura* che non riuscì a sottrarlo alla miserabile fine, che davanti alla morte si rivelò inutile, non è certo la poesia, non è la voce del canto che salvò l'aedo Femio dalla mano omicida e vendicatrice di Odisseo nell'ultima strage di Itaca. La *litteratura* non solo non salva, non può salvare Arnaldo, anzi è la causa prima che lo trascina alla morte; essa è la sostanza stessa del suo destino: giacché egli, dice l'Anonimo, era "verbi prodigus" e "ultra oportunum saperet." L'eccesso di sapere, l'essere andato oltre i limiti consentiti dal potere all'ardimento intellettuale, l'aver osato *sapere* e l'aver osato usare le

conoscenze conferite dal sapere, quindi l'avere spregiudicatamente criticato la corruzione e le mille menzogne di questa terra, l'aver proposto arrogantemente la propria ragione come medicina dei mali del mondo, tutto ciò lo ha portato alla rovina: "Dampnaturque suo doctor pro dogmate doctus." La *litteratura* di Arnaldo è dunque la stessa cosa che la sua *doctrina*, il suo pensiero, il suo *dogma*. Fuori del possesso personale, in una dimensione oggettiva la *litteratura* non può essere perciò altro che il complesso delle conoscenze umane, la cultura scritta di una società.

Torniamo indietro di un ventennio dal tragico discepolo al non meno tragico maestro. Nel racconto della sua *Historia calamitatum*, che apre il grandioso carteggio dell'amore lontano e impossibile, Pietro Abelardo dice della "adulescentula" che fece perdere la testa al brillante e affermato intellettuale che era bella sì, ma che soprattutto era "letterata." Lo zio Fulberto infatti

> eam quanto amplius diligebat tanto diligentius in omnem qua poterat *scientiam litterarum* promoveri studuerat;

sicché Eloisa, "cum per faciem non esset infima, per abundantium *litterarum* erat suprema." Della cultura di Eloisa—se sue sono, come personalmente sono convinto, le lettere ad Abelardo—sappiamo un po' di più che non di quella di Arnaldo. Ma non tanto da poter definire con assoluta certezza i contenuti della "scientia litterarum" che Fulberto era ansioso di farle apprendere. Oggi, fuorviati da polemiche e rivendicazioni di ogni genere, spesso più aggressive che non razionalmente fondate, siamo propensi o indotti a vedere Eloisa come un unicum, una luminosa eccezione ai costumi correnti di un medioevo tenebroso e maschilista tutto preoccupato di tenere le donne in una inferiorità materiale e intellettuale. Il medioevo barbarico e le sue propaggini fin nel XII secolo ci consegnano invece uno scenario diverso: fuori del mondo dei *clerici*, nelle famiglie laiche dei sovrani, poi nelle famiglie nobili e infine in molte famiglie altolocate la regola è che gli incolti siano i maschi e che il leggere, lo scrivere e comunque l'educazione letteraria competa alle donne. I re barbarici, da Teodorico a Carlo Magno, conoscono bene le arti della guerra, del governo e della caccia, ma spesso non sanno neppure apporre la loro firma agli editti da loro emanati. I Guildenstern e Rosencrantz, latori inconsapevoli della lettera di Amleto che decreta la loro morte, non escono dalla fantasia di Shakespeare, esistevano nella realtà, li troviamo nelle cronache: cavalieri mandati in ambascerie con lettere latine che essi non erano in grado di leggere. Gli stessi cronisti, instancabili cacciatori di pettegolezzi irriguardosi, ci fanno sapere che perfino il grande Federico Barbarossa era *illitteratus*, ma che *litterata* era al contrario l'imperatrice. Analfabeti erano stati i re goti e longobardi; ma numerose erano state accanto a loro le Amalasunte, Matasvinte, Amalaberge, Clodosvinte e Teodolinde, mogli e figlie dotate di ottima conoscenza delle *litterae* e capaci di corrispondere in latino con papi. Sicché le protettrici di poeti e le dotte badesse che ogni tanto si incontrano nelle strade della letteratura non sono ognuna un'eccezione, ma fanno una ininterrotta tradizione: Rosvita di Gander-

sheim, Adele di Blois, Herrada di Landsberg, Ildegarde di Bingen, il "partenone" di Remiremont e le donne cantate dall' "anonimo innamorato" di Ripoll. Evidentemente, barbari e no, i maschi hanno amato tanto le loro donne, le hanno innalzate a un tale grado di superiore nobiltà, da attribuire loro come coronamento di bellezza le inutili e difficili arti dello spirito. Ciò non vale solo per il profondo medioevo. Se infatti agli inizi del Trecento italiano Dante poteva dire che la lirica d'amore si esprimeva in volgare perché in latino sarebbe stata inintelligibile alle donne che ne erano le destinatarie, ancora agli inizi del Quattrocento tedesco Albrecht von Eyb, appartenente a una famiglia che divideva i maschi fra carriera militare e carriera ecclesiastica, ricevette la prima educazione letteraria dalla madre Margaretha.

L'ambizioso canonico Fulberto volle dunque che alla sua Eloisa fosse impartita una cultura da "regina" di altri tempi; perciò la mise volentieri nelle mani del più brillante filosofo dell'università di Parigi. La "scientia litterarum" di cui secondo Abelardo la fanciulla era provvista sarà stata forse un'istruzione letteraria nel senso che noi oggi intendiamo con questa parola, ma più probabilmente un sapere ampio in tutte le discipline.

Inviando più tardi alle monache del Paracleto le regole di vita, lo stesso Abelardo tornava sul sapere di Eloisa, non più giovinetta, ma donna ormai matura:

> Magisterium habetis in matre, quod ad omnia vobis sufficere, tam ad exemplum scilicet virtutum quam ad doctrinam litterarum, potest: que non solum latine, verum etiam tam hebraice quam grece non expers *litterature*, sola hoc tempore illam trium linguarum adepta peritiam videtur, que ab omnibus in beato Hieronymo tanquam singularis gratia predicatur et ab ipso in suprascriptis venerabilibus feminis maxime commendatur.

Questa *litteratura* è meno della letteratura come la intendiamo noi oggi, è meno anche del sapere universale; ma deve essere qualcosa di più della semplice conoscenza linguistico-grammaticale, giacché in questo caso non si spiegherebbe come Eloisa avrebbe potuto grazie a mere esperienze tecniche acquisire il prestigio che Abelardo le riconosce per esercitare un magistero spirituale.

Restando nel dodicesimo secolo, cioè nel cuore del medioevo, risaliamo ancora un poco l'Europa e spostiamoci in Inghilterra. Uno scrittore che ha osservato la vita di corte, Walter Map, scopre che la cultura non è distinta dal potere, che essa stessa è un potere e che gli uomini di stato non possono fare a mano di essa, delegandola ad altri: "Artes enim gladii sunt potentum, qui pro modis utencium variantur. Nam in manu benigni principis pacifici sunt, in manu tiranni mortiferi." L'età dei re forti guerrieri e governanti analfabeti è finita. La cultura moltiplica il potere dei re, sia che essi la impieghino a fini di pace che di guerra. La pigrizia dei nobili nell'educare i loro figli alle *littere* si ritorcerà contro di loro, dice Walter, giacché altri ceti sociali, i contadini servi della gleba, educano ormai i loro figli in arti a loro inde-

bite. Per Walter solo i nobili ("generosi") sono liberi e quindi solo a loro spetta "de iure" apprendere le arti liberali; i servi, "quos vocamus rusticos," sono "nemici della libertà." Nel suo rozzo astio sociale Walter intende benissimo che il possesso, sia pure abusivo, delle arti liberali può essere un formidabile strumento di liberazione e crescita: i contadini, nemici della libertà, possono con la cultura conquistare le ricchezze e con le ricchezze conquistare l'affrancamento "a dominis." *Artes, artes liberales* e *littere* per Walter sono la stessa cosa: sono molto più che l'alfabetizzazione, sono il sapere, la cultura e forse anche qualche specializzazione tecnica del sapere, che consenta di "fare i soldi."

2. Sorge a questo punto una domanda legittima: il concetto testé visto di *littere* e *litteratura* è uno dei significati possibili dei termini, accanto al quale altri coesistono, risponde ad un uso eccezionale ed isolato, o riflette l'ambito semantico vero, cioè istituzionale, nella latinità medievale?

In ogni ricerca del genere è buona norma partire sempre da quella che per gli intellettuali medievali è l'eden perduto, ossia l'antichità anzi l'antichità latina che è quella di cui essi covano più nostalgico il ricordo, un ricordo che spesso è labile come quello di un sogno, ché l'immagine fugge e invano si cerca di definirla alla memoria. *Litteratura* è traduzione del gr. *grammatiké* ed indica nella latinità classica primariamente l'insegnamento elementare della grammatica (Quintiliano, Diomede, Agostino, Marziano Capella). Accanto a questo significato di base ne sono però ben individuabili due altri, uno che si avvicina al nostro concetto di lettura e interpretazione dei testi letterari e uno che indica in senso vastissimo la cultura tutta quanta. Il primo risale a Varrone e si legge in Mario Vittorino, *Ars gramm.* 1.1: "ut Varroni placet, ars grammatica quae a nobis litteratura dicitur, scientia est <eorum> quae a poetis, historicis oratoribusque dicuntur ex parte maiore; eius praecipua officia sunt quattuor, ut ipsi placet, scribere, legere, intellegere, probare." Il secondo significato è attestato da Vitruvio (6, praef. 4): "ego maximas infinitasque parentibus ago atque habeo gratias, quod Atheniensium legem probantes me arte erudiendum curaverunt, et ea, quae non potest esse probata sine litteraturae (così i codd., *litteratura* edd.) encyclioque doctrinarum omnium disciplina," dove a me pare che abbia ragione chi vede in *litteratura* e *enkyklios disciplina* un'endiadi; Wölfflin vedeva invece nella parola *litteratura* niente di più che la "grammatische (sprachliche, philologische) . . . Bildung"; ma egli stesso era costretto ad ammettere che quando, poco dopo, loda i "patres familiarum . . . litteraturae fiducia confirmati per se aedificantes" (6, praef. 6), Vitruvio non può riferirsi alla grammatica, "da man mit den Regeln Zumpts allenfalls schöne Perioden, aber keine Häuser bauen kann."

Come poi e in che tempi la parola antica *litteratura* abbia modificato o dilatato il suo ambito semantico originario per assumere quello di 'sapere,' in che misura il significato grammaticale sia convissuto nel medioevo con altri sopraggiunti è problema finora nonché risolto nemmeno affrontato.

In ogni caso il termine che più comunemente indica in età classica il complesso dei prodotti scritti dell'ingegno umano è quello di *litterae*. Etimologicamente le *litterae* sono i testi costituiti da singole lettere dell'alfabeto, una tecnica per sottrarre la memoria alla fragilità degli accidenti umani e darle stabilità, sono una reificazione della memoria, tant'è vero che per Columella (1.8.4) una buona memoria può sostituire nel *rusticus* la scrittura. In Cicerone la parentela di *litterae* e *memoria* è denudata in numerose occasioni: "proditum est memoria ac litteris" (*Verr.* 2.1.47); "litteris nostris et memoria ... celebratum" (*Sest.* 142). Le *litterae*, in questa funzione di civiltà—difesa e certificazione della memoria—si contrappongono alla parola parlata: la "ratio disputandi" di Socrate fu "Platonis memoria et litteris consecrata" (*Tusc.* 5.11); e naturalmente esse non hanno confini: possono serbare memoria poetica, storica, annalistica, filosofica, giuridica (per l'ultimo caso valga un passo di Gellio, 1.12.10: "de more ... capiundae virginis litterae ... antiquiores non extant").

Le *litterae* sono la produzione e le cognizioni scientifiche e letterarie, la cultura, la scienza, l'erudizione, l'istruzione. Grazie alle *litterae* secondo Cicerone conosciamo una serie "infinitam rerum atque naturae et in hoc ipso mundo caelum terras maria" (*Tusc.* 5.35.105). Tuttavia già in Cicerone stesso il termine tende ad escludere dal suo ambito semantico alcune discipline. Almeno questa è l'interpretazione che il *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* dà di passi come i seguenti: *Brut.* 81 "et iuris et litterarum et antiquitatis bene peritus" (qui si escludono dalle *litterae* il diritto e la storia); *Part.* 80 "ut ... studia litterarum, ut numerorum ac sonorum, ut mensurae, ut siderum, ut equorum, ut venandi, ut armorum" (non fanno parte delle *litterae* la matematica, la musica, la geometria, le scienze o arti dell' equitazione, della caccia, della guerra); *De or.* 3.127 "has artes, quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitionem et poetarum" (musica e geometria non fanno parte delle *litterae*, ma come possono contrapporsi *litterae* e *poetae*?); *De inv.* 1.36 "(studium) philosophiae, poeticae, geometriae, litterarum" (ancora una volta poesia e *litterae* sembrano alternative). Ma le contrapposizioni di *litterae* e poesia, di *litterae* e storia dovrebbero indurre a cercare altre soluzioni esplicative per questi passi: per esempio che in alcuni di essi *litterae* possano significare lo studio linguistico, che in altri (come in *Part.* 80) la parola sia usata proletticamente, cioè anticipi riassumendole le discipline che seguono nell'elencazione oppure indichi l'alfabeto.

3. Il Medioevo è stato molto meno ossessionato di noi dal bisogno di definire la letteratura. La conoscenza scientifica dell'arte è diventata nell'età moderna perfino più urgente del godimento dell'arte stessa. L'osservazione non vale per gli uomini medievali. Per loro la produzione artistica, nella letteratura e nelle immagini è davvero più vitale della definizione e della legittimazione teorica dell'arte: esattamente come per il barbaro, generare figli è naturalmente più essenziale delle diatribe umanistiche "de prole." Ciò spiega la scarsità di definizioni della letteratura nel mondo mediolatino. Le de-

finizioni dobbiamo ricavarle noi da contesti che le presuppongono, da testimonianze indirette. Così una via è quella di cercare i significati dei termini *litteratus* e *illitteratus*.

Litteratus è, al livello più basso, "colui che è in grado di leggere e scrivere" e, poiché l'istruzione per antonomasia è la conoscenza del latino, *litteratus* è "colui che è in possesso dei rudimenti della lingua latina." *Littera* diventa nel Medioevo perfino sinonimo di "lingua latina." Ma accanto a questo è ben attestato un altro significato, per altro già antico, di *litteratus* come "uomo di lettere," "dotto," "erudito." Ora, per noi è decisivo poter identificare la sostanza della cultura di un *litteratus*. Secondo Orderico Vitale (*Hist. eccl.* 8.1) Enrico I d'Inghilterra aveva praticato gli *studia litterarum* ed era "educato alle scienze naturali e alla dottrina" ("tam naturali quam doctrinali scientia nobiliter imbutus"): dunque *litteratus* è chi è in possesso di una cultura non solo letteraria, ma anche scientifica. Giovanni di Salisbury, uno dei massimi esponenti della cosiddetta rinascenza del XII secolo, gioca sui due significati, quello originario e quello ampio di *litteratus*: per lui *illitterati*, anche se conoscono *litteras*, cioè l'alfabeto, devono considerarsi tutti coloro che non conoscono i poeti, gli storici, gli oratori, e i matematici: dunque per converso il *litteratus* per potersi chiamare tale deve conoscere non solo la poesia, la storia e l'oratoria, bensì anche la matematica. Lui stesso, Giovanni, era un *litteratus* ben colto e come tale lo aveva raccomandato Bernardo di Chiaravalle a Teobaldo arcivescovo di Canterbury: "Testimonium enim bonum habet a bonis, quod non minus vita quam litteratura promeruit." C'è tuttavia nell'uso che del termine *litteratura* fa Bernardo un margine di ambiguità che ci è rivelato da una lettera in cui di un personaggio si lodano come virtù distinte la *litteratura* e la *doctrina*: "Adhuc non deest homini litteratura congruens, non doctrina, non affabilitas, non gratia in vultu et sermone." E' probabile che qui per 'litteratura' si debba intendere genericamente la conoscenza del latino, anche se a un livello senza dubbio superiore a quello elementare grammaticale.

Stando alle recenti concordanze, il termine occorre sette volte nell'opera di san Bernardo, e sempre si avverte nello scrivente il bisogno di bilanciare il sapere con le qualità morali. Così il vescovo di Troyes fu "vir moribus et litteratura conspicuus." E il santo-eroe celebrato da Bernardo, Malachia, fu fin da bambino superiore ai suoi coetanei nella *litteratura*, ma "in disciplina morum profectuque virtutum" fu superiore ai suoi stessi maestri; la provvida madre fin dai primi passi del figlio in questo mondo si era sforzata di aprirgli le vie della vita, considerandole più importanti della "ventosa scientia litteraturae saecularis." Per l'avversario implacabile di Abelardo la "litteratura saecularis" non è sufficiente a testimoniare l'eccellenza di un uomo, anzi bisogna in principio diffidarne. Quella che per il razionalismo dialettico era stata una gloria della ragione umana viene degradata nel migliore dei casi a un utile strumento per meglio combattere i nemici veri o presunti della Chiesa. "Curemus ergo in alto positi non altum sapere, sed timere, sed humilibus consentire.... Timeat potestas..., timeat qui cognovit litteraturam...." Nel

compianto per la morte di frate Gerardo la svalutazione delle *litterae* è ancora più radicale e si estende perfino a quelle sacre. Davanti al sapere di "magni et sapientes viri" si erge il sapere dell'indotto: "Quotiens," confessa Bernardo, "cum eo disserens ea didici que nesciebam, et qui docturus adveneram, doctus magis abscessi!" Ciò avveniva perché Gerardo "non cognovit litteraturam, sed habuit litterarum inventorem sensum, habuit et iluminantem Spiritum," riceveva cioè il sapere non dalla mediazione della *litteratura*, ma direttamente dalla fonte ispiratrice della *litteratura*, lo Spirito Santo.

Dunque *litteratura* è il sapere. Non siamo certi che il termine indichi nel Medioevo sempre l'alta cultura, ma di rado pare semanticamente specializzato nella cultura letteraria. Ciò forse vale per un passo di Giraldo Cambrense dove si lamenta che i "poemata" nonché gli "antiqua tam studia ... quam tempora" siano rimasti lungamente sepolti "defectu principum tam litteratura quam largitate carentium." Guglielmo di Malmesbury ci fa dal canto suo sapere di aver incontrato uomini eccellenti per virtù diverse, chi per nobiltà, chi per doti guerresche, chi per *litteratura*, ma il solo Roberto di Gloucester per tutte queste qualità insieme; e quando, poche righe dopo, egli cerca di precisare il rapporto del protettore con le *litterae*, ricorre ai sinonimi *scientia* e *philosophia*. Per Pietro Cantore infine *litteratura* può essere il ceto stesso e la condizione di intellettuale: "Clericatus quandoque dicitur quilibet minor ordo, ut psalmista, lector, hostiarius, acolitus; quandoque dicitur clericatus litteratura."

E tuttavia non tutto è nitidamente chiaro e non tutto è assimilabile a una visione unica o unitaria. L'ambiguità sopra vista di Bernardo non è la sola. Quando Guiberto di Nogent (1053–1124) scrive nell'autobiografia (*De vita sua* 3.2) che il vescovo Elinando fu "litteratura pertenuis," vorrà dire che quegli fu uomo di scarsa dottrina, ma non si può escludere il significato di una debolezza nella conoscenza elementare del latino. Alla fine del sec. XII un geniale e solitario esegeta biblico, Erberto di Bosham, definisce san Gerolamo "modernus ille synagoge alumpnus, totius litterature fundamentum," cioè—si interpreta—"base di tutto lo scibile": ci si attenderebbe invece che Erberto si appelli al magistero di Gerolamo come di colui che, essendo risalito alle lingue originali dei testi sacri, abbia acquisito per questo il merito e il titolo di essere il fondamento di ogni "critica ed esegesi" biblica.

4. Un fascino particolare emana dal quadro offerto dall'Italia due e trecentesca. L'età fridericiana ci restituisce la fiducia laica nella forza civilizzatrice della cultura che era stata deprezzata dal misticismo di san Bernardo. Quando nel 1224 l'imperatore diffonde il progetto di uno Studio a Napoli con lo scopo dichiarato di creare un ceto intellettuale autoctono, laico e al servizio dello Stato, assicura tutto il sostegno possibile dell'autorità pubblica ai docenti e agli studenti e insieme promette beni materiali e prestigio sociale a chi li avrà meritati. E' un documento di cui ogni parola pesa oro. Fra i beni che lo studio acquista c'è anche la "nobilitas":

> Bonum autem hoc rei nostre publice profuturum intendimus, cum subiectorum commoda speciali quadam affectionis gratia providemus, quos, sicut convenit, eruditos pulcherrima poterit spes fovere [et] bona plurima promptis animis expectare, cum sterilis esse non possit bonitatis accessio, quam nobilitas sequitur. Cui tribunalia parantur, secuntur lucra, amicitiarum favor et gratia comparantur.

Federico dichiara anche che nello Studio saranno presenti "doctores et magistri ... in qualibet facultate." Ma troppo entusiasticamente si è data per certa l'istituzione di un corso di *litteratura*, inteso come un gradino verso la rivitalizzazione degli studi classici (qualcosa insomma come la cattedra tenuta un secolo dopo a Bologna da Giovanni del Virgilio). L'opinione pretende di fondarsi su un passo delle *Costituzioni Melfitane* (1231) che, se pur frainteso, non resta di avere una importanza grande:

> ... tam iudices quam notarii, cum litteris testimonialibus hominum loci illius in quo statuendi sunt, ad presentiam nostram vel eius qui vicem nostram in absentia nostra in regno universaliter procurabit accedant. Que littere testimonium fidei et morum iudicis vel notarii statuendi continere debebunt et quod in ipsius loci consuetudinibus sit instructus. Examinationem autem litterature et etiam iuris scripti nostre curie reservamus.

Ma il testo, letto nella sua interezza e non a brandelli, dice altro: Federico in persona e i suoi delegati esaminavano uno per uno i giudici e i notai prima di abilitarli a ricoprire le funzioni pubbliche per le quali erano stati designati; senonché sulla probità dei costumi e sulla conoscenza del diritto consuetudinario (orale) facevano fede sufficiente le "littere testimoniales" con le quali i candidati si presentavano; ma la verifica della *litteratura* e del diritto scritto l'imperatore riservava alla sua curia. A intendere cosa fosse questa *litteratura* aiuta la contrapposizione (rilevata dall'avversativa *autem*) fra le due ultime frasi: a garantire la conoscenza del diritto non scritto bastavano le lettere di raccomandazione, ma sulla conoscenza di quello scritto occorreva fare un adeguato controllo diretto: e poiché *litteratura* fa blocco col *ius scriptum*, ne consegue che *litteratura* deve essere la cultura scritta, la conoscenza del latino, il materiale saper leggere e scrivere.

Limpida conferma viene dalla lettura della costituzione che alla precedente segue immediatamente:

> Consuetudinem quam olim in aliquibus regni nostri partibus audivimus obtinere dilucida constitutione cassantes, decernimus instrumenta publica et quaslibet cautiones per *litteraturam communem et legibilem* per statutos a nobis notarios scribi debere, scribendi modo qui in civitate Neapolis, ducatu Amalfie ac Surrenti [atque per eorum pertinentias] hactenus servabatur omnino sublato. Volumus etiam et sancimus ut predicta instrumenta publica et alie similes cautiones nonnisi in pergamenis in posterum conscribantur. Cum enim eorum fides multis futu-

> ris temporibus duratura speretur, iustum esse decernimus, ut ex vetustate forsitan destructionis periculo non succumbant. Ex instrumentis in chartis papyri [vel alio modo quam ut predictum est] scriptis, nisi sint apoche vel antapoche, in iudiciis vel extra iudicia nulla omnino probatio assumatur, [scripturis tantum preteritis in suo robore duraturis]. Que tamen in predictis chartis bombicinis sunt redacte scripture in predictis locis Neapolis, Amalfie et Surrenti infra biennium a die edite sanctionis istius ad *communem literaturam et legibilem* redigantur.

Dove non sussiste dubbio che la *litteratura communis* sia la stessa cosa che con espressione più consueta è chiamata *littera communis*, cioè la scrittura di uso comune, in questo caso la minuscola cancelleresca, che avrebbe dovuto sostituire la curialesca diventata inintelligibile.

Sulla strada maestra ci porta invece un aneddoto famoso che ci dipinge Pier della Vigna, "iudex imperialis," mentre parla in pubblico in piedi accanto alla maestà del suo sovrano, "fundatus multa litteratura divina et humana et poetarum." E' stato detto che in quest'epoca di "culto della giustizia" i dottori di legge sono la "quintessenza della formazione letteraria e della cultura." Pietro "disputavit et edocuit populum" con il sapere, certo anche letterario, ma soprattutto giuridico. Torniamo insomma a trovarci di fronte al concetto di *litteratura*-letteratura come dottrina in più e diversi campi dello scibile, come formazione completa dell'uomo, come la più nobile condizione intellettuale. Non credo che sia fruttuoso interpretare diversamente lo stringato elogio che Guglielmo da Pastrengo, a umanesimo ormai ufficialmente avviato, avrebbe fatto di Albertino Mussato, dicendolo caro ai suoi concittadini "ob elegantem ingenii sui facundiam et litterature prestantiam," cioè per la vastità del sapere non disgiunta dall'arte dello scrivere.

Buon allievo del grande Pier della Vigna fu Pietro da Prezza, anche lui intelligente e sfortunato funzionario degli Hohenstaufen. In due lettere, una al fratello e una al figlio, Pietro esorta allo studio che conduca al possesso della *litteralis scientia*. Questa *scientia* è "gradarium ad virtutes," porta chi la possiede "a fascibus honeris ad fasces honoris, ab ingratis fastidiis ad grata fastigia," rende "de pauperibus divites, de rudibus eruditos et claros ... de obscuris": "hec est illa sciencia"—dice Pietro con orgoglio che odora già di umanesimo trecentesco—"que sensus trahit et cumulat in subiecto, hec est illa sciencia, que ditat hominem et suum nobilitat possessorem, hec est illa sciencia que suscitans a terra inopem et de stercore erigens pauperem cum principibus eum locat, eundem promovens ad honores dignos et honorabiles dignitates." Parole come queste possono rinvenirsi solo nel crogiuolo di quella tormentata Italia tardomedievale che, intrecciando spinte illuministiche mosse dall'alto e istanze provenienti dal basso, ha prodotto, in un secolare processo, un movimento progressivo, e politico e intellettuale, fra i più grandi che la storia conosca. I contenuti della *litteralis scientia* sono da Pietro precisati meglio nella intitolazione e nell' *exordium* della lettera al figlio. "Ut insudare dyalectice studeat filium monet pater," suona il titolo; e con ariosa con-

siderazione filosofica così il lettore di Livio, Cicerone e Seneca apre la lettera:

> Si racionis solius inter hominem et animal brutum differenciam denotat interventus—cum alias utriusque esse sit animal et locum habeat mortalitas in utroque—nec ad eius perfecte noticiam pervenerit aliquis absque ducatu nobilis sciencie litteralis, que naturaliter habet hoc proprium ut racioni copulet hominem et homini racionem, cum he ambe quasi communem habeant essenciam et defectum se velut due sorores ad invicem amplexantur, ad huius acquisicionem sciencie qua racio redditur acquisita debemus intentis cordibus aspirare, ne ea ignota disserere desit nobis et brutis animalibus comparemur.

Questa "scienza delle lettere" non è certo la semplice grammatica né l'istruzione elementare, ma il sapere alto, la "dialettica," ovvero la filosofia, la cultura, che con tutti i trecentosessanta gradi del suo orizzonte nobilita l'essenza stessa dell'uomo. Che poi questo sapere sia quello latino, Pietro non dice: non lo dice, perché per lui è ovvio.

Una generazione circa dopo Pietro da Prezza l'esaltazione della *scientia litteralis* si riascolta in Toscana, nelle parole del maestro Mino da Colle di Valdelsa. Si è detto che questa *scientia litteralis* sia la Grammatica o la Retorica, in virtù di un'equivalenza non dimostrata fra il contenuto dello scritto e il mestiere dello scrivente. Credo che sia istruttiva, ai fini di una diversa interpretazione, la lettura dell'intero contesto:

> Sedet regina diademate coronata virtutum, *licteralis* dico *scientia*, inter mechanicas et cuiusque alterius condictionis scientias ut rex potens in solio, cuius est corona grandi circumfulta potentia, presidens infallibiliter toti regno. Hanc siquidem est humane nature congnoscere. Cum ergo nobis qui originem ab humano genere traximus creator omnium tribuerit rationem, ut esse nostrum brutorum animalium simile non videatur essentie, tenemur ex merito rerum proprietates agnoscere, bonum a suo contrario, utilia et utiliora discernere et denique que sunt prospera summere, ut radio prepollenti nature exsenplum consequi rationis et iustitie videamur. Discernat, queso, karissimi, et consideret intelligentie vestre sagacitas, quod *licteralis scientia* tanta est dignitate subcinta quod de facili locuplectat inopem, sublimat divitem et sublimes tantis circumornat honoribus quod minima est pristina reputanda condictio, si altiorem respiciat intellectus.

Se questa *licteralis scientia* è davvero la retorica, allora si deve dire che Mino le ha attribuito con una estensione abusiva troppe competenze, quella di conoscere le proprietà delle cose, quella di distinguere il bene dal male, l'utile dal disutile, in modo da realizzare in terra la razionalità e la giustizia: e tal genere di equivoci non era certo in Pietro da Prezza, il quale quando deve lodare la retorica preferisce farlo chiamandola per nome e cognome e attribuendole altro genere di meriti. Ora, tutta una serie di affermazioni contenute nel nostro passo, quali quelle sulla differenza tra gli uomini e i

bruti e soprattutto sull'azione promotrice e nobilitante del sapere, nonché l'espressione stessa *scientia litteralis*, riportano direttamente a Pietro da Prezza, di cui Mino raccoglie l'eredità. E nulla invero osta a che si intenda con la *scientia licteralis* di Mino la stessa cosa che intendeva Pietro. Intanto, è solo con un immenso grado di arroganza che la retorica potrebbe assidersi regina fra le arti meccaniche da una parte e tutte le altre scienze intellettuali dall'altra: le prime forse tacerebbero, ma le altre deriderebbero l'usurpatrice. Ma se la *scientia licteralis* viene ricondotta a quella che è, cioè il sapere umano, la *litteratura* appunto, allora il quadretto di corte ritorna legittimo: accanto alla centralità del sapere stanno, nell'esperienza umana, da un lato le sette arti (che Mino arditamente chiama scienze) meccaniche e cioè *lanificium, armatura, navigatio, agricultura, venatio, medicina, theatrica scientia,* dall'altra le arti della pratica, che si articola in solitaria, privata e pubblica, ovvero etica, economica e politica. Insomma Mino non ha voluto nominare a chiare lettere le scienze che fanno da contraltare alle meccaniche, in sostanza tutti i mestieri della politica e della gestione della cosa pubblica, perché il primato dell'intellettualità non suonasse offesa alle orecchie sensibili e anche allora non gentilissime di chi deteneva il potere.

Della convinzione che "letterato" sia il dotto in possesso della cultura e scienza latina in senso ampio, cioè della 'letteratura,' partecipa il massimo spirito del medioevo, Dante. Lo dice in un passo famoso del *Convivio* (1.9.3–5), in cui polemizza contro la *trahison des clercs* e difende il suo uso del volgare: i "litterati," egli dice, cioè i dotti latini, sono indegni di questo nome, perché "non acquistano la lettera per lo suo uso, ma in quanto per quella guadagnano denari o dignitate" (s'intende che "la lettera" significa il "sapere latino"); "per malvagia disusanza del mondo," continua, è accaduto che i ceti sociali che hanno nobiltà e bontà d'animo ("principi, baroni, cavalieri, e molt'altra nobile gente, non solamente maschi ma femmine") "hanno lasciata la *litteratura* a coloro che l'hanno fatta di donna meretrice." E' un pianto antico sulla linea di quello già visto di Walter Map a proposito del divorzio fra principi e cultura latina e nel contempo sull'impossessamento di questa da parte di ceti bassi. (Ed è anche probabilmente una reazione alla tradizione ghibellina dei nuovi intellettuali covati, educati e pagati dallo Stato.) Questo è il vero senso del passo, spesso frainteso: non cioè un'accusa ai principi di aver fatto loro direttamente della letteratura una meretrice, che è colpa dei letterati, semmai un velato rimprovero per avere consegnato la *litteratura* ai "litterati." Il discorso è troppo storicamente intenso per pensare che Dante con "literati" intenda i grammatici e con *litteratura* la grammatica: che egli insomma si stracci le vesti sulle sorti della grammatica, per quanto importante esssa fosse nel mondo medievale. Del resto il passo appartiene a un contesto in cui Dante è intento a giustificare l'uso del volgare per un'opera insieme poetica, filosofica e didattica. Dunque non par dubbio che egli intendesse per *litteratura* tutto il dispiegamento del sapere latino, nelle sue varie discipline. C'è poi buona ragione per credere che i letterati indegni nella visione storica di Dante non siano i poeti, bensì i giuristi, i medici e

gli ecclesiastici, che in un altro passo dello stesso *Convivio* (3.11.10) sono definiti "amici di sapienza per utilitade."

Che i letterati per Dante siano intellettuali appartenenti a una cerchia più ampia che non i moderni cultori delle lettere è confermato da un passo dell'*Inferno* (15.106–10), che dal confronto col *Convivio* guadagna in chiarezza:

> In somma sappi che tutti fur cherci
> E *litterati* grandi e di gran fama,
> D'un peccato medesmo al mondo lerci.
> Priscian sen va con quella turba grama,
> E Francesco d'Accorso.

Secondo il racconto di ser Brunetto, della schiera dei sodomiti fanno parte chierici e letterati. I chierici sono, come correttamente s'interpreta, uomini di chiesa: vescovo fu infatti Andrea de' Mozzi che esemplica il suo gruppo (vv. 111–14). Della schiera dei letterati Brunetto menziona Prisciano, il principe dei grammatici, e Francesco figlio del grande giurista Accursio e professore di diritto pure lui a Bologna e ad Oxford. Dunque, anche qui per "litterato" deve intendersi qualcosa di più che il nostro letterato. Il commento di Benvenuto, qui adorno di un racconto cronachistico, se letto in filigrana, ne è un'ulteriore testimonianza:

> Et hic nota, lector, quod vidi aliquando viros sapientes magnae *literaturae* conquerentes et dicentes quod pro certo Dantes nimis male locutus est hic nominando tales viros. Et certe ego quando primo vidi literam istam, satis indignatus fui; sed postea experientia teste didici quod hic sapientissimus poeta optime fecit. Nam MCCCLXXV, dum essem Bononiae et legerem librum istum, reperi aliquos vermes natos de cineribus sodomorum, inficientes totum illud Studium: nec valens diutius ferre foetorem tantum, cuius fumus iam fuscabat astra, non sine gravi periculo meo rem patefeci Petro cardinali Bituricensi, tunc legato Bononiae; qui vir magnae virtutis et scientiae detestans tam abhominabile scelus, mandavit inquiri contra principales, quorum aliqui capti sunt et multi territi diffugerunt. Et nisi quidam sacerdos proditor, cui erat commissum negotium, obviasset, quia laborabat pari morbo cum illis, multi fuissent traditi flammis ignis, quas si vivi effugerunt, mortui non evadent hic, nisi forte bona poenitudo extinxerit aqua lacrymarum et compunctionis.

Gli uomini 'di gran letteratura' che non hanno gradito di essere bollati da Dante sono, come con tutta chiarezza si evince dal racconto di Benvenuto, professori universitari, grandi luminari del sapere, non semplicemente grammatici.

La sempre più invadente identificazione della *litteratura* col grande sapere ufficiale delle università ci porta agevolmente a rivedere un altro episodio

capitale nella nostra *Geistesgeschichte* fra medioevo e umanesimo: la polemica fra Petrarca e gli averroisti veneziani. Nel 1366 quattro amici, colpiti dal disinteresse ostentato dal Petrarca per Aristotele e l'aristotelismo, si attentarono ad etichettarlo come uomo pio e dabbene, ma ignorante: "virum bonum, imo optimum dicunt,... eundem tamen illitteratum prorsus et ydiotam ferunt"; e ancora "sine literis virum bonum." Petrarca rispose con la scintillante polemica del *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, dichiarandosi effettivamente non letterato nel vero senso della parola ("ego quidem ... literatus nunquam vere") e rivendicando ed esaltando la sua *virtus illitterata*. Si perderebbe molto di questo scritto se si prendessero alla lettera le parole del Petrarca, trascurando il gusto del paradosso e la virulenza del sarcasmo. Né si può trascurare la presenza di un autentico ripiegamento religioso, che induce Petrarca a ridimensionare il valore delle lettere dietro la suggestione di movimenti pauperistici ed evangelici. Eppure, dopo aver tarato il piacere dello scandalo e la severità della *pietas*, resta qualcosa nelle parole del poeta che ha una verità effettiva, concreta, storicamente e quindi relativisticamente vera: egli non era letterato, non era letterato nel senso che la parola suonava nelle aule universitarie. Egli aveva rifiutato proprio quelle *littere* sistematiche e piramidali, che, partendo dalla grammatica e abbracciando anche la poesia, i libri degli animali e le Dodici Tavole, ascendevano ai vertici della filosofia, della medicina e della teologia. La ricerca del Petrarca si era fatta per una vita intera più ristretta, ma più ostinata e profonda: "storico e poeta" si era fatto proclamare nel *Privilegium laureationis* e a quei titoli programmatici aveva tenuto eroicamente fede. Petrarca non nega il valore delle *littere* accademiche, anche se a tratti si diverte a deriderne la vuota arroganza, nega che sia destituita di valore conoscitivo e di utilità un'indagine dell'uomo condotta con gli strumenti della poesia, della storia, dell'etica, della retorica: se aggiungiamo di nostro un'attività che il poeta praticò egregiamente anche se non come scienza autonoma, voglio dire la filologia, avremo l'umanesimo e le nostre odierne *litterae humanae*.

In poche parole, ma con rara efficacia, Petrarca ha tessuto (1368) un elogio epigrammatico dell'alfabeto latino ("latine ... litere") come "radix artium nostrarum et omnis scientie fundamentum," in polemica con avversari francesi che avrebbero voluto liberare il cammino del sapere della protezione di Roma. Il classicismo petrarchesco peccava di troppo amore: solo pochi decenni dopo gli stessi eredi italiani della sua lezione s'accorsero che le *litterae latinae*, apparentemente così robuste, rischiavano "sine adiumento graecarum" di essere "mancae ... ac debiles."

5. La filologia o, se si vuole, la pedanteria degli umanisti restituisce a *litteratura* il significato originario di "grammatica." Ma non per questo si perde la nozione delle *litterae* come scrittura e sapere universale. Tutt'altro: se è vero che sono proprio gli umanisti a circoscrivere un settore delle *litterae*, specificandole come *humanae*.

Molte ricerche sono state spese per individuare contenuto e luoghi

d'azione propri degli umanisti. Che furono—come è noto—la grammatica, la retorica, la poesia, la storia e la filosofia morale. Ma il passato è imprevedibile. Fin dal 1947 scriveva Eugenio Garin: "Chi segua umilmente i testi vede spesso sfuggirsi tra mano ogni schema, ogni presupposto, in una straordinaria fluidità di motivi." Per cui, una delle due: o si deve dilatare il concetto di umanista o si devono escludere da questa definizione scrittori che, come Leon Battista Alberti, hanno varcato i confini del sopra esposto pentagramma. Tuttavia, abbiano militato in una o in due culture, abbiano personalmente e come movimento arato una metà o tutto il campo del sapere, gli umanisti o—se questa parola paia equivoca—gli intellettuali dell'età umanistica hanno ereditato il concetto medievale dell'universalità e unità delle *litterae* e con quel concetto hanno dovuto misurarsi.

Un'espressione come questa del medico Giovanni d'Arezzo: "sine medicinae opera aut litterarum aliarum studio," che presuppone l'appartenza della medicina alla famiglia delle *litterae*, potrebbe interpretarsi come un gioco di destrezza rivolto a imporre una situazione di fatto. Ma l'affermazione è tutt'altro che isolata. La medicina è infatti parte integrante delle *litterae* per l'Alberti e per il Galateo.

Nel giovanile *De commodis litterarum atque incommodis*, composto intorno al 1428, l'Alberti bolla come "questuosas" tre professioni del 'letterato,' quelle del notaio, dell'avvocato e del medico:

> Ex omni quidem litteratorum multitudine, que infinitas pene in disciplinas distincta est, solas admodum tres esse questuosas professiones constat: unam eorum qui causas et contractus notant, aliam illorum qui iuridicundo presunt, tertia est eorum qui valetudines curant.

Litteratus qui equivale al nostro "intellettuale"; e le *litterae* sono il complesso delle discipline intellettuali, tutte figlie della "philosophia." L'Alberti lo dice esplicitamente in un altro passo della stessa opera:

> Iam vero liberales omnes scientie et artes, sanctissima animi instituta, serviles effecte iacent: iurisperitia, sacrorum disciplina cognitioque nature ac forma morum, reliqueve egregie et solis liberis hominibus decrete littere (execrandum facinus!) quasi hasta posita publice veneunt.

L'Alberti riprende dalla tradizione medievale i toni del più tetro misoneismo sociale per deplorare il sommovimento che ha portato le lettere nelle mani profanatrici dei contandini, "non homines, sed bestie potius ad serviles operas nate." Ma qui ci interessa solo osservare come delle *litterae* facciano parte a tutti gli effetti il diritto, la teologia, la fisica, l'etica, la storiografia. *Litterae* e libertà sono una cosa sola. Le *litterae* competono agli uomini liberi, ma non elargiscono la libertà ai servi della gleba che eventualmente se ne impossessano.

È' una contraddizione nella quale non cade l'umanista salentino Antonio de Ferrariis detto il Galateo nel suo trattatello *De dignitate disciplinarum* scritto nel 1484 sotto forma di lettera a Marino Brancaccio. Il Galateo è impegnato

in una difesa dell'attività intellettuale a cospetto dell'arte militare. Se vi è chi pensa che sia le lettere sacre sia le profane non siano d'altro piene che delle gesta di *fortes viri* e *heroes*, i quali "hac via caelum petierunt," l'umanista è fra quelli invece che ritengono che senza le lettere non vi siano al mondo che tenebre. Sono le *litterae*

> quae cuncta illustrant, quae Deos hominibus conciliant, quae caelestem illam patriam, quae elementorum unde nos constamus et vivimus, plantarum, animantium omnium, denique ipsius hominis naturam nobis demonstrant. His constant regna, res publicae, urbes et ipsi exercitus. Leges, sine quibus ne vivere quidem possumus, ipsis litterarum monumentis servantur. Sine litteris nec reges, nec duces, nec milites, nec classes, nec ipsi piratae suo munere fungi possent. Nisi litterae essent, nec clarorum virorum facta nosceremus. Hae lucem humanis rebus ministrant, hae nostri memoriam plus quam aut aera, aut marmora prorogare possunt. Sicut nec sine armis tuta, sic nec sine litteris clara aut beata potest esse vita. Barbarorum ferocissimae nationes, et ad moriendum promptissimae, quoniam sine litteris sunt et humanis moribus, immanes semper habitae sunt.

In questa apoteosi delle *litterae* si possono distinguere nitidamente alcune discipline precise: la teologia, l'astronomia, la botanica, la zoologia, la fisiologia umana, l'arte del governo, l'arte militare, il diritto, la storiografia. Le *litterae* si indentificano per Galateo nelle roussoviane arti e scienze che hanno costruito nel bene e nel male (per Galateo, qui almeno, nel bene) la civiltà umana e il progresso. La letteratura non è una sublime, inutile avventura dell'*homo ludens*, ma è la paideia stessa dell'uomo, è la meravigliosa, meandrica istituzione in cui hanno sede tutte le tecniche e tutte le invenzioni che rendono la vita degna di essere vissuta. E' la conquista che distingue i popoli civili dai barbari, è l'essenza stessa della *humanitas* contrapposta alla *immanitas*. I Greci vinsero sì Troia con le armi, ma furono grandi per le lettere; i Romani stessi furono *litterarum avidissimi* ed eccelsero in ogni genere letterario. Noi Latini, riflette mestamente il Galateo, siamo semibarbari: semibarbari, s'intende, in senso etnologico e in senso culturale. Tradotto con 'lettere' e 'letteratura,' il termine *litterae* del Galateo è impoverito; più idonea per esso è la parola "cultura."

Secondo il Galateo le *litterae* portano chi le pratica alla realizzazione di due virtù: l'intellettuale e la morale. La prima ha tre parti: metafisica, fisica e matematica; la seconda ne ha quattro: prudenza, giustizia, temperanza e fortezza. La virtù intellettuale, cui corrisponde la vita contemplativa, è più nobile della virtù morale, cui corrisponde la vita pratica: perché, se questa reca alla società l'utile, quella le dona la felicità. Questo filo di ragionamenti consente al Galateo di difendere la dignità della medicina, non in quanto arte pratica, ma in quanto scienza disinteressata, contemplativa di una delle cose più belle che esista al mondo, il corpo umano.

Può sembrare che il Galateo sia troppo aristotelicamente e averroistica-

mente interessato alla scienza e dimentichi la poesia. Ma due omaggi ce ne fanno ricredere: una prima volta egli cita a testimonianza di una sua affermazione Omero, chiamandolo *litterarum pater*, e alla fine del trattato Virgilio georgico è invocato a sanzionare coi suoi versi di sacerdote delle Muse la lode di chi poté conoscere le cause delle cose.

Le *litterae*, e la poesia che di esse fa parte (Galateo non dice come, ma di esse fa certamente parte), sono non utili, ma necessarie.

Questa fiducia nella grandiosa opera delle *litterae* si vena di pessimismo in una lettera del 1513–1514 ca.: la vita dei primitivi fu rozza, perché priva delle lettere, lo testimonia Plinio il Vecchio; noi abbiamo libri e sapere, ma i nostri costumi sono corrotti:

> ora tra tanti innumerevoli libri, tra tante, come dicono, norme di medicina e di leggi, viviamo una vita smoderata e vergognosa. A che cosa giovano dunque le lettere? Chi mai migliorò se stesso con le lettere? Alcuni invece sono diventati migliori con la povertà, con la sofferenza e con l'amore.

Le *litterae* sono sempre il sistema del sapere e della cultura (e di esse si conferma che fanno parte il diritto e la medicina); ma, se è vero che esse hanno dirozzato l'umanità, non è altrettanto vero che il loro possesso renda migliori i singoli uomini, né è vero che il letterato sia sempre migliore dell'illetterato. Sulla sponda aristotelico-averroistica fanno breccia le esigenze affermate dal Petrarca nel *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*.

Qualche lustro più tardi il bellunese Pierio Valeriano dedicava un'opera bizzarra all'infelicità dei 'letterati' e poteva produrre una galleria di casi attinti all'età umanistica, dove i poeti stanno in buona compagnia di grammatici, filosofi, teologi, matematici, giuristi, medici e persino di uomini che furono dotti sì, ma non scrissero (come il card. Alfonso Petrucci), o che furono semplicemente amici dei letterati e da loro celebrati (come Johann Goritz, il lussemburghese patrono a Roma degli *horti Coryciani*). Coerentemente il continuatore secentesco del Valeriano, Cornelio Tollio, includeva nel 'Gotha' Cristoforo Colombo in virtù della sua perizia nella geografia, nella geometria e nell'astronomia e Galileo Galilei nella sua qualità di matematico, astronomo e inventore dell'idrostatica.

6. Percorsa a volo d'uccello la sterminata landa della *litteratura* latina medioevale e rinascimentale, o piuttosto condensata un'idea storicamente accertata di quella letteratura nell'autocoscienza dei suoi protagonisti, resta davanti ai nostri occhi di studiosi moderni la *pars longior atque altior*: le manifestazioni concrete, le creazioni, le opere. Se non ci contentiamo del godimento frammentario ed episodico, casuale o elettivo di una infinita serie di particolari, dobbiamo porci il problema di una possibile sintesi o almeno di un progetto di sintesi. E dobbiamo anche subito dire che il problema è tutto nostro, giacché gli uomini dell'età di mezzo non hanno sentito il bisogno di ricostruire e raccontare la storia della loro o altrui letteratura: hanno occasi-

onalmente compilato cataloghi, elenchi, canoni, inventari, classifiche dei protagonisti di singoli generi, ma neanche questi hanno organizzato in un disegno di diacronia storica.

Sulla latinità medievale come fondatrice dell'anima e del corpo della moderna letteratura europea è ormai classico il libro di Ernst Robert Curtius, intitolato appunto *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*. Ma le lettere medievali non affascinano solo Curtius: un altro bel libro ci è stato donato in questo dopoguerra dal benedettino Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*. E queste due opere valgano come luminosi esempi del forte interesse e dell'amore con cui oggi guardiamo alla letteratura medievale. Ma sia Curtius che Leclercq sono andati verso le lettere medievali mossi da un felice errore: essi hanno cercato nel Medioevo latino quella che secondo il loro (il nostro) moderno concetto è 'letteratura.' Ricerca beninteso metodicamente legittima, giacché ognuno ha diritto di cercare nel passato tutto quel che gli pare. E tuttavia ci si può chiedere se chi si accinge a scrivere la storia della letteratura latina medievale, deve seguire la strada dei Curtius e dei Leclercq o non piuttosto deve essere integralmente storicista e ricostruire e raccontare quel che nell'idea stessa dei medievali furono *litteratura* e *littere*. Se apriamo i tre giganteschi volumi della tanto bistrattata (e tanto usata) *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* di Max Manitius, se apriamo il primo della nuova *Geschichte* di Brunhölzl o *L'essor de la littérature latine au XII^e siècle* di Joseph de Ghellinck, vediamo che essi non hanno avuto dubbi. Siano stati mossi da convinzione metodologica (per altro da nessuno dei tre motivata), o si siano messi semplicemente sulla grande scia delle storie delle letterature classiche, greca e romana, essi costruiscono a tutto campo una storia totale di quanto nel medioevo fu scritto in tutte le aiuole dello scibile, dalla poesia alle matematiche. Il nostro gusto condizionato dalle estetiche moderne e dalle specializzazioni accademiche preferisce le storie letterarie dei generi che per noi costituiscono letteratura; per l'età moderna e contemporanea addirittura lo esige: figurarsi la reazione di chi trovasse in una storia della moderna letteratura italiana o tedesca le avventure e le conquiste della fisica e della medicina! Eppure per l'antichità e il medioevo non c'è altra via che questa. Forse è solo una questione di distanza: man mano che i secoli si allontanano da noi, ci diventa meno difficile accettare la visione d'insieme e vedere che lo spirito umano fu uno, anche se si squadernò in territori e forme diverse.

Le due strade, quella del Curtius e quella del Manitius non parvero opposte a un altro grande medievalista, Paul Lehmann. Concludendo nel 1914 un suo breve intervento storico-metodologico, giustificativo del programma delle "Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters" fondate da Ludwig Traube, il Lehmann scriveva una pagina ancora pienamente attuale, nella quale erano nitidamente affermati alcuni aurei principî:

> Wir beschäftigen uns mit der gesamten literarischen Kultur des abendländischen Mittelalters, soweit sie sich ausprägt in der lateini-

schen S c h r i f t, der lateinischen S p r a c h e, der lateinischen L i t e r a t u r. Unser Streben will sich frei halten von spielerischer Mode, frei von allen konfessionellen und politischen Absichten, sie dienten denn ehrlich dem Frieden innen und außen. Unser Ziel ist nicht—würde es selbst dann nicht sein, wenn wir es erreichen könnten—jene Kultur als allgemein gültiges Ideal hinzustellen. Wir wollen sie nicht anders als vor unserm geistigen Auge wieder heraufführen. Das Mittelalter ist überwunden. Gewiß! Wir wollen es nur in seiner geistigen Eigenart und Bedeutung zu verstehen und verständlich zu machen suchen. Es liegt dazu eine innere Verpflichtung vor, weil wir in vieler Hinsicht es dem Mittelalter zu verdanken haben, daß die antike und die älteste christliche Literatur und Wissenschaft auf uns gekommen ist, und weil unsere moderne Kultur, auf die man so stolz ist, inniger mit dem Mittelalter verknüft ist, als viele es wissen, und weil sie auch in der Zukunft manche Bereicherung aus dem Mittelalter erfahren kann. Dieses nicht nur, weil es älteres Kulturgut, das uns noch heute herrliche Früchte spendet, erhalten hat, sondern vor allem auch weil die mittelalterlichen Gelehrten und Künstler selbst in ihrer lateinischen Sprache viel Erhabenes und Tiefes, Schönes und Anmutiges geschaffen haben und weil die neueren Sprachen und Literaturen erwachsen sind auf dem Boden des lateinischen Mittelalters.

Certo, ognuno di noi continuerà a coltivare il proprio orticello: è più sicuro e più fruttuoso. Ma occorrerà che ci abituiamo a pensare che il nostro orto privato fa parte di una costellazione meravigliosamente florida. Dobbiamo abituarci a vedere la letteratura latina del Medioevo e del Rinascimento come un grande animale con innumerevoli articolazioni per le quali scorre l'unico sangue della lingua latina, nelle quali soffia lo spirito vitale dell'antichità classica. Le articolazioni di questo corpo animato sono i generi letterari: il poema epico e didattico, l'inno sacro e profano, l'epitafio, l'epitalamio, l'epinicio, la commedia, la satira, la favola, la visione, le vite dei santi e dei re, le storie dei popoli e delle città, i trattati giuridici e politici, i libri degli animali, delle piante e delle pietre, la matematica, l'astronomia, la musica, la filosofia, la teologia, la medicina, e perfino i commenti e le glosse. Non è vero che siano solo nove i generi affidati alle Muse. La teoria più accreditata e diffusa nel Medioevo, quella tramandata da Fulgenzio, vede tutte le attività intellettuali figlie di Mnemosine e tutte protette da Apollo e dalle Muse.

Ogni genere letterario, ogni manifestazione di arte e di pensiero è legata a un'occasione, a un bisogno, a un cardine dell'uomo e del suo essere natura e società. I medievali non sanno ancora cosa sia l'arte per l'arte. Il Medioevo fu terra di transizione fra gli antichi e noi moderni, millenario, allucinato sole di mezzanotte; ma, per la convinzione antropologicamente radicata che l'arte e la letteratura siano modi "normali" di produzione e creazione dello spirito umano, i medievali sono ancora antichi; la salda

unità della cultura medievale sembra dare ragione alla tesi di Gibbon secondo cui l'Impero Romano finì non nel 476, ma circa mille anni più tardi.

La letteratura medievale ha seguito l'uomo dalle sue miserie private al suo orgoglioso ergersi verso le stelle, lo ha accompagnato nella ripetitività dei suoi gesti e delle sue preghiere quotidiane fino ai grandi riti e miti della vita collettiva. Gli ha costruito intorno una corazza difensiva dai rischi della natura e della storia, lo ha nutrito di illusioni, ha registrato i suoi incubi, ha colorato i suoi sogni, gli ha fornito spiegazioni dell'imponderabile, ha aumentato anche il suo bagaglio di errori: in una parola gli ha consentito di vivere civilmente. Quando il Galateo strappava le *litterae* alla dimensione dell'utile, si metteva contro tutta una tradizione della scuola medievale che attraverso l'*accessus ad auctores* aveva incasellato persino la poesia sotto l'etica; ma egli strappava le *litterae* a un utile immediato, privato, egoistico, contingente o opportunisticamente ideologico, per restituirle all'utile generale, all'utile di tutto il genere umano e dei suoi destini. Non diverso era stato l'intento del Petrarca quando aveva sostenuto e difeso l'inutilità della poesia a cospetto dell'utilità delle altre arti. Se i totalitarismi del Novecento, invece di predicare il superamento dell'umanesimo, avessero ascoltato e meditato quella antica, umile e chiara lezione, avrebbero evitato molte dolorose, quando non tragiche, lacerazioni in questa vecchia Europa romana, cristiana, umanistica e illuministica.

Ma fuori della dimensione sociale le *litterae* non sono nemmeno pensabili, né ieri né oggi. Quando Francesco Petrarca col suo *Secretum* inventò il libro scritto solo per sé stesso, il diario nascosto dell'esame impietoso della propria coscienza, dovette inventarsi un committente, un destinatario, un ascoltatore e un critico, sdoppiandosi in Francesco e Agostino.

I cavalieri della poesia non devono temere che il gigantesco spettro razionale della *litteratura*, positivisticamente dispiegato come un trattato linneano, sommerga e uccida quel che loro sta a cuore. Il teatro della letteratura è democratico, sulle sue gradinate c'è posto per tutti; ma è democratico come l'empireo dantesco, in cui ogni beato, pur a gradi diversi di beatitudine, è pienamente beato della sua visione di Dio. Noi non vogliamo affatto cacciare dall'empireo letterario quella "sorta di magiia" crociana, "onde il poeta, girando l'occhio dal cielo alla terra e dalla terra al cielo, dà figura e luogo e nome ad 'aerei nienti.'" Non vogliamo negare il diritto, che premeva a Sartre e che la poesia medievale ha esercitato, di "nomina*re* ciò che non è stato ancora nominato"; e per ciò stesso di "svelare il mondo," "si che nessuno possa ignorar*lo* o possa dirsene innocente." Ma vogliamo energicamente negare che l'empireo della letteratura mediolatina sia fatto solo di "aerei nienti," così come l'edificio della *Commedia* di Dante—piaccia o non piaccia—non si esaurisce in due terzine di Francesca da Rimini. Delle bellezze di una donna a noi, passati attraverso la rivoluzione ottocentesca, possono magari bastare gli occhi ridenti e fuggitivi: i medievali, non so se più ingenui o più scaltri, hanno nelle loro descrizioni catalogato tutto, dalle ciglia ai talloni.

Ma c'è un'altra ragione per cui nessuno deve temere che da un recupero totale della *litteratura* debba uscire sconfitta la poesia. Dicevo che i generi letterari medievali sono tutti protetti dalle Muse, perché le Muse sono i modi con cui opera la mente umana sui materiali offerti dalla madre Memoria. Ma sono tutti figli delle Muse, perché ancora forte e gelosamente difesa è la certezza che ogni creazione umana per potersi dire tale debba essere opera d'arte. La bellezza non è appannaggio dei generi epici o lirici; anche il *De naturis rerum* ha il diritto-dovere di essere opera letteraria. Da questo punto di vista è difficile dire se la poesia medievale sia un genere a sé o non piuttosto un "modo" di essere di t u t t i i generi letterari, una particolare gioia, una tecnica e una lascivia espressiva che ritiene di poter sistemare entro l'armonia e le leggi del verso tutto quanto è nell'esperienza umana, dalla guerra di Troia, al *Fisiologo*, alle Sacre Scritture. Scienza e poesia sono intercambiabili e a tratti si identificano, perché la poesia è l'arte che più da vicino è capace di restituire alle cose tradotte in parole l'ordine e la forma che esse hanno in natura. E' per questo che per Dante, per Petrarca e per tanti scoliasti Apollo è il dio della scienza, non della poesia, ovvero della poesia in quanto somma e vertice del sapere umano.

Il divorzio di lettere e scienza nell'età moderna ha cacciato il letterato in uno status sempre meno definito e consistente. E la parola 'letterato' ha finito per evocare immagini di acchiappanuvole comici o irritanti. "Non c'è niente di peggio di quando un letterato chiama letterato un letterato," è stato detto. Oggi questo letterato senza scienza e senza tecnica, innocuo ma non innocente, che pretendeva di poetizzare il mondo con rimari e *Regiae Parnassi*, è tramontato grazie a una vigorosa ripresa umanistico-scientifica delle specializzazioni. Noi stessi apparteniamo a uno specifico genere letterario, quello della filologia e della storia. Davanti a noi sta, come in un grande gioco di specchi, il museo di tutta la *litteratura*, in attesa che noi lo raccontiamo. Sarà difficile che uno solo voglia e riesca a dominarlo tutto. Ma bisogna guardarsi dalla tentazione di muovere critiche a chi cercasse di farlo. Capitò già al Poliziano. Quando egli, poeta e grammatico, annunciò che avrebbe letto Aristotele nello Studio fiorentino, si levarono risolini e giudizi poco benevoli. Poliziano passò al contrattacco nella scintillante prolusione che intitolò *Lamia*, la Strega; e ricordò che ufficio dei *grammatici* è quello di studiare ed esporre "omne scriptorum genus, poetas, historicos, oratores, philosophos, medicos, iureconsultos"; che *grammaticus* vuol dire *litteratus* e che chiamare *litterati* coloro che insegnano i primi rudimenti della lingua è un abuso (a loro spetta piuttosto il nome di *litteratores*, come ai loro colleghi greci competeva quello di *grammatistae*). Dunque il *litteratus* nel senso più nobile e più vero del termine non solo ha il diritto, ma persino il dovere di esercitare filologia e storiografia sulle leggi e la medicina. Ma forse che per questo, chiedeva il Poliziano, "mi considerate così arrogante e stupido che, se qualcuno mi salutasse come giureconsulto o medico, non mi accorgerei di essere preso in giro?"

Sappiano i nostri ministeri con i loro uffici non comunicanti, che quelli

di noi che si accingessero a studiare la letteratura medica mediolatina non vogliono nessun diploma di abilitazione alla prescrizione di pillole contro il mal di testa. Del resto nessuno o pochi di noi, che per tanti anni abbiamo letto e interpretato poeti, si è per questo ritenuto poeta lui stesso né ha per questo meritato la corona d'alloro.

Queen Christina in Latin Panegyrics

IIRO KAJANTO

Christina, Queen of Sweden, which in the seventeenth century also comprised my country, Finland, the Baltic provinces, and parts of North Germany, was in many respects an exceptional person.[1] Born in 1626, she was the daughter and only child of Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of the Protestants in the Thirty Years' War. After her father's death in battle in 1632, she was educated as the future sovereign, attained majority in 1644, when she began to rule, and was crowned in 1650. She refused to marry, however, and this would have been necessary in order to maintain the hereditary monarchy. After getting her cousin and one-time prospective husband, Carolus Gustavus, appointed Crown Prince, she abdicated in 1654, left Sweden, converted to Catholicism, a religion prohibited in Sweden, and settled down in Rome, where she lived until her death in 1689.

Christina was intelligent, she had a good ear for languages, and ever since childhood she was a great reader of books. During her brief reign, she helped to raise her people, distinguished by military prowess but culturally backward, to the level of more advanced nations. Famous scholars and philosophers were invited to her court or to the University of Uppsala, men such as Boeclerus, Descartes (who in fact died there), Freinshemius, Salmasius, the younger Vossius, and Heinsius, and many others. Books and manuscripts were hunted throughout Europe, bought at any price, and sent to the royal court. To cap these uncommon features, Christina was a woman in an age which in general thought that the inferiority of the female sex was self-evident.

In Christina's history, there are still many enigmas, such as the reasons

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[1] There are many studies on Christina, the majority of them naturally in Swedish. The most comprehensive modern biography is Sven Stolpe's *Drottning Kristina* (1960, 1961, one vol. repr. 1988). Curt Weibull, *Drottning Christina, studier och forskningar*, 2nd ed. (1934), English trans., *Christina of Sweden* (1966) is somewhat less comprehensive and also less critical of some aspects of Christina than Stolpe.

for her aversion to marriage, the true motives behind her abdication, and the real nature of her religious beliefs.[2] However, discussion of these enigmas is beyond the scope of this paper, nor is my material, Latin panegyrics, likely to shed much new light on these intricate problems. Panegyrics, almost by definition, presented their object as an ideal, which need not harmonize too closely with reality. Eulogists generally selected for praise qualities and deeds which contemporary society or their particular audience appreciated.[3] However, in praising a person as exceptional as Christina, orators, accustomed to set eulogies of warlike kings, were presented with a somewhat different challenge.[4]

During the baroque period, it was still common for rulers and other dignitaries to be panegyrized in Latin, irrespective of whether they were fully able to grasp the discourses, which were often obfuscated by elaborate periods, by the excessive use of rhetorical figures and tropes, by erudite allusions and circumlocutions, and by comparisons to lesser figures of ancient mythology and history.[5] Christina, however, was almost as adept in Latin as she was in many other languages, and appreciated many, though by no means all, of the countless orations or poems which were recited in her presence or sent to her to read. As we shall see, she believed that many of them presented her as she really was.

The total number of panegyrics for Christina is hard to estimate. Kungliga biblioteket, the national library of Sweden, has the greatest collection of them, eighty-seven orations and poems in Latin and thirty-nine in other languages, mainly in Italian and French. But the collection is not complete. I have found some twenty more Latin eulogies in other libraries, although a few recorded in an old list drawn up in the eighteenth century have proved untraceable. Some of them were probably never printed while others may have been lost or survive in some less central library.[6]

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[2] Besides the studies by Stolpe and Weibull, these problems have been discussed by E. Cassirer, *Drottning Christina och Descartes* (1940); J. Nordström, "Cartesius och drottning Kristinas omvändelse," *Lychnos* (1941): 248–341; Sven Ingemar Olofsson, *Drottning Christinas tronsavsägelse och trosförändring* (1953), and recently by Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her Circle* (1991), who gives a survey of different views on p. 2.

[3] That epideictic oratory should idealize its object and appeal to commonly accepted values, was also stressed by Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric* 1:9: 28–31.

[4] For oratory in contemporary Sweden-Finland, see J. Nordström, "Om den latinska vältaligheten i sextonhundratalets Upsala," *Nordisk tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri* 30 (1954): 332–39; Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria* 2 (1975; reprint 1989), 181–89; Emin Tengström, *A Latin Funeral Oration from Early 18th Century Sweden*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, vol. 45 (Gothenburg, 1983), 11–22; I. Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society* II. *Classical Moral Philosophy and Oratory in Finland 1640–1713* (1990), 71–74.

[5] Cf. Ottavio Ferrari, *Pallas Svecica* (see n. 67), 52: "Quantus Dij Deaeque eorum stupor, et infelicitas, quorum laudes si latina oratione prodantur, metuere possunt, ne sibi inscitia, ne socordia objecteretur." Christina, for her part, did not need an interpreter to understand the Latin discourses addressed to her.

[6] J. Arckenholtz, *Mémoires concernant Christine reine de Suède* (Amsterdam et Leipzig, 1751) 2:

The panegyrics in modern languages, besides being less frequent than those in Latin, were usually in verse.[7] Indeed, almost all of the most significant discourses were in Latin.

The length and nature of the panegyrics vary greatly. Many of them run to tens of pages and can by no means have lasted only half an hour, as is claimed in some of them.[8] They were probably reworked before being submitted to print. The longest oration, in verse, sent from Riga, contains ninety-five pages.[9] Poetic eulogies and congratulations were somewhat fewer and in general briefer.[10] Moreover, not a few prose orations were preceded or followed by poems. There were a few lapidary compositions, too, which enjoyed great popularity in the baroque age.[11]

The usual occasions for delivering the orations were the birthdays of the queen and especially her coronation. But other events, such as the victories and then the peace in the Thirty Years' War, Christina's visit to the university of Uppsala and her abdication, were also commemorated. After her conversion, Catholic priests praised her abjuration of the horrible heresy of Lutherism and her return to the only true church, not forgetting their wish that her people would follow her example.[12] On the whole, however, after

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appendice des harangues. The list is not complete, see the author's preface, vol. 1: xxvi–xxvii.

[7] The most important of them were the Swedish poems by Georg Stjernhielm, the father of Swedish poetry. He composed birthday poems, in 1643 and 1644, in iambic-heroic alexandrines, and produced texts for allegorical plays and ballets, though he often based them on French originals, see Sten Lindroth, in *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*, 2nd ed. (1967), 358ff.

[8] Johannes Michaelis 1649 (see n. 17), fol. D: "Liceat igitur nobis, pace tua, o Princeps! adyta Majestatis Tuae vel ad semihorium patere." The printed oration has twenty-eight pages of thirty-two lines each. Reading it aloud would take almost one and a half hours. That an oration should last half an hour may have been a topos, see my *Humanism* II, 14. The relations between the oral and printed versions of an oration have been little studied. Orations were always recited from memory. For this very reason, the printed version must have differed, and often considerably, from the oration when it was first recited.

[9] Reinholdus a Mittendorf, with a very long title, *Christinae . . . reginae . . . gratulatio* (1652). There were many other orations of almost equal length.

[10] A difference should be made between orations in verse, which were recited similarly to prose orations, and which were of similar length, and congratulatory poems sent to the Queen to read.

[11] The longest lapidary composition may have been the one on the triumphal arch set up in Uppsala at Christina's abdication, see Arckenholtz 2 (n. 6), app. XLVI. It consists of 235 lines. For the lapidary style, see J. Sparrow, *Visible Words. A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art* (1960); P. S. Ridderstad, *Konsten att sätta punkt. Anteckningar om stenstilens historia 1400–1765* (1975); I. Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society* I. *The Attitude to Classical Mythology and Religion in Finland 1640–1713* (1989), 30–32; Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, "Latin Lapidary Style in Finland," *Arctos* 25 (1991).

[12] In Octavius Falconerius, *Christinae Svecorum reginae plausus trilinguis* (Rome, 1956), the Latin hexameter poem laments that Sweden had been "Tartareo subjecta jugo, Stygioque veneno / . . . infecta" (19). Christina had suffered under a false religion until God saved her from darkness (20), this being an example to Sweden (23).

her abdication the number of panegyrics greatly declined, or, even if she was still honored by orations, they were more rarely printed. Moreover, there is only one memorial address on her death, and a rather mediocre one at that, by Antonio Malagonelli, a Papal secretary.[13] When kings and queen consorts died, orators usually competed in composing grandiose *parentationes*.[14] But at her death, Christina no longer had an official position.

Only a minority of the panegyrics are attributable to native Swedes.[15] A great many originated from the Baltic countries[16] and especially from Greifswald and Rostock in Swedish-dominated North Germany.[17] The citizens of the newly conquered or annexed provinces perhaps felt it to be incumbent upon them to manifest their loyalty to their sovereign ruler. These speeches, composed by German professors, generally exceed the others not only in length but also in tediousness. The queen herself is said to have found them nauseous.[18] But even before her abdication, she was celebrated by people in other countries as well. Christina was an international figure, and Latin the international language.

Many of the orators and poets or poetasters are today obscure figures, about whom it is difficult or impossible to supply biographical information.

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[13] *In funere Christinae Gothorum Vandalorum ac Svecorum Reginae Panegyricus* (Venice, 1689, reprinted in Arckenholtz II, Append. LXXXV).

[14] In the Royal Library of Stockholm there are 89 prose and verse publications, in Latin and modern languages, commemorating the death of Ulrica Eleonora, wife of King Carolus XI, in 1693.

[15] We may mention, e.g., Edvardus Philippi (Ehrensteen), who panegyrized Christina's love of learning in 1648 and celebrated her coronation in an oration delivered at Utrecht in 1650; Georgius Gyldenstierna, who in 1650 praised Christina as a hereditary monarch and upholder of lawful order; Johannes Rudbeckius junior, who in 1643 utilized her birthday gratulation to praise Swedish military prowess, and Johannes Sparre, a birthday *gratulator* in 1648, who once again extolled Christina's love of learning; cf. nn. 35, 98 and 99 for Parasin, Widikindi, and Königsmarck.

[16] At Tartu, between 1645 and 1650 Laurentius Ludenius, professor of law, delivered four turgid and insipid panegyrics; in Riga, besides Mittendorf (see n. 9), Johannes Cronmannus, a nobleman, composed an *Elegia oratione solenni* in 1647.

[17] Laurentius Bodock, professor of eloquence at the University of Rostock, gave three speeches, in 1645, 1649 and 1650; Michael Friedeborn, a lawyer at Stettin, two, in 1645 and 1650; Johannes Michaelis, professor of eloquence at Greifswald, eulogized Christina's birthday in 1649 and her coronation in 1651; Franciscus Stypman, professor of law at Greifswald, panegyrized Christina in 1640, 1642 and 1648; Jacobus Stypman, a magistrate of Pomerania, dedicated to her his eulogy of the Swedish general Carl Gustaf Wrangel in 1675. There is also an anonymous *Germaniae evangelicae restitutae ad Christinam . . . publica gratitudo (sine loco,* 1648).

[18] I. Vossius, in a letter to Ottavio Ferrari in 1651, whilst telling him that his panegyric had greatly pleased the queen, relates that she had formerly taken little notice of her eulogies: "Satis id colligere poteram ex innumeris cum aliorum, tum praecipue Germanorum panegyricis, qua prosa qua versu, quos tantum abest, ut benigna unquam fronte susceperit, ut ne sine nausea quidem adspicere potuerit," Arckenholtz II, append. XXXIV. Vossius, however, the more to please Ferrari, probably exaggerated the queen's aversion to her panegyrics.

But not a few were well-known men, and are still remembered, especially in the history of classical scholarship.

There were first of all the German and Dutch scholars, whom Christina had invited to Sweden.[19] To record them rapidly, Johannes Boeclerus, for one year professor of eloquence at Uppsala and for another the official historiographer, produced three panegyrics.[20] Johannes Freinshemius, about whom I shall speak later, produced three. Nicolaus Heinsius, son of Daniel Heinsius and for a brief time the queen's Latin secretary, wrote a long hexameter poem, packed with mythological lore, on Christina's coronation as well as a number of briefer elegiac and iambic verses.[21] Johannes Loccenius, a historian and jurisprudent, who had lived in Sweden since his youth, composed a birthday poem in three meters in 1649 and recounted Christina's coronation in fourteen pages of elegiac verses.[22] Johannes Schefferus, professor of eloquence and politics at Uppsala, today known as the author of *Lapponia*, wrote a valedictory oration at Christina's departure from Sweden.[23]

Besides these scholars, who for longer or shorter periods stayed in Sweden, Ottavio Ferrari from Padua and Fransceco Macedo, a Portuguese, merit mention. I shall deal with Ferrari later. Macedo, first a Jesuit and then a Cordelier, was brother to the Jesuit Antonio Macedo, the secret intermediary in Christina's conversion.[24] Macedo was a versatile but unoriginal writer, whose voluminous production includes fifty-three panegyrics.[25] After Christina's conversion, Macedo wrote encomia, in prose and verse, extolling Christina's adoption of the Catholic faith and anathematizing Protestant misbelief.[26] He may also have composed a hexameter description of Christina's coronation, though this writing has been printed *sine loco et anno* and bears only *canebat Macedo* as the author's signature.[27]

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[19] For them, see Lindroth, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 197ff.; Åkerman, 104–6.

[20] They have been printed in his *Orationes quaedam. Access. programmata academica* (Argentorati, 1654).

[21] *Christina Augusta. Poëmatium ex occasione regiorum solennium festi inauguralis conscriptum* (Holmiae, 1650).

[22] *In natalem ... Reginae Christinae vigesimum quartum* (Upsaliae, 1649); *Inauguratio regia ... Reginae Christinae* (Holmiae, 1651).

[23] *Oratio valedictoria ... Christinae ... post regni abdicationem valetudinis caussa ad exteros profecturae ...* (Upsaliae, 1654).

[24] For Francesco Macedo, see *Nouvelle biographie générale* 32 (1860): 513–15. He has often been confused with his brother.

[25] This is the number which he gave in the list of his publications appended to his *Myrothecium morale* (Padua, 1675). He does not, however, itemize the orations.

[26] *Christina Pallas togata Alexandri VII Auspiciis Romae Triumphatrix* (Romae, 1656); *Christina regina Alexandro Papae, Alexander Papa Christinae reginae*, two brief poems published *sine loco et anno*. There is also a *Panegyricus, Christinae reginae ... dictus a Macedo Lusitano, Chronographo regio*, likewise *sine loco et anno*, but written before her abdication. Though the language is inept and the hero of the Protestant cause, Gustavus Adolphus, is praised, attribution to Macedo is probable. In the exhibition catalogue of Stockholm's National Museum, *Christina Drottning av Sverige* (1966) no. 498, it is recorded that the oration was printed in Paris in 1650.

[27] In the Royal Library of Stockholm there is a manuscript (Rålamb. saml. 4^0 no. 90)

Two Frenchmen are also worth recording, Gilles Ménage, Latinized as Aegidius Menagius, though he only produced two brief poems on Christina,[28] and Henri de Valois or Henricus Valesius, who delivered a polished oration as a member of the French legation at Christina's coronation.[29] Two still more famous Englishmen also eulogized Christina, John Milton[30] and Andrew Marvell.[31] To complete this list of better-known eulogists, Ezechiel Spanheim, of Dutch extraction, wrote one of the most noteworthy panegyrics, to which I shall return.

So far I have outlined the external history of the panegyrics for Christina, but it is, of course, the orations and poems themselves that constitute the proper object of study. The material can in fact be approached from two different angles. We can inquire into language and style, into the use of devices of rhetoric, into literary quotations and mythological or historical references. On the other hand, we can examine the topics, the qualities and virtues which the author had selected for praise. It is this thematic approach that I shall follow here.

But first a few words for the former approach. As is common in Neo-Latin oratory and poetry, vocabulary and syntax were much more classical than they are in what is called learned Neo-Latin.[32] The differences between one orator and another were, however, considerable. In some orations, the language is lucid and fluent, in others the discourse is disfigured by inept and even obscure passages. The resources of rhetoric were used with moderation and taste in the best orations while the speeches originating from North Germany which describe the devastations of the Thirty Years' War revel in hyperbole and lurid details.[33] In the use of *exempla* and classical references, there was a conspicuous difference between poetry and

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describing Christina's coronation composed by Francesco Macedo, who expressly states that he was not present at the occasion (misunderstood in the above-mentioned catalogue). Macedo may thus have composed a poetic version, too, and printed it.

[28] *Serenissimae Christinae ... Reginae Aegidius Menagius felicitatem*, published in his *Miscellanea* (Paris, 1652), 1–7.

[29] *De coronatione Christinae ... oratio* (Parisiis, 1650), reprinted in his *Emendationum libri* (Amsterdam, 1740).

[30] Milton's eulogy, it is true, constitutes only a brief excursus in his *Pro populo Anglicano defensio secunda* (Hagae Comitum, 1654), 50–52.

[31] Marvell's panegyric, written as *A Letter to Doctor Ingelo ... Ambassador from the Protector to the Queen of Sweden*, has now been reprinted in Vol. 1 of *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. H. M. Margoliuth, 2nd ed. (1952): 99–103.

[32] 32. See my *Humanism* II, index, s. v. language and style in orations; or I. Kajanto, "Johannes Schefferus on the *imitatio veterum*," *Arctos* 24 (1990): 73–84; cf. also M. Benner & E. Tengström, *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin*. Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, vol. 39 (1977).

[33] For instance, in Fr. Stypman's oration in 1648 (see n. 17), several pages at the beginning parade the horrors of the war.

prose. In poems, it was classical mythology that was exploited, in orations, ancient and to some extent, Biblical history.[34]

My brief sketch of Christina's *curriculum vitae* suggests that orators could extol many different aspects of Christina's character and activity. Firstly, because she was a sovereign ruler, a great many orators singled out the traditional imperial or royal virtues for encomium. A few discourses actually resemble a *Fürstenspiegel*, saying little about Christina herself.[35] Again, Christina's love of learning and her patronage of scholars earned her enthusiastic acclaim, especially as these Latin orations were normally composed by members of the *respublica litterarum*. Thirdly, the fact that Christina was a woman placed many an orator in a quandary. How could praise of Christina be reconciled with the prevalent conviction of woman's inferiority?

It is these three topics that I shall discuss here. Let it be understood, however, that the orations contain many other themes, such as praise of Christina as the warlord and champion of the Protestant cause before the peace of Westphalia, her subsequent glorification as peacemaker, not to mention once more the eulogies of the Catholics after her conversion.

As exponents of these themes I have chosen three orators, who we know pleased the queen especially. All of them were foreigners and have already been mentioned: Johannes Freinshemius, Ottavio Ferrari, and Ezechiel Spanheim. Freinshemius mainly talked about royal virtues, Ferrari about learning, and Spanheim about the equality and rights of women.

Freinshemius, one of the famous scholars invited to Sweden, was a German and was born in 1608.[36] First professor of eloquence and politics at Uppsala, later royal librarian and official historiographer, he returned to Germany in 1651 and died nine years later. Freinshemius played a large part in introducing the methods of continental scholarship to Sweden. He gave special attention to political philosophy, advocating the rights of subjects to resist an unjust and impious prince and maintaining that the ruler, too, was bound by divine and natural law as well as by the fundamental laws of his country.[37]

The first of Freinshemius's orations in Christina's honor, recited on her

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[34] See my *Humanism* I, 28–42.

[35] An example of this type is Matthias Maximilianus a Parasin's *Artes Belli et Pacis quibus ... Christina ... Avita Regna gubernat pie, prudenter, feliciter ...* (Holmiae, 1649). This is one of the longest orations, consisting of 90 pages. The orator, a baron, also composed panegyrics on Gustavus Adolphus and on Christina's successor, Carolus Gustavus X, as well as a treatise defending the Ptolemaic system, in 1648. Arckenholtz (I: 260) records that the queen rewarded him for his labors with a life annuity.

[36] B. Löw, in *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon* 16 (1964–66), 484–86. A Latin *laudatio posthuma*, composed by his nephew Abraham Freinshemius in 1661, was published in H. Witten, *Memoriae philosophorum, oratorum, poetarum, historicorum et philologorum nostri seculi clarissimorum* 1 (Frankfurt, 1679).

[37] See Nils Runeby, *Monarchia mixta. Maktfördelningsdebatt i Sverige under den tidigare stormaktstiden* (1962), 359–63.

twenty-first birthday, appealed to the queen to such an extent that she rewarded her panegyrist with a costly gift.[38] That the oration was greatly appreciated is also evident from the fact that it was subsequently translated into French.[39]

The eulogy of Christina's *virtutes*, the conspicuous theme of the oratory of Freinshemius, closely belongs to the ideology of the age. It is hard to imagine today how all-pervasive the cult of *virtus* was in Christina's time.[40] The concept of, and the catalogue of *virtutes* originated from antiquity, especially from Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca. *Virtus*, human perfection, attainable by human resources, and in particular by the diligent study of ancient wisdom, by *studia humanitatis*, became a leading idea of Renaissance humanism.[41] It survived the Renaissance proper. In the baroque period *virtus* was no less pivotal an idea than it had been in early humanism. But in this era of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the addition of Christian piety to the ancient pagan virtues was almost obligatory, and nowhere more so than in the public eulogies of rulers.

In ancient literature, there was frequent discussion, advice and praise of imperial virtues, from Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle to Cicero's *De imperio Pompeii*, Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* of Trajan and Menander the Rhetor's *Basilikos logos*, to mention only a few names.[42] The common people gained knowledge of these virtues from coins, on which words like *aequitas, clementia, iustitia, liberalitas, virtus Augusta, Augusti* circulated throughout the Empire.[43] Later treatises on the qualities of a good ruler iterated these ancient ideas, with the aforementioned supplement of Christian piety.[44] *Pietas*, it is true, was not unknown as an ancient imperial virtue, but was mainly related to the human sphere, in particular to the attitude towards

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[38] His orations are published in *Orationes, cum quibusdam declamationibus* (Frankfurt, 1662). *Oratio* XIX was recited on Christina's 21st birthday in 1647, XXI on her 25th birthday in 1651, and XXIII celebrated her visit to Uppsala in 1651. Freinshemius also composed a few poems in Christina's honor, Arckenholtz I: 290 n. and II, append. XXIV. The queen was herself present at Uppsala in 1647 to hear the oration (Arckenholtz I: 289–90), where the gift is mentioned, too.

[39] 39. *Haranque panegyrique à la vertu & l'honneur de . . . Christine . . . traduit en Francais par M^r Jonas Hambraeus* (Paris, 1655, reprinted in Arckenholtz II, append., 2: 99–118).

[40] I have discussed the relevant problems in *Humanism* II.

[41] Cf. I. Kajanto, "A Humanist Credo. Poggio Bracciolini on *Studia Humanitatis* and *Virtus*," *Arctos* 23 (1989): 91–118.

[42] See in general J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology," *Aufst. u. Niederg. d. Röm. Welt* II 17. 2 (1981), especially 875–924; C. J. Classen, "Virtutes Imperatoriae," *Arctos* 25 (1991).

[43] For the republican period, see C. J. Classen, "Virtutes Romanorum nach dem Zeugnis der Münzen republikanischer Zeit," *Mitt. deutsch. arch. Inst.* (Rome) 93 (1986): 257–79, for the Imperial period, his paper mentioned in n. 42.

[44] Kajanto, *Humanism* II, 96–99.

members of the emperor's family or his predecessors.[45] In the seventeenth century, it was especially Lipsius and Althusius who disseminated these ideas of a good ruler.[46]

Freinshemius, like many other panegyrists of Christina, extolled these traditional royal virtues. In a general way, he argues that a good king must show *pietas* and *justitia* and his aim should be the welfare of his people.[47] Freinshemius maintains that mere justice does not suffice. A ruler should be pious, too. He records as an example Trajan, who despite his reputed justice persecuted the Christians.[48] Christina, of course, met these basic requirements of a good sovereign.[49]

In particular, Freinshemius commends Christina for the complementary virtues of *gravitas* and *humanitas*, authority and kindness.[50] That a ruler should be both strict and indulgent, especially in distributing justice, was an age-old idea, equally common in ancient and modern political literature.[51] Lipsius argues that a ruler has to win the benevolence of his people by kindness and generosity, but also has to manifest authority to avoid becoming an object of contempt.[52] Freinshemius, accordingly, extols the queen for her *adfabilitas*, for being approachable; for *comitas*, friendliness, tempered with *maiestas*; for her *clementia* and *liberalitas*, generosity.[53] In her, justice was not opposed to *clementia* nor *mansuetudo* to *severitas*, gentleness to strictness.[54] But Freinshemius, in this oration delivered in arch-Protestant Sweden, does not fail to stress that everything sprang from *pietas*, the root of most of the other virtues, for a good man and a good Christian are one and same.[55] In this celebration of Christina's royal virtues, one basic quality is mentioned only cursorily, *prudentia*, the wise calculation of means and ends.[56] Many other

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[45] Classen, "Virtutes," (n. 42): 28–9.

[46] Justus Lipsius, *Politicorum libri* (Frankfurt, 1682, originally published in 1589); Johannes Althusius, *Politica methodice digesta* (Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1614; reprint, Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1981).

[47] *Orat.* XXI, 411: "bonum regem non esse, cui vel Pietas in deum, vel amor Iustitiae, vel cura Patriae desit."

[48] Ibid., 414.

[49] *Orat.* XIX, 371–72.

[50] Ibid., 370: "Primum igitur ecquis esse potest nostrum, quin pulchrum illud gravitatis & humanitatis temperamentum viderit?"

[51] Two classical authors, who exerted a great and lasting influence upon later generations, maintained these ideas. In his *De officiis* I, 88 Cicero asserts that "nothing is more commendable . . . in a great and famous man than *placabilitas*, forbearance, and *clementia*." However, *mansuetudo*, gentleness, and *clementia* are to be tempered with *severitas*, strictness, without which it is not possible to govern a state. Seneca, *De clementia* 2, 4 argues that the opposite virtue to *clementia* is not *severitas* but *crudelitas*, cruelty. *Clementia* indeed harmonizes with *severitas*.

[52] *Politicorum libri* 2, chap. 8–9.

[53] *Orat.* XIX, 370–71.

[54] *Orat.* XXI, 419.

[55] *Orat.* XIX, 372.

[56] Lipsius, III, chap. 1 argues that *prudentia* is *pernecessaria*, very necessary, in a ruler.

panegyrists of Christina, though, paid this traditional virtue of rulers proper attention.[57]

One of the virtues on which Freinshemius complimented the queen was more personal and arch-classical, her *magnanimitas*, greatness of soul, which she displayed in her calmness of mind *in utraque fortuna*, restraint in success and patience in adversity.[58] The idea came primarily from Stoicism, in which Christina is known to have taken great interest.[59] Although other panegyrists somewhat differed in the stress laid upon a particular royal virtue, *pietas* and *justitia, gravitas* and *humanitas*, the essentials of an ideal ruler, were seldom missing.

On the other hand, Freinshemius does not touch upon Christina's womanhood, not even to the extent of justifying a female succession to the throne, which some other panegyrists thought necessary.[60] But he does not omit that other conspicuous feature of Christina, her love and patronage of learning. He observes that God had given her a keen intellect and her tutors a good education.[61] In describing her avid love of reading, Freinshemius quotes an idea that is characteristically humanist. According to him, Christina thought erudition useless if it only made men *doctiores*, but not also *meliores*, morally better.[62] That *sapientia* should lead to *virtus* was a key idea of humanism.[63] Freinshemius records the queen's saying that by reading she profits from the experience and thoughts of other people.[64] Another panegyrist is more explicit on the connection between a ruler's bookish learning and statecraft.[65] To be successful, a ruler must possess *prudentia*.

Without it, power and wealth are of no avail. Freinshemius only praises Christina's *prudentia* in choosing Carolus Gustavus as her successor, *Orat.* XIX, 421.

[57] E.g., the nephew of Joh. Freinshemius, Abraham Freinshemius (see n. 36) in his *Christinae . . . Reginae natalis quartus et vicesimus*, recited at the University of Strasbourg in 1649, maintains that Christina's two main virtues were *pietas* and *prudentia* (fol. A3v). He explicates *prudentia* as good native judgement developed by experience, but experience is gained not only from action but also from books. (fol. A4). This is the traditional humanist doctrine, see my work mentioned in n. 41. For similar ideas voiced by another panegyrist, see below.

[58] *Orat.* XIX, 371–72.

[59] See my "Fortuna in the Works of Poggio Bracciolini," *Arctos* 20 (1986): 46–50 and my *Humanism in a Christian Society* I: 142ff. Stolpe in particular has discussed the Queen's early attachment to Stoicism, see *Från stoicism till mystik. Studier i Drottning Kristinas maximer* (1959) and *Drottning Christina*, 122–23, 157–58, 233. Åkerman, 75–76, is somewhat more guarded.

[60] Friedeborn in 1645 (see n. 17), fols. A3–A3v, praises Gustavus Adolphus for renewing the right of female succession. God willed that the same *virtutes imperatoriae* should be evident in the female sex, which otherwise is weaker. Uncertainty of succession breeds civil wars (fol. A4), an argument often voiced, e.g., Gyldenstierna (n. 15), fols. B7v–8.

[61] *Orat.* XIX, 365–66.

[62] Ibid., 367.

[63] See my work mentioned in n. 41.

[64] *Orat.* XIX, 378: "Quorum enim bona facta, dicta, consulta lego, ii vitam suam mihi commodant."

[65] Parasin, fols. F2v–G. Cf. also Abr. Freinshemius in n. 47.

Prudence or conduct ruled by reason presupposes native talent, but experience is needed to perfect it. One man's experience is, however, limited to his lifetime while literature preserves the memory of what has been done long ago and in remote places.

It was especially Ottavio Ferrari who made the eulogy of Christina's learning the main theme in his panegyric, *Pallas Svecica*, 1651. Unlike Freinshemius and Spanheim, Ferrari is today largely unknown.[66] Professor of rhetoric at the University of Padua, which he helped to rescue from a state of decline, he published *De re vestiaria, On clothing*, and some other works on classical *Realphilologie*. Besides *Pallas Svecica*, he composed *Christina abdicans* in 1654.[67] What is remarkable in Ferrari's orations is the total disregard for religious standpoints. In *Pallas Svecica*, Ferrari, obviously a Catholic, even praises her father, Gustavus Adolphus, as well as the military valor of the Swedes, the vanquishers of the Catholic cause.[68] Though there may also have been political motives behind this praise of the leading Protestant nation (see n. 68), Ferrari seems to have retained something of the old humanism, which did not consider religious issues of primary importance.

The encomium of Christina's erudite interests was rarely missing in her panegyrics, though few like Ferrari made it their leading theme. For once, the eulogy did not greatly overshoot the mark. Although Christina, despite her broad humanist culture, did not evidence any real originality in her writings,[69] and though Descartes once complained that the queen had no real interest in philosophy,[70] for a monarch and a woman at that, her knowledge of classical as well as modern languages, and acquaintance with pagan and patristic literature, even with the advances of science, were truly remarkable.

Ferrari utilizes an old humanist topic. According to him, Christina understood that it was only writers who could preserve the memory of great deeds. The idea, like almost everything in humanism, originated from an-

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[66] His *Opera varia* II (Wolfenbüttel 1711), 611ff., includes a brief autobiography and biographical *testimonia*. See also *Nouvelle biogr. gen.* 17 (1856): 510–11.

[67] *Pallas Svecica. Panegyricus Christinae . . . editio tertia* (Patavii, 1651, reprinted in *Opera varia* I: 253–81); *Christina abdicans. Prolusio* (Patavii, 1654; reprinted in *Opera varia* II: 281–98).

[68] *Pallas Svecica*, 21–22. But it should be remembered that Venice and especially Padua entertained special relations with Sweden. The Swedish nobleman Gustaf Adam Baner was even chosen as *prorector* of the city's university, Arckenholtz I: 334. It was he who encouraged Ferrari to write his panegyric, see the letter of Ferrari to Christina, Arckenholtz II: append. XXXV.

[69] This is at least what Stolpe asserts, *Drottning Christina*, 161.

[70] See Stolpe, *Drottning Christina*, 88. The remark to which Stolpe refers is found in Descartes's letter to Elizabeth of Bohemia, Princess Palatine, a few days after his arrival in Stockholm, Adam & Tannery, *Oeuvres de Descartes* 5 (1903): 429–30. But here Descartes mainly regrets that the queen is overly occupied with reading Greek. In a letter to P. Chanut in 1647, he in fact expresses admiration for the queen's ability to understand subtle philosophical points, 50–51.

tiquity.[71] The words of Horace are well known: "There were many brave men before Agamemnon, but since no sacred poet has sung about them, they lie unwept and unknown in a long night."[72] Early humanists, such as Pietro Vergerio and Poggio Bracciolini, took up and elaborated on the topic, which became an inseparable part of humanism.[73] It bolstered the self-esteem of humanists, the purveyors of fame.

Ferrari relates that after restoring peace, Christina set about establishing a new reign, that of art and literature, consecrating the profits of war to the Muses.[74] She had been led toward the cult of the Muses not only by her own intelligence but also because she realized that the exploits of the ancestors would lie in darkness unless the light of literature made them bright. But this did not exhaust the services of writers. Ferrari continues his interpretation of the queen's motives by remarking that she wanted literature to demonstrate to her own militaristic people as well as to the vanquished world by what qualities, *quibus artibus*, the Swedish Empire had grown from a small to a great one,[75] a reminiscence of Livy's Preface.[76]

There follows an excursus on the warlike bravery of the ancient Goths, who especially since Johannes Magnus's *History of All the Kings of the Sveo-Goths*, 1554, were regarded as the ancestors of the Swedes. Magnus vindicated the Goths from the denigrations of the humanists, who denounced them as barbarians and destroyers of Rome.[77] Ferrari, obviously following Magnus, contended that the army of Alaric, who had embraced the Christian religion, behaved with exemplary piety towards the city and its churches.[78] Hence he returns to his theme. The memory of these great deeds, of mili-

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[71] See my *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism* (1987): 33ff.

[72] *Carm.* 4.9.25: "Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona / Multi: sed omnes inlacrimabiles / urgentur ignotique longa / nocte, carent quia vate sacro."

[73] P. Vergerio, *Epistolario*, ed. L. Smith. Fonti per la storia d'Italia, vol. 74 (1934), LXXXI: 192, AD 1397: Hercules, Troy, Odysseus, Alexander, Thebes, Pharsalus would be mere names unless divine intellect had made immortal that which by nature is mortal. Bracciolini, in a letter to King Alfonso V of Aragon, *Lettere* III, ed. H. Harth (1987): 410, reminds the king that all the deeds and virtues of former princes would have been buried in oblivion if the light of literature had not brought them to the memory of men.

[74] *Pallas Svecica*: 6–7.

[75] Ibid., 7: "si gens belli studijs asperrima, unaque toties devictus Orbis, beneficio literarum intelligat, quibus artibus Imperium istud ex parvo maximum factus sit."

[76] Livy, *Praef.* 9: "per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit."

[77] For the history of Gothicism, see J. Svennung, *Zur Geschichte des Goticismus*. Skrifter utg. av K. human. Vetenskapssamf. i Uppsala 44:2 B (1967); K. Johannesson, *Gotisk Renässans* (1982), with an English summary.

[78] *Pallas Svecica*, 12–17. Augustine, and after him Orosius, had already exculpated the Goths because of their Christian faith, Svennung, 11–20. For Johannes Magnus's consistently tendentious presentation of the Goths as paradigms of virtue, cf. Johannesson, 114–38. Moreover, in North Italy, particularly in Venice, there was racial sympathy with the Goths, ibid., 126, 134.

tary courage no less than of true religion, could survive only in literary documents. In earlier times it was the defeated enemies who celebrated these exploits because the ancient Goths preferred action to writing,[79] an almost literal quotation from Sallust.[80] But now, thanks to the queen, words may serve the state with as much honor as deeds.[81]

But Ferrari's encomium of Christina's patronage of learning is not limited to these utilitarian motives. In the rest of the oration, he discusses topics which most orators who celebrated her erudition adopted as well. He records the queen's generosity to scholars, and mentions that because of the duties of government she had only the nights for her studies, etc.[82] But it was two facts in particular that made Christina's love of learning really admirable. For a person in her exalted position, not only to favor erudition but to pursue it herself was unique. Ferrari even attributed Christina's refusal to marry to her fear that it would interfere with her studies.[83] But Christina's literary interests were exceptional also because she was a woman. In this, she exceeded the very laws of nature and the weakness of her sex, deserving more tribute than men since virtue is always more laudable if found in a woman.[84]

This panegyric of Christina's interest in and promotion of learning found great favor with the queen, who rewarded its author with a valuable necklace. A correspondence developed between them, which continued after Christina had settled down in Rome.[85]

Finally, the third theme. Most of the panegyrists have, briefly or in more detail, broached the embarrassing fact that Christina, a monarch of nearly

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[79] *Pallas Svecica*, 19–20: "Haec gentis tuae decora . . . qui . . . nisi fida literarum memoria custodirentur? . . . sed haud magna olim apud vos ingenia provenerunt, cum optimus quisque laudanda facere, quam scribere, sua ab alijs benefacta celebrari, quam ipse aliorum narrare mallet."

[80] *Catil.* 8, 5. Unlike Greece, in Rome "optimus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat."

[81] *Pallas Svecica*, 20.

[82] Ibid., 32ff.

[83] Ibid., 49. The theme is rhetorically amplified in *Christina abdicans*: 284–86.

[84] *Pallas Svecica*, 37: "ipsas quoque naturae leges, ac sexus imbecillitatem supergressa, tanto virorum laudes excessisti, quanto admirabilior semper in muliere virtus visa est."

[85] A letter sent by Christina to Ferrari in December 1654 shows that the queen appreciated the oration because it delineated the idea of a good ruler, *Opera varia* II: 95–96: "Panegyricam tuam orationem, qua bonae principis exemplum atque imaginem publico dedisti sub umbra mei nominis, munusculo iam pridem testata sum, non ingratam mihi fuisse." It was especially the recognition given her by acknowledged scholars that greatly pleased her: "Quae enim res maiori voluptati possit me perfundere, quam si curas, quas promovendis ac ornandis literis quotidianas dare soleo, agnoscam non improbari ab illis, a quibus auctoritatem & existimationem omnem mutuantur literae?" Ferrari himself mentions the gift in his brief autobiography (see n. 66), 613. The correspondence has been published in Ferrari's *Opera varia* II: 91–92, 95–97, 176–77, 295–98; cf. also Arckenholtz II, append. XXXIII–XXXVII and LXXX–LXXXII.

absolute power in a great state, was a woman. In this age, the attitude toward women was still dominated by the ideas of Aristotle and St. Paul.[86] Aristotle argued that the male was by nature superior and the female inferior, the male ruler and the female subject. Their virtues were different, too. Courage befitted a man and modesty a woman.[87] Paul's advice that a woman should show silent submissiveness was even more influential.[88] True, both in antiquity and during the Renaissance, more favorable ideas of women's qualities and status were also expressed. A few Cynics and Stoics maintained that as human beings, men and women shared the same virtues.[89] Such Renaissance authors as Cornelius Agrippa[90] and Castiglione argued for the equality of the sexes.[91] Moreover, in academic moral philosophy it was conceded that women, too, were to some extent capable of *virtus heroica*, the superhuman or even divine degree of any virtue.[92] The idea of heroic virtue stemmed from Aristotle,[93] but scholastic philosophy, especially Aquinas elaborated on it further.[94] I am, however, so far unable to tell when, and by whom, women were first considered to be equal to men in heroic virtue. We do know, nevertheless, that the Paduan philosopher, Francesco Piccolomini, in the late sixteenth century, had already discussed women's heroic virtue,[95] and in the next century, few treatises on ethics

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[86] I have discussed the relevant problems in my *Humanism in a Christian Society*, II: 158ff. There is an ever-increasing number of studies on women during the Renaissance. A good selection, with bibliographies, is *Rewriting the Renaissance. The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan & Nancy J. Vickers (1986).

[87] *Politics* 1, 2, 12 and 1, 5, 8. The best general survey of the attitude to women in antiquity is K. Thraede, "Frau," *Reallexicon f. Antike u. Christentum* 8 (1972): 198–269. See also G. Clark, *Women in the Ancient World.* Greece and Rome, New Surveys in the Classics. vol. 21 (1989).

[88] 1 Cor. 11.9 and 1 Tim. 2.11.

[89] Diogenes Laertius 6, 12 records Antisthenes arguing that "Virtue is the same in men as in women." The Stoic Cleanthes had composed a lost treatise *On the Thesis that Virtue is the same in Man and Woman*, ibid., 7, 175. Seneca, the most influential of the Stoics, was ambiguous. Though he shares the common view of woman's subjection to man, *De constant. sap.* 1, 1, he also credits women with virtues, such as courage, equal to men's, *Consol. ad Marciam* 16, 1–3.

[90] *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus* (Anvers, 1529); édition critique, (Geneva, 1990). Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, vol. 25, with an important introduction by R. Antonioli.

[91] *Il cortigiano*, especially Bk. 3, chap. 13 and 21.

[92] See my discussion in *Humanism* II: 162–66.

[93] *Nicom. Ethics* 7, 1 (1145a): "The contrary to bestiality is most suitably called virtue superior to us, a heroic, indeed divine, sort of virtue." (Trans. Terence Irwin, 1985).

[94] In *Summa theol.* I–II q. 68 a. 1 Aquinas discussed the difference between *dona Dei* and virtues. Although these gifts of God could be called virtues, they exceed common virtues in that they perfect man in so far as he is inspired by God. The idea of heroic virtue as proceeding from God was often buttressed by quoting Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2, 167: "There never was a great man who did not enjoy some divine inspiration (sine aliquo adflatu divino)."

[95] *Universa philosophia de moribus* (Padua, 1583): *gradus sextus*, 546ff.

omitted the topic. But *virtus heroica* was almost always thought to be exceptional in women. Moreover, it made them *viriles*, manlike.[96]

Thus, although the general attitude to the female sex was deprecating, moral philosophy supplied arguments for a more complimentary view, especially in the case of exceptional and high-ranking women. Christina made a good case for the heroic-manly interpretation. She was physically unattractive, her voice was manly, her pastimes, riding and hunting, a man's, and she is known to have had a low opinion of her own sex.[97] Very many panegyrists praised Christina precisely for the fact that except for her sex, there was little of the woman in her.[98] To have exceeded the limitations of her sex in learning and virtues was a common tribute paid to her.[99] If she was a *heroina*, if she was superior to all ancient and modern heroines from Deborah and Semiramis to Elizabeth of England, a new amazon, she was also a *virago, virilis*.[100] Even Ferrari was jubilant over the fact that Christina had overcome women's vices, such as the excessive lust for power.[101]

There were, however, panegyrists who did not take the *a priori* inferiority of women for granted. One of them was the aforementioned Ezechiel Spanheim, a scholar and diplomat, scion of a Calvinist family, who was born in 1629 and died in 1710.[102] Educated at Leiden, in 1649 he was invited to Geneva to teach eloquence, but later he mainly acted as a diplomat in the service of German Electors. His panegyric of Christina was delivered at Ge-

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[96] *Universa*, 546.

[97] Stolpe, *Drottning Christina*, 64, 66–67, 97.

[98] E.g., *Panegyricus Christinae . . . ipso suo XVIII[o] natali* (sine loco, 1644), composed by J. W., obviously Johannes Widikindi, a Swedish historian, eventually the official historiographer (*Svenska män och kvinnor* 8, 1955: 342). He also wrote a hexameter poem on Christina's abdication (*sine loco et anno*). In the former oration, fols. C–Cv, describing her interest in hunting, he argues that it is shameful to think that except for her sex, her physical and mental qualities would not have matched those of a man. Cf. also Åkerman, *Queen Christina*, 104.

[99] E.g., Daniel Heinsius, father of Nicolaus Heinsius, in his *Panegyricus (Danielis Heinsii Orationum editio nova.* Editore Nicolao Heinsio, Amstelodami, 1657), 467, asserts that Christina surpasses not only her own sex but both sexes in learning and in the arts of government, "eruditione et regnandi artibus." Curt Chr. Königsmarck, a Swedish nobleman and later a professional soldier (A. Åberg, in *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon*, 21 [1975–77]: 781–82), recited an oration on the Queen's 27th birthday as a young student at Strasbourg in 1652. He listed her virtues: wisdom, *magnitudo animi* or greatness of soul, moderation, self-restraint, which surpass not only the *exempla* given by great princes but also the condition of her sex. The oration is included in J. H. Boeclerus's *Orationes* (see n. 20), 53.

[100] Comparisons with Biblical, ancient and a number of modern heroines were among the main topics of women's eulogies, see e.g., Agrippa (n. 90), 73ff.

[101] *Pallas Svecica* (n. 67), 40: "omnia foeminarum vitia exuisti," and *Christina abdicans*, 296, no woman ruler had ever abdicated, for this sex "potentiae avidior habetur ac tenacior."

[102] There is an old *Vita Spanheimii* in Vol. 2 of his *De praestantia et usu numismatum antiquorum* (Amsterdam, 1727), viii–xix; other biographies, *Allgem. deutsche Biogr.* 35 (1893): 50–59; V. Loewe, *Ein Diplomat u. Gelehrter. Ezechiel Spanheim (1629–1710).* Hist. Studien 160 (Berlin, 1924).

neva in 1651 when he was barely twenty-two.[103] Besides Latin, he also published it in a French version.[104] Spanheim first entered into a personal relationship with the queen in Rome. It is probably attributable to the favorable impression the oration had made on her that she accepted the diplomat into her inner circle.[105] In Rome, Spanheim produced the work for which he is still remembered, his pioneering study of ancient coins, which he dedicated to Christina.[106]

In his oration, Spanheim asserts that Christina had from early on refused to take refuge in the weakness of her sex.[107] Instead, she wished to combine in herself the *decora* of both sexes: "You understood that the seeds of the same virtues are innate in both sexes, that they possess the same resources and means for great and noble deeds and, if given the same education, they could reach the same pinnacles of glory and perfection."[108] As I have already remarked, the idea that the virtues were identical in all human beings is traceable to ancient Stoicism. Seneca, for example, argues that "Virtue closes the door to no one, it is open to all."[109] This is the philosophical basis of many arguments for the equality of the sexes. Hence, Spanheim maintains, it is ridiculous to exclude women from learning on the pretext that it destroys chastity, and to hold ignorance to be the best evidence of innocence.[110] Christina vindicates the right of her sex to learning against malevolent people. Both in antiquity and later there have been innumerable women equal to men both in other virtues and in learning.[111]

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[103] *Panegyricus ... Christinae ... Reginae dictus in alma Genevensi academia* (Genevae, 1651), completed with an *Elegia ad eandam* of 88 elegiacs.

[104] *Panegyrique à la Serenissime Reine de Suede* (Genève, 1652; reprinted in Arckenholtz II, append. seconde, 119–44).

[105] Loewe, 18–19. The correspondence between Spanheim and Nicolaus Heinsius, published in P. Burmann, *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum* III (Leiden, 1727), 807–54, contains several references to Christina.

[106] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *History of Classical Scholarship*, ed. with an Introduction and Notes by Hugh Lloyd-Jones (1982), 73–74.

[107] *Panegyricus*, 14.

[108] Ibid.: "Intelligebas nempe utrique [scil., sexui] indita earundem virtutum semina, eadem indulta ad omnia magna & excelsa grassandi praesidia & instrumenta: ut sublato uno educationis discrimine pari gressu ad eundem gloriae & perfectionis apicem possint contendere."

[109] *De Benef.* 3, 18, 2. Seneca, it is true, does not mention women here, only freeborn and freed slaves, slaves and kings and exiles, but by inference the principle comprehends all human beings.

[110] *Panegyricus*, 37: "Abeant ergo ac recedant vani & ridiculi illorum metus, qui a scientiarum & litterarum cultu, tanquam [=velut] certissimo pudicitiae destructore, & lasciviae auctoramento, foeminas edicto Praetorio proscribunt, & ignorantiae famam optimum innocentiae argumentum credunt."

[111] Ibid., 39–41. Spanheim's list includes Greek learned women: Aspasia, consort of Pericles, Hipparchia, wife of the philosopher Crates, see Diogenes Laertius 6, 96–98; Pamphila, a scholar and historian under Nero; Themista, a follower of Epicurus, etc. As

But Christina excels them all because none of them had been as burdened with the tasks of government.[112]

Spanheim was not the only panegyrist who made concessions to the inequality of the sexes, but none of them gave the idea as great attention nor, like him, philosophically justified it. Spanheim's oration is stylistically, too, of prime quality, one of the best of the panegyrics for Christina.[113]

I hope that these few samples of the eulogies of Queen Christina also serve as an *Ehrenrettung* of panegyrical oratory and of Neo-Latin oratory in general. Too often dismissed as empty grandiloquence, they provide useful material for the study of the ideas and intellectual climate of an age.

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famous women rulers he mentions Zenobia, queen of Palmyra; Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius II; Amalasuntha, queen of the Ostrogoths; Anna Comnena, an author and daughter of the Byzantine emperor Comnenus. He further records famous women from Rome, Gaul and England, praising Elizabeth as "immortale suae gentis ac litterarum decus."

[112] Ibid., 42.

[113] See I. Kajanto, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Ezechiel Spanheim's *Panegyricus* of Queen Christina," *Arctos* 26 (1992). For *exempla* in these panegyrics, see I. Kajanto, *Christina Heroina. Mythological and Historical Exemplification in the Latin Panegyrics on Christina Queen of Sweden* (1993).

Being in Two Minds: The Bilingual Factor in Renaissance Writing

ANN MOSS

Despite our recovery of the Latin writing of the Renaissance, we are still, I think, in danger of putting to the margins of our thinking the fact that most writers of the period were bilingual in Latin and a vernacular language. We hear them in one or the other language, and, although we are adept at supporting our reading with footnotes full of intertextual references, we readers remain at the point of reception. This paper represents an attempt to turn our attention to the point of transmission, to the choice which the bilingual writer makes between potentially interfering linguistic codes, and to the implications of that choice.[1]

Bilingualism is high on the agenda of contemporary education theory.[2] The situation it addresses is not the same as we encounter in the élite Latin schooling of Renaissance schoolboys, but the conceptual models derived from modern research are worth our investigation. It has identified two processes for acquiring a second language. On the one hand there is the compound model. Here the subject learns by operating two languages in the same context. This may be at school, in a system where the teaching method is characterized by translation exercises and grammatical drill and the use of the better-known language as the medium to teach the target language. In this pattern of acquisition there is a fused representation of lan-

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[1] The bilingual question is floated in several recent books on Renaissance rhetoric and Renaissance literature, but is rarely their central concern. An exception is D. G. Coleman, *The Gallo-Roman Muse: Aspects of Roman Literary Tradition in Sixteenth-century France* (Cambridge, 1979); one of the earliest books to look at literary bilingualism was L. Forster, *The Poet's Tongues: Multilingualism in Literature* (Cambridge, 1970).

[2] Critical surveys of recent research may be found in, among others: T. Skutnabb-Kangas, *Bilingualism or Not. The Education of Minorities* (Clevedon, Avon, n.d.); J. F. Hamers and M. Blanc, *Bilingualité et bilinguisme* (Brussels, 1983); S. Romaine, *Bilingualism* (Oxford, 1989).

guages in the brain. The equivalent words in the two languages are tied to the same mental concept in a single, integrated system. The essence of the compound model is translatability. The second and alternative model of language acquisition is coordinate bilingualism. Coordinate bilinguals learn their languages by immersion in two separate language environments, for example, home and school, if it is a school where all instruction and all communication is mediated through a language different from the language used outside school. Because his two languages are associated with different cultural contexts, it is maintained that the subject will develop two different conceptual systems associated with one or the other language. The essence of the coordinate model is incommensurability. The theoretical literature is at pains to point out that the experimental evidence for these two models of second language acquisition does not support a rigorous division between them, but, rather, a continuum of experience between these two poles. The same would doubtless be true of the acquisition of Latin in our period, but it is, of course, unverifiable. We must perforce remain in the realm of theory and test our borrowed hypotheses by the quality of the reading they produce rather than by the quantification of experimental data.

Bilingualism is of interest to others besides education theorists. Their coordinate model of language acquisition rather presupposes that perceptual habits are conditioned by linguistic conventions, and thereby introduces us to an ongoing philosophical debate.[3] Are our modes of perception and our ways of organizing our thoughts and experience conditioned, determined even, by the language in which we operate? If so, different languages, with their different structures and histories, represent different and essentially incommensurable conceptual schemes, and attempts to translate between them are bound to falsify and fail. Or, can we object to this notion of linguistic isolation and conceptual relativism on the grounds that underlying all languages are deep structures which ensure linguistic universals and thereby the feasibility of adequate translation between languages? If intertranslatability, on whatever grounds, is a possibility, the idea of radically independent and rival conceptual schemes will fail.[4]

It is not hard to see that the bilingual writer has a privileged and, it may be, crucial role to play in this debate, and never more so than in the Renaissance period, when Latin and the vernacular languages were beginning to be represented as rivals on the same generic territory, when the status of translation was in dispute, and when the acquisition of Latin was the principal factor in education theory and practice. The bilingual, particularly the

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[3] For the terms, the history and the main texts in this debate, see G. Steiner, *After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford, 1975).

[4] An important statement of the second of these two positions, and one which tends to move the grounds of debate from language to logic, is D. Davidson, "On the very idea of a conceptual scheme," *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*, 47 (1974): 5–20; reprinted in D. Davidson, *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation* (Oxford, 1984).

coordinate bilingual, is an inhabitant of two conceptual schemes, speaks the idiom of each "like a native," and is equipped to move imaginatively between cultures, and indeed to see his own culture from the alien's point of view.[5] The bilingual, particularly the compound bilingual, is conditioned to refer beyond the specificities of linguistic usage to common denominators of meaning which underlie verbal difference. These are the polarities between which I shall move in my very brief and highly selective discussion of mainly French representatives of Renaissance bilingualism.

The best vernacular writer of the early years of the French Renaissance was Jean Lemaire de Belges. His earliest work was a bilingual compilation in French and Latin, dated 1498.[6] The texts in French are by Lemaire and his older contemporaries. The texts in Latin are a much more varied, indeed a multicultural array. They include texts from the *Ars Amatoria* of Ovid, poems ascribed to Virgil, an extract from Seneca's *Thyestes,* a medieval and a modern hymn to the Virgin, extracts from Mantuan's *Parthenice,* Latin prose by Lemaire himself, and the whole of the Song of Songs in Latin. The reader is not instructed how to integrate these disparate French and Latin texts into a coherent whole, although common themes and formal patterns are discernible. The elegant production of this little volume proclaims it to be a work of art, not a random anthology, and so legitimizes the reader's desire to impose a unified conceptual scheme on the chosen passages. This desire is reinforced, but not fully enabled, by Lemaire's short introduction to his central and longest text, the Song of Songs, where he hints that allegorization might provide an interpretative blueprint for crossing cultures and minimizing linguistic difference.

In 1511 Jean Lemaire returned to the bilingual theme in his *Concorde des deux langages,* published in 1513.[7] Here the linguistic picture is complicated. The two languages of the title are not French and Latin, but French and Italian, and the text is not bilingual, but wholly French. Bilingualism in the strict sense has become biculturalism, a transition made in the prologue to the work, where a debate which sets up French and Italian as rival languages is pursued in terms of the discourse of two rival cultures. The body of the work describes first a temple of Venus, a vision of aesthetic delight and moral hedonism whose Italian connotations are underscored by *terza rima,* "à la fasson ytallienne, ou toscane et florentine," an alien form which

[5] The analogy between bilingualism and the notion of conceptual incommensurability, with some of its implications, is forcefully brought out by A. Macintyre, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry. Encyclopedia, Genealogy and Tradition* (London, 1990), see especially 113–21.

[6] For an almost complete transcription, see P. Jodogne, "Un recueil de Jean Lemaire de Belges en 1498," *Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul Quattrocento francese,* ed. F. Simone (Turin, 1967), 179–210; there is a detailed desciption and analysis of the sources in P. Jodogne, *Jean Lemaire de Belges, écrivain franco-bourguignon* (Brussels, 1972), 146–58.

[7] Page references are to Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La Concorde des deux langages,* ed. Jean Frappier (Paris, 1947).

Lemaire introduced into French (6). Then, in complete contrast of verbal style and in alexandrines, or "ryme françoise," we are led towards a temple of Minerva, whose idiom is much more sober but where the moral climate is much sounder than in the domain of the meretricious Italianate Venus. The organizing link between these two separate models of discourse, or rival conceptual schemes, is a narrator who inhabits both universes, moves between them and can speak the language of each. The author, in the prologue and speaking through the person of his narrator, is paradoxically committed both to describing the "tumulte amoureux" of the debate which separates French and Italian and to pursuing an accord between them (4). This accord remains elusive, deferred at the end of the work to a time beyond his present life (41). Certainly, although Lemaire transposes his Venus from Florence to Lyons and puts her into French, this is patently a false translation. The two temples and the conceptual schemes on which they are built are presented as two distinct and unamalgamated idioms. His narrator does not inhabit both at once, and the narrative is very insistent on the present space between them. However, in their past, French and Italian were not rival languages. They were one language, Latin, being both "derivéz et descendus d'un mesme tronc et racine, c'est assavoir de la langue latine, mere de toute eloquence" (3). Lemaire uses Latin culture as a kind of metalanguage in which to move forward the present bilingual debate, for it is the Latin literary tradition which provides the temples of Venus and Minerva whereby the debate is articulated. Moreover, in his prologue Lemaire refers his reader to the Latin, or, more specifically, to the medieval and contemporary Latin tradition of allegorical interpretation, and it is that which gives the key to codes of meaning which can be applied both to the temple of Venus and to the temple of Minerva.[8] Not only are both idioms translatable into a single metalanguage, the language of the Latin technique of allegorical interpretation, but, because allegorical language is morally loaded, it provides a standpoint from which the moral premises of two apparently incommensurable conceptual schemes may be compared and judged.[9]

We are still early in the French Renaissance, and it is already consciously bilingual, especially at Lyons, which was more receptive to Italian influence than Paris. The contesting languages are French and Italian, but it is Latin which presides over the debate. Within Latin itself there was a far more important bilingual competition, the competition between the Latin idiom of the medieval schools (both schoolmen and schoolboys), on the one hand,

[8] The temple of Venus "signifie lascheté et oisivité," the temple of Minerva represents "parfaicte operation de prudence, paix et concorde" (6).

[9] I have explored this further in my article "Fabulous Narrations in the *Concorde des deux langages* of Jean Lemaire de Belges," in *Philosophical Fictions and the French Renaissance,* ed. N. Kenny (London, 1991), 17–28.

and, on the other, the Latin idiom of humanist writers and scholars, derived from classical literary models. In the competition between these two Latins there was certainly as yet no "concorde des deux langages." There was a victory and a defeat, and it was the consequences of the victory of humanist Latin in all but narrowly specialized fields which largely shaped the development of West European vernacular languages over the next two hundred years.

The victory of humanist Latin was won and consolidated in the schools. The vernacular writers who revolutionized French literature in the 1550s were the bilingual products of those schools, where humanist Latin was spoken, read and written, where Latin was the medium of instruction, and any vernacular component was a prop to be outgrown as soon as possible. This is what we know as the immersion method. As Erasmus put it:

> A German boy could learn French in a few months quite unconsciously while absorbed in other activities. If one can learn with such ease a language as barbarous and irregular as French, in which spelling does not agree with pronunciation, and which has harsh sounds and accents that hardly fall within the realm of human speech, then how much more easily should one be able to learn Greek and Latin [by the same method]?[10]

What certainly was the case was that in the humanists' program of instruction, knowledge of words was prior to the knowledge of things, and that those words were Latin words contextualized by a culture which belonged to a particular historical past and was alien to the conceptual scheme of the pupil's own present. This is in effect an exaggerated form of coordinate bilingualism. Not only are Latin and the vernacular associated with two different environments, school and out-of-school, but the frames of reference of the two languages are culturally distinct. What is more, performance in Latin, and particularly in written Latin, was a competitive enterprise in which achievement was rewarded by respected, powerful and more competent superiors, while the vernacular was continually and forcefully reminded of its posterior status. Yet, outside the schoolroom and the university, recognition and advancement came almost always through the vernacular.

The implications of this situation for the bilingual individual can be read in that "intense and troubled dialogue between two tongues" which is the *Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoyse* composed by Joachim Du Bellay in 1549 expressly to articulate the attitudes and aspirations of young writers who were just emerging from their Latin education and were determined to give French poetry a new direction.[11] Significantly, Du Bellay's treatise is

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[10] *De Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis declamatio* (1529), trans. B. C. Verstraete (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1985), 320.

[11] My quotation is from M. W. Ferguson, *Trials of Desire. Renaissance Defenses of Poetry* (New Haven and London, 1983). See the same author's article, "The Exile's Defense: Du Bellay's

not called a defense of poetry, though it is primarily addressed to poets. It is called a defense of the French language, a defense against those who claim that French is a hopelessly unsophisticated medium compared with Latin. In Du Bellay's *Deffence* the bilingual factor sets the whole agenda for French literature. And that agenda reverses the inferior position assigned to the vernacular in the Latin schools where Du Bellay's contemporaries acquired their bilingualism. Or does it? Du Bellay's treatise is notoriously double-edged. It is my contention that its doubleness is essentially the double-talk of the coordinate bilingual, further complicated by the fact that Du Bellay may not have become a competent bilingual until comparatively late.[12] Out of the Latin immersion instruction which was probably his from his early twenties only, Du Bellay brought, firstly, a late acquired ability to inhabit two separate linguistic universes, with a very acute consciousness of their different conceptual schemes and cultural contexts; secondly, he brought a sense that his two languages were radically independent and that it was inappropriate to translate between them (though, knowing what schoolboys are, one suspects that translation, even when publicly disavowed, was practiced in private and that this was especially likely to be the case for a "late developer" like Du Bellay); thirdly, he brought the conditioning of the classroom, which made him associate all sophisticated communication exclusively with the Greek and Latin languages in which he had acquired his culture; and, fourthly, he brought faith in a pedagogic method which guaranteed improved linguistic skills by a system of imitating model authors. We shall examine briefly how Du Bellay's double talk dealt with two sets of topics—Neo-Latin and the vernacular, and imitation and translation—noting, by the way, how easily the discourse of the bilingual writer slips into patterns of binary opposition.

The modern bilingual poet had a choice of medium, Latin or vernacular. To choose Latin was to put oneself permanently *in statu pupillari,* forever playing with the building-blocks of classroom composition,

> recuillant de cet orateur et de ce poëte ores un nom, ores un verbe, ores un vers, et ores une sentence: comme si en la façon qu'on rebatist un vieil edifice, ilz s'attendoint rendre par ces pierres ramassées à la ruynée fabrique de ces Langues sa premiere grandeur et excellence.[13]

La Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoyse," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 93 (1978): 275–89; and also T. Cave, *The Cornucopian Text. Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford, 1979); T. M. Greene, *The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven and London, 1982); K. Meerhoff, *Rhétorique et poétique au XVIe siècle en France. Du Bellay, Ramus et les autres* (Leiden, 1986).

[12] Du Bellay indicates as much in his preface to the second edition of his *Olive*; see H. Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay, 1522–1560* (Lille, 1900; repr., Geneva, 1978).

[13] *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse,* ed. H. Chamard (Paris, 1970), 78–79. All quotations from the *Deffence* are from this edition.

All the Neo-Latin poet can do is recycle the elements of a language transmitted to him by its past masters, without ever taking a creative initiative:

> Ne pensez donques, immitateurs, troupeau servil, parvenir au point de leur excellence: veu qu'à grand'peine avez-vous appris leurs motz. (82)

If, on the other hand, the adult bilingual chooses his vernacular as his medium, he risks exchanging both his Latin and its conceptual idiom for a language and a set of cultural referents which he must find sorely deficient, judging them by the only criteria available to him, which are those supplied by his Latin education. Yet here Du Bellay senses the opportunity to affirm the creative potential of a bilingual and bicultural redirection of French writing. Latin forms of expressivity and, with them, the conceptual scheme of the Latin humanists can be incorporated into the vernacular by an assiduous program of imitating Latin writers in French:

> c'est que sans l'immitation des Grecz et Romains nous ne pouvons donner à notre Langue l'excellence et lumiere des autres plus fameuses. (90)

Yet, what will those procedures of imitation be, but precisely those he had learned to manipulate in Latin and which he has so disparaged but ten pages previously with his reference to slavish herds of imitators? There is not a total overlap between the two positions, because the languages are different, but it is close. Du Bellay's double tongue is apt to get tied in knots.

A similar thing happens when Du Bellay discusses translating poetry, emphatically claiming, as one would expect from his particular bilingual experience, that translation is bound to fail or falsify, "d'autant que chacune Langue a je ne scay quoy de propre seulement à elle" (36). Languages are in the last analysis untranslatable, and Du Bellay regards translators as an inferior breed. However, his own program of imitative transposition, derived though it is from pedagogic techniques exclusive to Latin, may produce poems which look deceptively like translations when imitation is operated across two different languages. Once again, the two strands in Du Bellay's bilingual argument tend to tangle. The tangle is given another twist, because translation, despite his theoretical disclaimer, does in practice run surreptitiously all through the texture of the *Deffence*. A sizeable part of the *Deffence* is an unacknowledged word-for-word rendering of Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo delle lingue*. So a third language, Italian, in which the rivalry between Latin and the vernacular had already been largely resolved, is used to construe the issues of the debate, functioning as an excluded middle in the argument between Du Bellay's Latin and his French. But, like the recourse to translation in the Latin school, it is an undercover procedure. It carries none of the authority and power which Lemaire de Belges had invested in his third language, Latin.

These ambivalencies and oscillations and the occasional subterfuge are typical of the *Deffence.* Du Bellay is perhaps not so much a coordinate bilingual as an uncoordinated one. Modern theorists of bilingual education note that bilinguals score highly on divergent thinking tests, that is to say that they have an ability to generate rapidly a wide variety of solutions to a problem. They also show marked cognitive flexibility: they develop a capacity to disengage from any one conceptual set and appraise it from the outside. The down-side of this is the suspicion that the bilingual is self-contradictory, shifty, rootless, and not at home in either language. Du Bellay's subsequent poetry replays the unresolved bilingual tensions of the *Deffence.* He writes in French and in Latin, he imitates and he translates, he speaks as one doubly exiled, from the alien present and from the ruined past:

> Et vagus externo quaerit in orbe domum ...
> Utque nihil desit, nobis tamen omnia desunt,
> Dum miseris noto non licet orbe frui.[14]

Du Bellay's relationship with his two idioms of speech is unstable, the balance of power forever shifting between them. Two other writers of the French Renaissance, Pierre de Ronsard and Michel de Montaigne, both of whom lived much longer than Du Bellay, worked their way through to a steadier investment in the cognitive virtues of their bilingualism.

Ronsard the bilingual had an earlier start to his education and perhaps a more secure linguistic foundation than Du Bellay.[15] Ronsard the poet, in the preface to his first collection, in 1550, embraces Du Bellay's agenda for poetry with unequivocal enthusiasm, writing in French, abandoning the vernacular literary idiom, imitating Greek and Latin authors, and tying himself into the same knots. He will proceed by an unknown path, "un sentier inconnu." Nevertheless, it is well signposted with instructions from Pindar and Horace, and when he says that he is going where poet never trod before, he says it by repeating the Latin words of Horace (1:45). The double tongue of the bilingual enunciates the same paradoxes as the *Deffence,* but already with a different accent. Already in the first sentence of Ronsard's first preface, the "sentier inconnu" along which he will gallop over Greek and Roman fields is a way to force himself on the reader:

> Quand tu m'appelleras le premier auteur Lirique François, et celui

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[14] From the elegy *Patriae desiderium* in Joachim Du Bellay, *Oeuvres poétiques,* vol. 7: *Oeuvres latines: Poemata,* ed. G. Demerson (Paris, 1984), 63, 65.

[15] In prefaces to their earliest collections of poetry, both Du Bellay and Ronsard claim to have loved "les bonnes lettres" from their childhood, but Du Bellay's apology (made in the preface to the second edition of his *Olive*) for his comparative lack of facility in Greek and Latin contrasts markedly with Ronsard's self-confidence: "Bien que la jeunesse soit tousjours elongnée de toute studieuse occupation ... si est ce que des mon enfance j'ai tousjours estimé l'estude des bonnes lettres" (Preface *au lecteur* to the first four books of Odes [1550], in Pierre de Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. P. Laumonier, 20 vols. [Paris, 1914–75], 1:43; all my quotations from Ronsard are from this edition). All his life Ronsard maintained close contacts with leading French Latin-writing humanists, such as Dorat, Turnèbe, and Muret.

qui a guidé les autres au chemin de si honneste labeur, lors tu me rendras ce que tu me dois. (1:3)

Ronsard may have a double tongue, but his is a single voice demanding recognition, and a large part of his poetic production will be a response to the problem of making that voice heard while speaking with the plurality of tongues he has acquired by imitation. Mannered elaboration of source texts is one solution; intertextual play is another; rewritings of poetic fictions is a third. All of them imply that a fully adequate reader will recognize the original text that Ronsard is imitating and hear how that idiom interferes with the new text in front of him. The reader is cast in the role of coordinate bilingual, able to inhabit the two or more verbal and conceptual schemes inferred by the poem. He does not read the poem as a translation of a prior text. That would be to wipe out one of its idioms and silence the plurality of tongues.The poem would become univocal. What would be lost would be the intervals between the texts present and inferred in the poem. It is precisely in those spaces that Ronsard orchestrates the dissonances which compose his own voice.

Here is Ronsard singing to Hélène in a *Chanson* of 1578 (17:235–38), offering us a French text which doubles with the Neo-Latin *Basium* of Johannes Secundus (no. 2) on which it is modeled:

Plus estroit que la Vigne à l'Ormeau se marie
De bras souplement-forts
Du lien de tes mains, Maistresse, je te prie,
Enlasse moy le corps.

But that is not how it is with Secundus. In Secundus the embrace is energetic, mutual, and the simile of the vine is doubled reciprocally by the cognate simile of ivy winding round a tree. In Ronsard the male poet is supine, passive, enervated, ambivalently desiring the rejuvenation proffered in the kiss and "souffrant doucement le joug de ton empire, Tant soit-il rigoureux." The Secundus text has none of these paradoxes, which only reveal themselves to be the crux of Ronsard's poem when we read both texts together and notice the parts where Ronsard's French does not mesh with the Latin of Secundus. The end of the poem marks a sharper divergence. The lovers in Secundus wander in a paradise derived from ancient poets which is lovely and innocent. Not so Ronsard's, once he has intruded into that inherited space the names of Procris, Artemisia and Dido, allusions to Europa and Daphne, and all their tale of woe. Ronsard's imitation of model texts is never innocent. The power of the literary tradition both vitalizes and enervates. In Ronsard's rewriting of mythological fictions it invariably creates poems whose heroes are ardent lovers doomed to frustration and sterility. But it is precisely by inviting the bilingual reader into the space between the overshadowing literary archetype and the new text that Ronsard allows us to read his mind.

I suppose Ronsard could be said to exploit those capacities for divergent

thinking that modern theorists impute to bilinguals. Certainly it is by stressing difference that he probes, and possibly allays, anxieties besetting the native language writer in a bilingual world where the non-native language is culturally dominant. Cognitive flexibility, the ability to disengage from any one perceptual set and see it from another point of view, is the other skill often credited to bilinguals. There is certainly no better example of it in the whole Renaissance period than the bilingual *Essais* of Montaigne.

Montaigne's bilingual education was extraordinary. Before the young child started to speak, his father engineered a domestic situation in which his son would hear and speak nothing but Latin.[16] He was at least six before he heard a word of French. At that stage he was sent away to one of the best humanist schools in Europe, and from then on, so he says, his Latin deteriorated. However that may be, he always regarded Latin as his first, his quasi-maternal language, even when he no longer spoke or wrote it. In Montaigne we have perhaps an extreme case of the coordinate bilingual, the man of two minds. The *Essais* are a bilingual document in Latin and French. The two idioms are in constant parley with each other, though Montaigne's Latin keeps the fixed form of quotations from the books in which his classical Latin was contained, while his French is "tousjours en apprentissage et en espreuve." The mobility of Montaigne's French means that we do not find in Montaigne merely a juxtaposition of two distinct idioms of speech and thought, as we had in Lemaire de Belges, nor simply the process of acculturation which was at the heart of Du Bellay's project. Montaigne can move his French over the linguistic divide and make it speak from the position of ancient culture. This is not the same as translation. It is an imaginative projection into the inside of a culture which is recognized as alien and indeed as incommensurable with one's own native culture. The results can be startling. Take, for example, the single sentence on male homosexuality in his essay on friendship, in the first state of the text, in the edition of 1580: "Et cet'autre licence Grecque est justement abhorrée de nos meurs" (1.28 [1:202–3]). The practice is both foreign (Greek) and morally inadmissible in our society. But in the last state of Montaigne's text, in the posthumous edition of 1595, that simple proposition is expanded into a very long paragraph in which the homosexual culture of ancient Greece is described exclusively in its own terms, in its own cultural, moral and philosophical idiom, without a trace of interference from the conceptual scheme inferred by "nos meurs." Montaigne demonstrates that it is possible to talk oneself into an alien culture, while at the same time uncovering its radical untranslatability.

His essays take him further than this. At a distance in space, but not in time, there exists a newfound culture, totally foreign to Europe. In two es-

[16] *Essais*, 1.26, in Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. M. Rat, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962), 1:187–88; all my quotations from Montaigne are from this edition.

says, *Des Cannibales* (1.31) and *Des Coches* (3.6), Montaigne extends his bilingual habits of mind to a new world, the world of the American Indian, reconstructing it from the reports of Europeans. The man in two minds can so imagine himself into the mentality of an alien culture as to see and assess his own culture from the other's point of view. This is cognitive flexibility with a vengeance, and the vengeance is on Montaigne's own culture. The nearest Montaigne comes to actual talk with American Indians is at the end of *Des Cannibales,* where he tells how he met some in Rouen (1:244–5). He transcribes what they said they saw at Rouen in their own idiom, as near as he can capture it in French. The words whereby they express what they see point up moral flaws and inconsistencies in European society, judged both by the standards of the American Indians and by the standards professed by Europeans themselves. What the Indians are able to say about their own culture, in their own idiom of speech, suggests that it is incommensurably different from European habits of mind and behavior. However, communication is inhibited. Montaigne is having to use an incompetent translator, who fails him. Much, however, is being said to the reader. Not only does criticism from outside reveal the inadequacies of European culture within its own cultural idiom. European attempts to appropriate the alien world of the American Indian is a blundering effort at translation. It is possible to inhabit two radically different conceptual schemes imaginatively, even intellectually, if one learns their respective idioms of speech and culture; but only if one gives up the attempt to translate between them. Translation is at best an inadequate, at worst an aggressive act which invades and occupies the prior text and obliterates it.

Montaigne's prospect of the untranslatability of texts from one culture to another opens onto a fluid interchange of plural readings regulated only by subjective judgement formed by subjective experience. Power no longer resides in the authoritative texts of one culture, nor is the power to dominate or to mediate invested in any one idiom. In the *Essais* the coordinate bilingual, the individual in two minds, fractures the conceptual universe into incommensurable "true" accounts of the flux of experience,

> soit que je sois autre moymesme, soit que je saisisse les subjects par autres circonstances et considerations. Tant y a que je me contredits bien à l'adventure, mais la vérité ... je ne la contredy point. (3.2 [2:222])

Montaigne, however, was an extraordinary bilingual. His education set him apart, even from the most proficient products, the Ronsards, of the humanist schools. It set him even further apart from trends which during the sixteenth century were slowly eroding the immersion ideal of second language learning. Instruction in Latin by translation into the vernacular was increasingly becoming the pedagogic norm.[17] Tabourot des Accords, in his

[17] A proper investigation of the implementation of the two styles of language instruction

Bigarrures of the 1580s, complains that French is not more widely used in schools to construe and translate; in Spain, Franciscus Sanctius, in his *Minerva* of 1587, argues against speaking Latin in schools, because it was spoken so badly; Roger Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster* of 1570, had already, for the same reason, declared that speaking Latin should be deferred until after the child had been "nourished with skill and use of writing." And for teaching written Latin composition Ascham recommended translation from and into English as a better medium than the Latin-to-Latin paraphrase he associated with the teaching methods of a Melanchthon and a Ramus. The use of the better known language to teach a second through the medium of grammatical exercises and translation from and into the child's first language is one definition of the compound model of second language acquisition. Unlike the coordinate bilingual, the compound bilingual is said to have a fused representation of his two languages, and to absorb them into a single, integrated conceptual system. The coordinate model of distinct and independent linguistic worlds is displaced by the notion that there is a universe of concepts which transcends linguistic difference, and that verbal equivalents can be found for it in any language.[18]

Various factors had conspired to bring translation out of the humanist closet.[19] In most countries the balance of power outside the classroom was patently weighted in favor of the vernacular. The vocal and competitive nationalisms of the time liked to have their common European cultural currency in local coinage. Most important of all was the potent example of one particular translation, and that was the translation of the bible. The fundamental premise of the bible translators was that accurate translation was possible and, provided the correct philological skills were employed, did not change the sense with the idiom. Bilingual religious Reformers well understood the sense of power and possession which translation gave to the con-

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from the fifteenth century onwards would reveal a much more imbricated pattern of evolution than is suggested here. One of the chief advocates of language-learning by translation was Rudolphus Agricola, in his *De formando studio* of 1484.

[18] That there are indeed connections to be made between types of second-language instruction and theoretical views on the relationship between language and thought is borne out in our period by the fact that developments in grammatical theory ran in parallel with the shift to translation being made in schools. From about the 1540s universal grammars began to compete with humanist grammars based on specific usage and example. The trend culminated in the Port-Royal *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* of 1660, which largely presupposed the vernacular grammar of the Latin language published by one of its authors, Claude Lancelot, in 1644, the *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement et en peu de temps la langue latine*. For these developments, see G. A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe, 1500–1700. The Latin Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976).

[19] Recent work on Renaissance theory and practice of translation include: G. P. Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva, 1984); V. Worth, *Practising Translation in Renaissance France. The Example of Étienne Dolet* (Oxford, 1988); F. M. Rener, *Interpretatio. Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1989).

verted. The Reformer of particular interest to a study of Renaissance bilingualism is Jean Calvin. With the possible exception of Étienne Dolet, Calvin provides the first French example of self-translation, a practice which appears to emerge into prominence in Northern Europe only in the sixteenth century.[20] In 1541 Calvin translated into French the second edition of his *Christianae religionis institutio,* which he had published two years previously. His aim was to bring together to this one bilingual text a Latinate and a non-Latinate public.[21] It is a unitary aim. Calvin is not a bilingual in two minds, oscillating between rival mental sets. He is a man of singular conviction, with an integrated conceptual scheme which is prior to either of the two languages in which he enunciates it, transcends the idioms of their respective communities of readers, and rests its authority in a universally accessible text: the bible in all its translated forms.

Self-translating bilinguals were to be among the most innovative writers of the hundred years between Calvin and Descartes. Calvin's self-translation not only converted French minds, but, more permanently, perhaps, it converted the French language, making French prose more permeable to the rhetoric of persuasive argument. But Calvin was a reformer, not an innovator. He is at one with contemporary humanist bilinguals operating in different areas, with a Lemaire de Belges, a Du Bellay, a Ronsard, in that he expresses himself by working from within a powerful inherited tradition and by using its tools. Innovation means getting outside that tradition and that entails a new idiom, perhaps the French of Montaigne or the Latin of Justus Lipsius. But even that French and that Latin are haunted by the legacy of the humanist immersion school and by its lessons in imitating other men's voices, with the consequence that one never quite believes in one's own. The bilingual's way to linguistic self-possession seems to have been by way of self-translation. The most interesting case history is probably that other essayist, Francis Bacon, who, quite unlike Montaigne, had his vernacular essays and some of his other English works translated into Latin under his

[20] Even in quattrocento Italy self-translation seems to be fairly unusual. The exception is Ficino, who translated at least four of his works into Italian, probably within a few months of completing the Latin original. In Northern Europe, self-translation in the first part of the sixteenth century is most commonly connected with religious controversy. For Dolet, who turned two of his own Latin poems into French in 1539 and 1540, see Worth, 62–72; it is interesting that the first humanist theorist of translation in France should try his hand at self-translation. Forster's all too brief examination of Renaissance multilingual writing in *The Poet's Tongues* includes a very interesting description of the activities of self-translating Dutch poets in the last third of the sixteenth century (30–42).

[21] In the preface he explains; "Et premierement l'ay mis en latin, à ce qu'il peust servir à toutes gens d'estude, de quelque nation qu'ils feussent: puis apres desirant de communiquer ce qui en povoit venir de fruict à nostre nation Françoise, l'ay aussi translaté en nostre langue." See F. M. Higman, "Calvin and the Art of Translation," *Western Canadian Studies in Modern Languages and Literature* 2 (1970): 5–27, which examines how Calvin's understanding of the idioms of his two language-communities determined his translation strategy.

own close supervision.[22] It would be constructive to analyze how far the new material in *De Augmentis scientiarum* was generated by thinking the *Advancement of Learning* through again in Latin. However, the most far-reaching effects of Bacon's bilingual temper are to be sought, as they were in Montaigne, in the area of cognitive flexibility, in the bilingual's enhanced capacity to disengage from his own conceptual set and see it from outside. But Bacon's thrust is towards the *advancement* of learning. Here, I think, the distinction between coordinate and compound bilingualism may usefully be brought to bear. Montaigne, the coordinate bilingual, imagines himself or talks himself into the conceptual systems of ancient and New World cultures, but for him these schemes remain unassimilable self-regulating systems, identifiable with their own independent linguistic idioms. Bacon, the compound bilingual, for whom translation or assimilation is only a practical, not a theoretical problem, is able to envisage the colonization of new worlds of knowledge. This is to be achieved by formulating a new linguistic idiom of enquiry, one not already embedded in a culture, but universally applicable. For Bacon, the language of nature is translatable, and the most adequate translation is into distinct and disjointed aphorisms. Aphorisms, cut off from the rhetorical strategies, the illustrations and examples, the modes of argument and interpretation peculiar to any one cultural idiom, come nearest to an exact and unprejudiced representation of nature. Aphorisms are also an open language, which any competent enquirer can speak and to which any observer can add, in any tongue: "Aphorismi, cum scientiarum portiones quasdam et quasi frusta tantum exhibeant, invitant ut alii etiam aliquid adiiciant et erogent" (1:665–66). From this standpoint Bacon assesses the capacities and limitations of his more familiar idiom, be it English or Latin, and experiments with the resources of his new language of discovery. Even so, this is, as it were, only a half-way step to a totally new conceptual scheme. Bacon's aphorisms are still words, and words have histories. The aphorism is a figure of thought whose long association with medicine, law, religion, and politics may yet color the limpidity of the translation it makes of nature. Another bilingual philosopher, René Descartes, also much concerned to oversee the translation of his French works into Latin, was to doubt the efficiency of language itself for speaking the truth about nature. The most dangerous rival to language was to be nature's wordless idiom, mathematics.

Durham

[22] See *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis and D. D. Heath, 14 vols. (London, 1857–74), 1:10 and 420–21.

The Tangles of Neaera's Hair: Milton and Neo-Latin Ode

STELLA P. REVARD

Both the epics and the lyric and dramatic poetry of John Milton resound with echoes of Latin and Greek authors. Yet, great as the classical contribution is to Milton's verse, just as important in its own way is the influence of neoclassical poetry. Classical poetry gave Milton basic models for his literature; neoclassical poetry showed him what he could do with those models. For over one hundred and fifty years before he was born, Renaissance poets, writing in Latin, had been experimenting with Latin and Greek genres, bringing the art of imitation to perfection. What these poets had done in Latin was extremely important for Milton as he worked in English, translating ancient models into modern vernacular poetry.

No poetical genre manifests more clearly the influence of Neo-Latin poetry than the ode. Milton's sequence of odes, from the early experimental ode "On the Death of a Fair Infant, Dying of a Cough," to his first successful ode, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," to the light sportive odes, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," and finally to "Lycidas," demonstrates his indebtedness to the Renaissance experimenters in the ode form who had gone before him.[1] These odes take Milton from 1627—the time he was just a schoolboy of seventeen—to 1637 when, several years past his university training and a period of intensive study, he was about to embark on an extended tour to Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance.

As an accomplished classicist, Milton turned naturally to the great writers of classical ode as his principal models—to the Greek Pindar and to his Latin counterpart Horace, whose fifth ode Milton translated into English. But

[1] I wish to thank the Henry Huntington Library for granting me a Mellon fellowship in 1991 that enabled me to complete my research and write this essay. All citations of Milton are from *Complete Poetry and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957).

even as he modeled his poems on these classical originals, he kept an eye on how the leading writers of Neo-Latin verse—Pontano, Marullo, Crinito, Navagero, Flaminio—had changed and adapted classical ode and extended its dimensions. Pindar's odes, for example, are poems composed for specific occasions—including the celebration of victory in the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games. In the Renaissance, when poets such as Francesco Filelfo and Benedetto Lampridio began to imitate Pindaric ode, they chose to celebrate a variety of occasions—military victories, weddings, funerals—and a variety of persons—kings, popes, patrons, as well as friends, lovers, and fellow poets. The odes, moreover, could be religious or secular, could celebrate the Christian God (as Pindar had celebrated Zeus or Apollo), or could imaginatively and sometimes sportively celebrate classical deities. Some poets, like Lampridio, adapted Pindar's Greek meters to Latin poetry; others simply used extant Latin meters to approximate Pindar's triadic verse. Hence, with these experiments in ode in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the dimensions and the essential nature of the classical ode form necessarily changed. And these changes affected Milton.

Milton's odes cover a range of experience. Two of them are commemorations for the dead that adapt the Pindaric ode for elegiac purposes. One is a hymn-ode to Christ that mixes classical and Christian references. Two more are based on the classical hymn to the deity. All the odes freely mix Pindaric and Horatian elements, as well as techniques adapted from genres distinct from the ode—epigram, eclogue, elegy—that the young John Milton had also experimented with. None of Milton's odes, however, would have been possible without the experimentation that Neo-Latin poets engaged in. These strands of influence combine and recombine to make the multi-layered poetry that Milton creates. Milton's famous allusion in "Lycidas" to the "tangles of *Neaera's* hair"(69) refers not just to the temptation to enjoy the sports of love, over which ladies like Neaera preside, but also to his desire to involve himself in the world of poetry that Neaera's bards, most of them writers of Neo-Latin ode, had created. Thus it is necessary to "disintangle" some of the tangles of Neaera's hair.

First, let us look at Milton's earliest ode, "On the Death of a Fair Infant," his first attempt to adapt a Pindaric model to English. We can discern immediately some clear Pindaric signatures in this ode with his use of apostrophe, digression, and exemplary portrait. But this ode imitates not only Pindar, but also those Renaissance Latin poets who, in turn, imitate classical ode and funerary epigram. Like the majority of Renaissance poets, Milton chooses to write his ode in stanzas and not in so-called Pindaric triads—strophe, antistrophe, and epode. Not until twenty years later in his ode to Rouse did he attempt to imitate Pindaric metrics. Milton's occasion—the lament of the death of a child—is quite different from Pindar's—the celebration of an athlete's victory. So, as he adapts epinician ode to elegiac ode, Milton is decidedly influenced by Renaissance adaptors of Pindar. Consider, for example, Benedetto Lampridio, whose ode in Pindaric triads, "On the Villa of

Pietro Melini," not only celebrates Melini's villa, but also laments the recent death of Pietro's brother Celso.[2] Drawing on the techniques of Pindaric digressive myth, Lampridio recounts the myths of Adonis, Hylas, and finally Castor—all much loved men who died young and were greatly mourned by the loved ones they left behind. The technique of sequential myth is a favorite one of Pindar's for celebrating the glory of a young athlete; Lampridio effectively adapts it to mourn the death of a promising young aristocrat. Lampridio's example is important for later poets such as Milton, for he shows Milton how the Pindaric digressive myth may be effectively exploited in an elegiac ode. Accordingly, Milton links the myth of Winter with the myth of Hyacinth and Apollo. The pagan god Winter, Milton recounts, loved the Fair Infant and attempted to woo her, but as he took her into his "cold-kind embrace," he unwittingly killed her. Immediately after he tells the myth of Winter, Milton follows on by recounting how Apollo "with unweeting hand . . . did slay his dearly-loved mate, / Young *Hyacinth*," (23–25) whom he transformed into a purple flower.

Flower imagery is important throughout Milton's ode on the death of the "Fair Infant." If we look closely at the flower imagery, we can discern how Milton, although touched by Pindaric influence, is affected by yet another Renaissance tradition. At first glance, the metaphoric apostrophe to the "blasted flower" resembles, in kind, the opening figures (justly and widely admired) that Pindar so often uses in the first strophe of his odes, such as the simile of the proffered cup at the beginning of Olympia 7, the allusive metaphor of the golden pillars in Olympia 6, and the extended figure of the golden lyre in Pythia l. The extended apostrophe to the flower in the first stanza of "On a Fair Infant" exactly fills the requirement of the Pindaric figure:

> O fairest flower no sooner blown but blasted,
> Soft silken Primrose fading timelessly,
> Summer's chief honor if thou hadst outlasted
> Bleak winter's force that made thy blossom dry;
> For he being amorous on that lovely dye
> That did thy cheek envermeil, thought to kiss
> But kill'd alas, and then bewail'd his fatal bliss. (1–7)

While the rhetorical device of the opening figure recalls Pindar, the imagery of this opening stanza recalls the flower imagery so often employed by Renaissance epigrammatists who celebrated the dead by alluding to fading flowers. One famous Neo-Latin epigrammatist, Giovanni Pontano, was known for his use of flower epitaphs in the *Libri de Tumulorum*. Influenced perhaps by the sepulchral epigrams of the Greek Anthology, Pontano develops something quite original in his epitaphs for children and young girls,

[2] Benedictus Lampridius, *Carmina* (Venice, 1550), fols. 27r–37v.

something that comes right down to Milton and his depiction of the "Fair Infant." Fast-dying violets and fading roses are the dominant conceits of Pontano's epitaphs. Violets adorn the tomb of Jeselmina and are the breathing essence of the dead girl. Violets and roses intertwine on the grave of his dead wife. In one epigram, a dead girl speaks from her grave, identifying with the violets that are yet fragrant in the garden at her tomb. Still another speaks as a fallen rose. Pontano's epigram on Rosa is strikingly close in style and concept to the opening stanzas of Milton's ode, for it, too, exploits the myth of Winter killing the fair flower.

> Non aestus, sed te rapuerunt frigore brumae,
> Non aestas, sed te frigora soluit hyems
> Ergo non hyemi flores, non rapta per himbrem
> Frondescis, tumulo sed male Rosa rosa es.[3]
>
> Not the heat, but the frost of winter carried you away,
> Not age, but cold winter killed you
> No flowers bloom in winter, but are borne away by storms;
> Rosa, you do not flower, but scarcely in the tomb are you a rose.

In both Milton's and Pontano's poems, "bleak winter's force" makes the blossom dry.

Pontano's flower epigrams undoubtedly influenced Marc-Antonio Flaminio's naenia on the death of Francisca Sfortia, which in turn may also have been a model for Milton. The lightest most delicate of lyrics, it opens with a comparison of the girl to a ruby red flower, echoing an image from a love-poem of Pontano's.[4]

> Sic florem hiantem mollibus
> Telluris almae amplexibus
> Vellens procella turbinis
> Leues in auras dissipat.[5]
>
> Thus the flower, opening in the
> soft embraces of nourishing earth,
> A tempest, uprooting with a whirlwind,
> shatters in the insubstantial air.

Besides its opening flower figure, there are other resemblances between Flaminio's naenia and Milton's ode. Both poems move quickly from theme to

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[3] Giovanni Pontano, *Opera* (Florence, 1518), 73.

[4] Politiano also opens a love poem with this formula: "Puella delicatior / Lupusculo, & cuniculo" in his *Omnia Opera* (Venice, 1498).

[5] Marcus-Antonius Flaminius in *Carmina Quinque Illustrium Poetarum* (Venice, 1558), 61v–62v.

theme. In Flaminio's, first Rome mourns for the dead girl Francisca; then the waves of the Tiber, its Naeads, weep; lastly the seven hills lament. In Milton's, the soul of the dead girl hovers above in the Elysian fields. For Flaminio, Modesty, Beauty, and Grace lie with Francisca in the grave; for Milton the infant represents Mercy, Youth, and "white-robed Truth" (54). Flaminio alludes to the grief Francisca's brother feels for his sister and the pope feels for his niece. Although confident that she lives above in heaven, they mourn her—a glory and a grief to her country. Milton's ode also concludes with personal references, offering consolation to the mother, who has rendered a gift to heaven. Pontano's epigram and Flaminio's naenia showed Milton how a Christian poet might use the techniques of classical poetry as a lament for the dead.

Milton's next three poems are exercises of the classical hymn-ode. Though they take their inspiration from Homeric hymn and Pindaric ode, they could not have been written without the development of these verse forms that took place at the end of the fifteenth century. First, Michele Marullo revived the classical hymn to the deity and made it a model for his own *Hymni Naturales*. His contemporaries—Pontano and Crinito—followed similar patterns in their hymn-odes, and his successors—Navagero, Flaminio, Bernardo Tasso—in the next century continued to write so-called "literary" hymns to pagan deities—Bacchus, Venus, the Graces, the Muses, as well as Apollo, Diana, Pan, and so forth. At the same time, some of these poets began to use the techniques they had mastered in the literary hymn-ode to the pagan deity, and apply them to the Christian hymn. In the process the literary hymn to the pagan deity became Christianized, the Christian hymn paganized. Milton's ode, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" and his twin odes, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" manifest, though in different ways, the effect of this imitation.

Milton's Christ in the nativity ode shares characteristics both with the Renaissance Pan and the Renaissance Apollo, classical deities whom Neo-Latin poets had espoused. As Milton's shepherds sit "chatting in a rustic row," it is not Jesus they expect, but the "mighty *Pan*" who should "kindly come to live with them below" (87–90). Pan is a prominent figure in the Renaissance hymn. For Marullo, influenced as he is by Orphism and Neo-Platonism, Pan is the creative unity of things—the all in the sense of the Greek word πᾶν, who warms the universe and nurtures and protects man.[6] Not just the little goat-footed god of Arcadian shepherds, Pan is the father of gods and men, the leader of the sacred chorus of Muses that binds things together, as he unites gods to gods and gods to the natural world and to mankind. Later Renaissance poets—Flaminio, Navagero, Bernardo Tasso, Pietro Bembo—stress his protective aspects. Bembo's choral ode, "Pastores tua

[6] See the hymn to Pan (2.1) in "Hymni Naturales": Michele Marullus, *Carmina*, ed. Alexander Perosa (Zurich: Thesaurus Mundi, 1951).

turba rogamus," treats Pan as a protective "custos," whom he asks to protect both shepherds and their flocks, to inspire the spring and to keep sickness and hunger away—indeed to bring back the peace that ruled the earth in the golden age.[7] It is hardly surprising that the Renaissance Pan, the beneficent guardian of shepherds, begins to merge with the good shepherd Christ, the guardian of his flocks and of other shepherds. Milton's shepherds in Bethlehem, who hear the angels announce the birth of the savior, naturally conclude that it is "the mighty *Pan*" who is bringing back to them the Age of Gold. Would Milton have so described Pan if he knew only the goat-footed god of antiquity and not the Pan of the Renaissance hymns?

A similar thing occurs with the Renaissance Apollo, a god who, already in antiquity, had begun to manifest those qualities that would link him with the Christian son of light. Marullo's longest and most difficult hymn in the *Hymni Naturales* is that to the Sun, who combines the classical identities of Hyperion, Helios, and Apollo. Marullo's Apollo-Sun is the principle of all living things, and, like the lord of light in the Neo-Platonic Synesius and Proclus, pre-existent and the generator of both the earthly sun and the universe. He banishes shadows and brings light physically and intellectually; he is noetic fire, the lord of life, the fountain of living things—not just giving life, but sustaining it and giving order and law.

> Solus inexhausta qui lampade cuncta gubernat,
> Sol pater—unde etiam Solem dixere priores,—
> Et patria longe moderatur imagine mundum,
> Idem rex hominum atque deum, pater omnibus idem.
> (*Hymni Naturales*, 3.1.20–23)

> [Sun] who alone governs, the torch altogether inextinguishable,
> Sun Father, whence even to say prior to the Sun,
> Who from afar controls the earth with your fatherly image,
> King alike of men and gods, father alike to all.

Marullo is not alone among Renaissance poets in presenting Apollo or the Sun as a creative principle. Pontano both in "De Sole," from the first book of his *Urania* and in "Ad Solem," the Sapphic ode, describes the sun's place in the cosmos as the prince of the gods ("superum princeps"), the father of all things, the fountain of light, and the orderer of the days, months, and cycles of years.[8] Associated with the coming of spring and the renewal of earth, the Sun is the leader of a chorus, who, like Apollo, inspires song and, like Venus, love. A sower of souls, he is the force necessary for life, bringing form to animals, and strength to the mind of man. He fills everything with

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[7] Pietro Bembo, *Carmina*, vol. 3 (Basel, 1567), 129–32.

[8] Giovanni Pontano, "De Sole," *Pontani Opera* (Venice: Aldus, 1505); "Ad Solem," *Lyrici* 1 (Venice: Aldus, 1518).

his holy light and so controls human fate on the individual and on the societal level.

Throughout the nativity ode, Milton uses images of dawn and sunburst to suggest the majesty of the birth of Christ. His first characterization of Christ is as a god of light sitting with a "far beaming blaze of Majesty . . . at Heav'n's high Council-Table . . . [in] the midst of Trinal Unity" (9–11). Christ recalls both the golden Apollo of antiquity, enthroned beside his father Zeus, and the god of light in the poems of Marullo, Pontano, and Navagero. As Christ comes into the world, the lesser sun—Milton tells us—hides his head. Christ is a sun greater than "his bright Throne, or burning Axletree could bear"(84). Like the sun in Marullo's hymn, he is pre-existent. His incarnation presages a new creation, greater than that which laid the foundations of the world at the beginning. This creation too is heralded with light—the bright angels appear to the shepherds in a "Globe of circular light" (110). The announcement of this new god of light means, of course, not only the banishment of the lesser sun but of the lesser Apollo—the god who leaves his shrine at Delphos with a hollow shriek. But if we may take the Renaissance hymns to Apollo as a testimony, this lesser Apollo has already been banished by our Renaissance poets who created the greater Sun-God (who is only worthy to combine, as in Milton's ode, with the Christian Lord of Light). The odes and hymns of Pontano and Marullo prepare us for the syncetism evident in Milton's Nativity Ode.

If Renaissance poets took the classical hymn-ode as a model for their philosophical hymns to ancient deities, they also recognized that it could be used as a model for a lighter, more sportive ode. "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso"—Milton's twin odes to those classical goddesses he calls Mirth and Melancholy—are the direct beneficiaries of Renaissance experimentation in the light classical ode. Those very poets—Pontano, Marullo, Crinito—who wrote intellectual hymns to deities such as Apollo, also composed sportive little pieces to the Graces, the Muses, and to Bacchus, using as models Homeric Hymn, Pindaric ode, and Horatian ode. Pindar's ode to the Graces—Olympia 14—was one of the favorite models; the ode summons the Graces, asking them both to confer favor upon human beings and to inspire the poet.

> Graces of fertile Orchomenus,
> Queens of song,
> Guardians of the ancient Minyae,
> Listen to my prayer!
>
> . . .
>
> O honored Aglaia,
> And Euphrosyne, lover of song,
> Daughters of Zeus, the highest of gods,
> And Thalia, look down on this procession

That steps lightly in honor of Asopichus.[9]

Pindar invokes each of the goddesses by name and by epithet, identifying them as the daughters of Zeus. This invocation probably directly inspired Milton, who in "L'Allegro" invokes his own Grace to appear, identifying her by name, by epithet, and by parentage.[10]

> But come thou Goddess, fair and free,
> In Heav'n yclep'd *Euphrosyne*,
> And by men, heart-easing Mirth,
> Whom lovely *Venus* at a birth
> With two sister Graces more,
> To Ivy-crowned *Bacchus* bore. (11–16)

Milton is not the first poet, however, to be affected by Pindar's Olympia 14. Vernacular and Latin poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had also responded to Pindar's invocation to the Graces, transforming Pindar's ode from an address to the Graces that celebrates the victory of a young athlete, to an ode that celebrates both the Graces themselves and those who worship them. The Graces appear and reappear in Neo-Latin poetry, sometimes dancing to the rhythm of Pindar's joyful procession, sometimes adopting a lighter step and appearing in the company of Venus and Cupid and Bacchus. Hence, in "L'Allegro," Milton is responding not only to the ancient song and dance of the Charites, but also to a reorchestrated Renaissance choreography.

Giovanni Pontano was acquainted both with Pindar's Charites, the givers of wisdom, beauty, and renown, and also with Horace's Gratiae, the associates of Venus and her son, Cupid. In Horace's ode to Venus, the Graces come along—quite gratuitously—in response to his invocation of the goddess of Love to leave the delights of Cyprus and to come to the shrine of Glycera, bringing along Cupid and the Graces.

> . . . solutis
> Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae
> Et parum comes sine te Iuventas
> Mercuriusque. (1.30.5–8)[11]

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[9] Pindar, *Carmina*, ed. C. M. Bowra (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1935). The English translation is mine.

[10] For further discussion of Pindar's contribution to "L'Allegro," see my article, " 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso': Classical Tradition and Renaissance Mythography," *PMLA* 101 (May 1986): 338–50.

[11] *Horace, Odes and Epodes*, ed. Charles E. Bennett (New Rochelle: Aristides D. Caratzas, 1984).

... the Graces with loosened waistbands
and let the Nymphs hasten and Youth
And Mercury, no true companion without you.

When Pontano proposes in one of his hendecasyllables to send Neaera off on an expedition to the baths at Baiae, he is probably thinking more of Horatian than Pindaric delights, for he sends, as Neaera's companions, Venus, Cupid, Jest, Loves, and, of course, the Graces! For Neaera, the Graces sing, making light of cares, and lead the dances with Cupid and Venus looking on with favor. Moreover, Pontano makes sure to tell us that the proper attendants for the Graces are Jest and Smiles and Pleasure. The Graces, he says, banish care and mix jest and tears. This is exactly what Milton asks his Grace Euphrosyne to do, summoning her to appear in the company of

Jest and youthful Jollity,
Quips and Cranks, and wanton Wiles,
Nods, and Becks, and Wreathed Smiles,
...
Sport that wrinkled Care derides,
And Laughter holding both his sides. (26–28, 31–32)

Undoubtedly, Milton, like Pontano, had been reading Horace together with Pindar. He had also, I believe, been reading Pontano. The dancing feet of Milton's octosyllabics have the same wonderful light-hearted effect as Pontano's hendecasyllabics.

Pontano invokes the Graces, not once, but many times. In another hendecasyllabic, he introduces us to his friend Chariteus, who takes his name from the Graces or Charites, and whom these ministering goddesses serve as he too goes to the baths. Remembering the Graces's association with gardens, Pontano evokes for him moonlit glades, soft Zephyrs, myrtle bowers. In still another hendecasyllabic, Pontano extends the favors of the Graces to a group of boys and girls who, sitting under myrtle shades, are invited to hear the Graces singing. For them the Graces lead the dance, and Pontano, urging them to dance and enjoy their youth, summons joy and bids farewell to sorrow. The last of Pontano's lyrics to the Graces is a Sapphic ode to Fannia in which Pontano invites the Graces once more to appear. Here the principal focus is on the goddesses themselves, whom Pontano bids to sing, pleading, like Pindar in Olympia 14, a special relationship with these goddesses of song.

Hoc, deae, hoc, hoc, O Charites, ministrae,
Cyprides blandae, hoc agite et remissae
Fila pulsantes citharae canorum
Fundite carmen.[12]

[12] Ioannes Iovianus Pontanus, *Carmina* (Bari, 1948), 366.

Here, goddesses, here, here, Charites, ministresses
Of Cypris, come here and plucking
The strings of the gentle lyre,
Pour out your tuneful song.

Like Pontano, Milton closely connects his Grace with Venus; she is, in fact, her daughter. Milton's Grace also appears particularly at home in rural settings: "Meadows trim and Daisies pied, / Shallow Brooks, and Rivers wide" (75–76). Though she does not wait on his mistress, she may lead him, for instance, where "some beauty lies / The Cynosure of neighboring eyes" (79–80). Pontano's dancing youths and maidens have their counterparts in the young men and women that Milton's Allegro views in the country dances: "many a youth, and many a maid / Dancing in the Chequer'd shade" (95–96). The rural gaiety that is so much a part of Pontano's lyrics to the Graces is also amply present in Milton's joyful ode.

What Pontano begins, poets of the next generation continue. Andrea Navagero follows Pontano in associating the Graces with Venus and Pleasure and in joining Horatian and Pindaric sensibilities. For him, the Graces wait on Venus who herself is attended by choruses of youths and girls, dancing and singing to the goddesses. Echoing Pindar, who for him, was the first of poets, Navagero tells us that nothing is joyful, loving, and pleasing without the Graces.

Qua nihil laetum sine, amabile est nil,
nilque jucundum: sive qua nec ipsae
Gratae erunt cuiquam *Charites*, nec ipsa
Blanda Voluptas.[13]

Without whom, nothing is happy, nothing lovable,
And nothing joyful: or whereby the Graces
themselves will not be the Graces, nor
Pleasure itself pleasing.

Pleasure is the very principle of Milton's Grace Euphrosyne. Like Navagero, Milton summons Pleasure as the Grace's inseparable companion, promising, "To live with her, and live with thee, / In unreproved pleasures free" (39–40).

If the Graces in the Renaissance are closely connected with the pleasure-giving goddess Venus, they are also companions of another god—Bacchus. At the very outset of his "Monodia de Saltatione Bacchica" Pietro Crinito, Pontano's contemporary, contributes the Bacchic connection, banishing heaviness and welcoming the lightness and good cheer associated with Bacchus. He first bids farewell to father Mars and welcoming the nymphs and the satyrs, welcomes also freedom from care.

[13] Andreas Naugerius, *Doctissimorum Nostra Aetate Italorum Epigrammata* (Paris, 1548).

Iam curae valeat graues
Non hic fluctisonans tritens,
Non toruae resonant tubae:
Sed gratus Lepor & Charis. (n.p.)[14]

Farewell to heavy care,
let no sounding trident play
here nor the grim trumpet,
but pleasing Charm and Grace.

Similarly, in the "Monodia de choro sybaritico," Crinito bids farewell to sorrow and tells the Grace to bring along with her Venus and Joy, inviting them to the dance:

Sunt laeti atque hilares ioci,
Et molles veneres simul
Inter delicias fluant,
Grato non sine luxu.
Sic poscit Veneris calor,
Dum noster Genius viget
Et blandas Charites refert,
Dulces iungite Amores
Carpamus celerem diem.... (n.p.)

Come, joyful and happy jest,
And let sweet loves flow at the same time,
amid delight, not without pleasing Charm.
Thus the warmth of Venus demands,
While our Genius thrives,
bring back the charming Graces, and
let sweet Loves join in,
let us seize the swift day....

Like Pontano, Crinito chooses lightly tripping measures—glyconics—to suggest the movement of the Graces.

Milton's Grace also enters dancing: "Come, and trip it as ye go / On the light fantastic toe" (33–34). He prepares her way by banishing her opposites—Melancholy and Care: "Hence loathed Melancholy / Of *Cerberus*, and blackest midnight born, / In Stygian cave forlorn / 'Mongst horrid shapes, and shrieks, and sights unholy" (1–4). He then summons Euphrosyne, "heart-easing Mirth," (13) whom he makes the daughter of Bacchus, the god who, with his gift of wine, brings ease from care. She inherits an exuberant nature from her father, her ode sharing in many ways the quality of the dithyramb, which is the proper salute to Bacchus. It is Renaissance

[14] Petrus Crinitus, *Poemata* (Paris, 1508).

poets who combine the hymn to the Graces with the dithyramb to Bacchus. This combination continues right up to Milton's own time in the Latin anacreontica of the Scottish poet, John Leech, who pronounces Catullus, Anacreon, and Pindar among his poetic fathers, and who calls upon the Graces to appear with Venus, Bacchus, and Love.

> Ita me iuuent Iacchi
> Comites, Venusque Amorque;
> Ita me Iuuenta praeceps:
> Risusque candidique
> Cum Gratiis Lepores;[15]
>
> So may the companions of Iacchus
> Cheer me, Venus and Love;
> So may princely Youth cheer me
> And Smiles and lovely
> Pleasures with the Graces.

Not only does Leech make Pleasure and Smiles as inseparable from the Graces as Venus and Bacchus and Cupid, but he also adds a veritable Miltonic procession of Games and Jokes and a thousand Charms and all kinds of Laughter.

Neither Milton nor the Renaissance poets that precede him forget that the Graces who grant the poet inspiration for his verse are, as in antiquity, the sister goddesses of the Muses. In the ode "Ad Musas," Michele Marullo asks the Muses to come in the company of the Graces, Venus, Jest, and Love, and also to inspire his poetry. As Marc-Antonio Flaminio notes in his ode to the Muses, it is the Graces who add sweetness to his numbers. Celio Calcagnini in a similar way also joins the Muses and the Graces. This association continues in vernacular poets such as Pierre de Ronsard in French and Edmund Spenser in English. In his ode to the Muses, Ronsard calls upon the Graces to join them in a nocturnal dance. To serve as proper attendants for his Elisa, Queen Elizabeth in shepherdess dress, Spenser escorts the Muses and Graces across the English channel. The Muses arrive bearing Bay Branches and play their violins, while the Graces dance deftly and sing sweetly.[16] Milton in "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" follows this Renaissance tradition, summoning the Grace Euphrosyne to inspire him in the

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[15] Ioannes Leochaeus [John Leech], *Musae Priores, sive Poematum* (London, 1620), 49. Also see George Buchanan's invitation to "Risus, blanditiae, procacitates, / Lusus, nequitiae, facetiaeque, / Ioci, delitiaeque" etc. in his hendecasyllabic to Neaera.

[16] Marullus, 2.31; Flaminius, 64v; Celius Calcagninus, "De Pistophilo," *Carmina* in Io. Baptistae Pigna, *Carminum* (Venice, 1553), 181; Pierre de Ronsard, "Odes," *Oeuvres Completes*, ed. Gustave Cohen (Paris: Librairie Gallimand, 1958), 4.15; Edmund Spenser, "Aprill," *Poetical Works*, ed. J. C. Smith and D. de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), 100–112.

first ode and in the second asking the Muse-like Melancholy to lead him to hear the Muses sing.

From these sportive odes, we come to "Lycidas," which is a still more complex interweaving of ancient originals and Renaissance imitations. In composing "Lycidas," Milton braided very deftly the strands of Neaera's hair, binding together the tradition of ancient and Renaissance ode and pastoral idyll. Though written with the vocabulary and conventions of pastoral, "Lycidas," like Pindaric ode, is an occasional poem—composed not to commemorate a victorious athlete on his winning performance, but to mourn a classmate from Cambridge and fellow poet, who had drowned in the Irish sea. Like Pindaric ode, "Lycidas" not only commemorates an occasion, but also raises questions of life, death, fate, the reward of the righteous and the punishment of the unrighteous; it also uses mythic digressions and exemplary figures to illustrate these concern and so moves, as many Pindaric odes do, beyond its occasion. As noted earlier, Renaissance Latin poets had already paved the way for Milton, for they too had used Pindaric ode for all kinds of commemorative poetry. So "Lycidas," like the other odes we have been considering, owes as much to Renaissance practice as it does to classical tradition.

The influence of the Renaissance pastoral manifests itself in several ways. First, let us consider the title character of the poem"Lycidas"—the dead shepherd-poet for whom the unnamed shepherd-swain laments. A goatherd named Lycidas appears in both Theocritus and Vergil—a comparatively minor character in both Theocritus's sixth idyll and Vergil's ninth eclogue. The shepherd mourned in both Vergil's and Theocritus's pastorals is Daphnis—not Lycidas—who appears as a much lamented semi-deity in Theocritus's first idyll and in Vergil's fifth eclogue. The name should have recommended itself to the classics-loving Milton, but Milton passes Daphnis by and fixes on Lycidas. Theocritus's goatherd Lycidas is a modest fellow, whom Simichidas meets along the way and engages in a good-natured singing match—Lycidas gives Simichidas the prize. Vergil's Lycidas is also a goatherd, whom Moerus encounters en route to town. Lycidas agreeably consoles him in his troubles; however, he declines to sing, praising Moerus as a singer. If Milton modeled his Lycidas on either of these goatherds—good fellows though they are—I should be much surprised.[17]

Once more it is the Renaissance Latin tradition that offers Milton his poetical impetus. Lycidas as a character occurs in over thirty Neo-Latin eclogues, in many of these as a principal character, and in two as a much lamented shepherd who has recently died. In most of the pastorals, the shepherd Lycidas, engaging in dialogue with another shepherd, praises or

[17] See J. Martin Evans's discussion of Milton's use of these eclogues: *The Road from Horton: Looking Backwards in "Lycidas"* (Victoria: Univ. of Victoria Press, 1983), 14–15. Also see Louis L. Martz, *Poet of Exile* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1980), 60–75.

laments a shepherd who has died. Sometimes he is the forlorn lover sighing for an unresponsive Neaera or Amaryllis.[18] In Basilio Zanchi's pastoral, Lycidas laments the passing of Damon, who represents dead poet Castiglione, and in an anonymous pastoral he mourns Meliboeus, the great pastor of pastors, Pietro Bembo. In these poems Lycidas is doing for another poet what the swain of Milton's poem does for him.

Three of the most interesting sixteenth-century Latin eclogues in which Lycidas appears are by Johannes Secundus, Giambattista Amaltheo, and Francesco Berni. In Secundus's poem Lycidas is a disappointed lover, who recounts the story of Orpheus's loss of Eurydice.[19] Lamenting his own hard lot, Lycidas clearly identifies with Orpheus both as a poet and as an unfortunate lover. Lycidas is the victim of a hard-hearted Neaera, while Orpheus loses his wife to death. The linking of Orpheus and Neaera is one more knotty tangle of Neaera's hair; for in Milton's poem as well as in Secundus's, Orpheus and Neaera are obliquely connected. Is it only coincidental that Milton's shepherd-swain cries out against the fate of Orpheus immediately before he complains of the pitiful rewards for poetry and the temptations of love?

> What could the Muse herself that *Orpheus* bore,
> The Muse herself, for her enchanting son
> Whom Universal nature did lament,
> When by the rout that made the hideous roar,
> His gory visage down the stream was sent,
> Down the swift *Hebrus* to the *Lesbian* shore?
> Alas! What boots it with uncessant care
> To tend the homely slighted Shepherd's trade,
> And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
> Were it not better done as others use,
> To sport with *Amaryllis* in the shade,
> Or with the tangles of *Neaera's* hair? (58–69)

The juxtaposition of Orpheus in his dual roles of lover and poet in Secundus's eclogue can hardly have failed to capture the attention of Milton, particularly since Secundus—himself the poet of Neaera in his celebrated *Basia*—suffered death, like Milton's Edward King or Lycidas, at an early age,

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[18] For an account of the Renaissance Lycidae, see W. Leonard Grant, *Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965). For the Renaissance Neaerae, see R. J. Schoeck in *Notes & Queries* 201 (1956): 190–91. Also see John Carey's note on Neaera's hair (John Milton, "Lycidas," *Complete Shorter Poems* [New York: Longman, 1971], 245) that locates Neaera in Vergil, Tibullus, and Horace as well as in Secundus, Buchanan, and others.

[19] Ioannes Secundus, "Orpheus, ecloga," *Sylvarum Liber, Opera* (1541). See also John R. C. Martyn, "Ioannes Secundus: Orpheus and Eurydice," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 35 (1986): 60–75. I wish to thank John Dillon for providing me a copy of the 1541 Secundus and for calling my attention to Martyn's transcription, translation, and commentary on the Orpheus eclogue.

having prophesied unwittingly in this eclogue his own "Orphic" fate as a poet.

Giambattista Amaltheo's "Lycidas" is of interest to us for a different reason. The pastoral is Amaltheo's complaint for his coming exile from Florence and his loss of the patronage of the Medicis. Assuming the character of Lycidas himself, Amaltheo regrets that he must depart for Spain, forced to leave the lovely banks of the Arno, as well as his lovely Amaryllis, whom he has courted under ever-green laurels. The eclogue resounds with nostalgia for the native gardens and landscape that he will see no more.

> At vos o lauri, quarum fragrante sub umbra
> Et nostra insolitis caluerunt pectora flammis
> Nostraque Maenalios meditata est fistula cantus,
> Sic ver assiduum foveat, non frigora laedant,
> Neve unquam laeto rami spolientur honore.[20]

> But you, o laurels, under whose fragrant shade
> Our hearts grew warm with unaccustomed flames,
> While Pan's song is meditated on our pipe,
> May eternal spring ever warm, and frost never harm
> Nor ever may your branches be spoiled of rich honor.

His complaint is as bitter-sweet as Milton's swain's for the scattered laurel or his regret of the joyful days when he and Lycidas joined in the pastoral songs.

> Yet once more, O ye Laurels, and once more
> Ye Myrtles brown, with Ivy never sere,
> I come to pluck your Berries harsh and crude,
> And with forc'd fingers rude,
> Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year. (1–5)

Regret for lost youth permeates both Amaltheo's and Milton's poems and links the one "Lycidas" to the other.

Secundus's and Amaltheo's poems impart to Milton's "Lycidas" a strong sense of personal involvement; both poets identify with their own Lycidas, who is both the title character and the speaker for them. They voice through him their feeling of love, of loss, of regret, of disappointments in life. Love has passed by their Lycidas, as it has apparently passed by the shepherd-swain of Milton's own pastoral. Neaera or Amaryllis is lost to these Lycidae, as they are to the swain who in "Lycidas" turns regretfully away from their amorous shades. There is no mistaking the resemblance between Milton's young shepherd-swain and the Lycidae of both these poems, for, like them, he is identified as the poet's spokesman, who in turn identifies with the dead shepherd, for whom he speaks.

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[20] Ioannes Baptista Amaltheus, *Carmina* (Venice, 1550), fols. 71r–72v.

Two other Neo-Latin poems, both entitled "Lycidas," replicate even more closely the subject of Milton's monody, for, like it, they are laments for a dead pastor Lycidas. The first is Francesco Berni's "Lycidas"; the second an anonymous eclogue "Lycidas" that is included in a volume of commemorative verse for Sir Philip Sidney, printed in Oxford in 1587, the year after Sidney's death. Both exploit the conventions of the pastoral elegy or eclogue. In Berni's poem, Lycidas, like the stricken lover Daphnis in Theocritus and the young poet Gallus in Vergil, has died of love.[21] The pastor Meleboeus, identifying with the dying shepherd, narrates how Lycidas determines to die when fair Amyntas rejects him. Neither Cupid nor Apollo can save him. Like Milton's own Lycidas, Berni's Lycidas is a shepherd whose song has resounded to the hills and caves and groves; as he dies, he bids farewell to his flock that he leaves bereft. Berni's poem is significant in that it transposes the fate traditionally associated with Daphnis, Theocritus's dying shepherd, to the character Lycidas.

Something similar happens in the "Lycidas" of the 1587 English collection—a poem that, like Milton's own monody, was written for a University volume to commemorate the recent untimely death of one of its alumni, namely Sir Philip Sidney. If Milton knew this volume, he may have chosen the name Lycidas for his dead poet-friend, because Sir Philip Sidney had been honored with that name.[22] The Sidney "Lycidas" is organized as a dialogue between two shepherds—Damoetas and Amyntas—and opens as Amyntas asks Damoetas why he comes, neglected in appearance and obviously suffering some inner grief. Damoetas replies that Lycidas—a shepherd who used to please the other shepherds with his songs—is dead; therefore, it is fitting, he says, to spend the day in song to mourn his passing. It is a conventional sentiment, but one that anticipates the words of Milton's swain:

> For *Lycidas* is dead, dead ere his prime,
> Young *Lycidas*, and hath not left his peer:
> Who would not sing for *Lycidas*? he knew
> Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.
> He must not float upon his wat'ry bier
> Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
> Without the meed of some melodious tear. (8–14)

When Amyntas demurs slightly, Damoetas insists that the whole realm is plunged in grief for Lycidas. Not only do the nymphs of wood, tree, and dell and the Graces lament, but Mars sets his shield aside and Apollo and

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[21] Francesco Berni, *Tutte le Opere* (Vinegra, 1538).

[22] The volume is organized into two parts, the first *Exequiae illustrissimi equitis, D. Philippi Sidnaei gratissimae memoriae ac nomine inpensae*, the second *Peplus illustrissimi viri D. Philippi Sidnaei supremis honoribus dicatus*, both published in Oxford by Joseph Barnes in 1587. The ode to Daphnis by William Gager occurs in the first part, the eclogue "Lycidas" in the second. I wish to thank James Riddell for calling my attention to the volumes.

the Muses weep. The poet's reward, the laurel, is dry—shattered, as in "Lycidas," by the premature death—and the waters of Hippocrene are stagnant. Nor is there any hope that another such as Lycidas will come; for, as Milton was to put it, he "hath not left his peer" (9). Amyntas responds, approving Damoetas's sentiments, but reassures him that Lycidas has entered heaven. Now the woods resound with joy, not sorrow. Reconciled, Damoetas bids Lycidas hail and farewell, promising that so long as dawn rises in the east and Phoebus dips in the waves at sunset, so long will the pipes of Arcady resound with song for Lycidas. In Milton's "Lycidas" a single shepherd offers both complaint and consolation, weeping first for Lycidas and finally bidding the shepherds to "weep no more" (165), assuring them that Lycidas has entered the "blest Kingdoms meek of joy and love" (177). He also pledges to remember the dead Lycidas as the "Genius of the shore" (183). Milton's monody, like the Cambridge "Lycidas" and many pastorals before it, concludes with the setting of the sun: "And now the Sun had stretch't out all the hills, / And now was dropt into the Western bay"(190–91).

In this same 1587 collection that memorializes Sidney as the shepherd Lycidas, an eclogue by William Gager commemorates Sidney as the shepherd Daphnis—a name especially appropriate for a poet-shepherd because of its clear Theocritean and Vergilian precedents. Given both Daphnis and Lycidas as names for the dead poet, here both used for Sidney, one wonders why Milton chose Lycidas rather than Daphnis. We may find the answer to that question in another commemorative collection, this one gathered to mark the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 and the ascension of James I as her successor. In a pastoral dialogue in this volume, Thyrsis mourns the passing of Elysa, while another shepherd, still one more of our Renaissance Lycidae, welcomes the arrival of Daphnis (James) from the north.[23] In the course of the seventeenth century, the name Daphnis was reapplied to James several times and thereafter to his descendants, both Charles I and Charles II.[24] Milton's reason then for avoiding the name Daphnis was probably political. In 1637 (as he protested the corruption of the Stuart clergy, and by implication the Stuart kingship), he must have felt reluctant because of its Stuart associations to use the name Daphnis for his dead shepherd, however honorably this Theocritean and Vergilian name had been applied to Sidney some fifty years earlier. Hence the Renaissance Lycidas becomes Milton's much lamented poet-pastor. The classical goatherd Lycidas, however, is not altogether forgotten. Just three years later in his "Epitaphium Damonis" Milton restores Lycidas to a Theocritean context. There Lycidas appears as a Tuscan countryman—very much alive—

[23] See *Threno-thriambeuticon* (Cambridge, 1603).

[24] See Grant, 347ff. The name Lycidas is used, however, for Charles I in a university collection that mourns James I's death in 1625.

overheard in a poplar grove beside the Arno, competing in a song contest with Menalcas. Obviously, Milton could play, by turns, both on Theocritean pan-pipes and on the Renaissance lute.

If the Neo-Latin tradition affected Milton's choice of the name Lycidas, it also affected his choice of genre—the monody. Often called a pastoral elegy or eclogue by critics, "Lycidas" is designated a monody by its author, a term applied to several different kinds of ode in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One of the earliest of these is Politiano's lament for Lorenzo de' Medici, which, though at only thirty lines and much shorter than "Lycidas," has some clear parallels with it. Both poems describe the shattered laurel; both allude to choruses of Muses and Nymphs that mourn, and both invoke fountains of grief to express their poetic tears. "Quis oculis meis / Fontem lachryarum dabit?" (Who makes my eyes a fountain of tears?), asks Politiano. Milton speaks of "the meed of some melodious tear." Pietro Crinito, Politiano's contemporary, uses monody for exuberant lyric celebrations as well as complaints. Right on the heels of Politiano's monody to the dead Lorenzo is Crinito's monody to the living Politiano, a sportive little narrative that recounts how a Southern Siren, flying back to Daulia, hears Angelo singing a new kind of melody beside the slowly flowing Arno. Crinito's monody on "Fortune and Her Men" is more sombre, for it reflects philosophically on Fortune's power to raise men to the clouds and throw them down.[25]

The most interesting of the Renaissance monodies for our purposes, however, is one Johannes Secundus composed on the death of Thomas More. The poem not only mourns the passing of the poet-saint, but also decries the injustice of his execution at the hands of Henry VIII.[26] At times grieving that More has been snuffed out by cruel murder, at times angry at the changes of Fortune, the savagery of Venus, and the deceit of the king, Secundus composes a poem that, like Milton's "Lycidas," draws on both classical and contemporary traditions. It is both a formal lament for the dead and also an intellectual investigation of the underlying causes in the cosmos for that death. Like Milton's "Lycidas," it employs the techniques of the classical ode; Secundus was quite likely affected by the Pindaric experiments going on in his own time, and so he too glances occasionally, as Milton does, at the techniques of Pindaric ode.

First of all, both Milton and Secundus include formal invocations of the Muses. Secundus calls upon the Muses, and Calliope in particular, to lament the poet's fall. Milton opens the first section of "Lycidas" with an appeal to the Muses: "Begin then, Sisters of the sacred well" (15). He later in-

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[25] Angelus Politianus, *Omnia Opera* (Venice: Aldus, 1498); Crinitus. Together with the "Monodia de laude Angeli Politiani," Crinito also has a monody in praise of Horace.

[26] Ioannes Secundus, "In Mortem Thomae Mori, Monodia," *Poetae Elegantissimi Opera* (Paris, 1582), fols. 163v–165v. The monody is not contained in the first collection of Secundus's works in 1541, but is generally accepted by Secundus and More scholars as authentic. It is included in later editions of Secundus, for example, in the Leiden edition of 1619.

vokes Calliope to mourn not only Lycidas's loss, but also her own inability to save her son, Orpheus, from savage murder by the Bacchantes. Both Milton and Secundus pluck the poetic laurel, which Secundus places ceremonially on More's tomb in honor of laurel-bearing poets. Both poets also recognize the appropriateness of one poet doing honor to another. As Milton's poet-swain puts it: "So may some gentle Muse / With lucky words favor my destin'd Urn" (19–20).

Neither Milton's nor Secundus's monody is just a lament for the dead poet, for both question the justice of that death and in so doing raise the poem above its function merely as a funeral song. Milton's shepherd complains that a just man—a poet who should have been protected by Apollo, the god of poets, and by the Almighty Jove—has been arbitrarily cut down by a blind fury. It is interesting that Secundus, in the midst of his monody, brings up similar questions. With More's fall, he says, not only does the just man die, who was once the glory of his realm and its dear councillor, but religion itself is also threatened. The king has divorced his legitimate wife, has taken on the title of Pontifex Maximus, and has outraged Virtue, Law, and Religion by condemning an innocent man. Thus, Secundus ponders the nature of a world where a man is killed for professing truth, while the man who killed him thrives.

The central section of "Lycidas" raises similar issues, and to resolve them, Milton brings on the scene of the first Pontifex Maximus—the mitered Peter with his two massy keys, "the Golden opes, the Iron shuts amain" (111). In one line, Peter regrets the passing of the just pastor, "How well could I have spar'd for thee, young swain" (113), and in the next he denounces those venal pastors who corrupt the church. With Peter's appearance, Milton attempts to reassure us that the guilty will be punished, promising that the "two-handed engine at the door / Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more" (130–31). Both in its digressive techniques and in its evaluation of divine reward and punishment, Secundus's monody anticipates Milton's. For him, the monody concerns as much the abuses of religion under Henry as it does the loss of the poet-saint More. In two parallel passages, Secundus looks at both More's reward and Henry's punishment. He depicts More's bloody execution almost as graphically as Milton describes Orpheus's decapitation by the Bacchantes. As More's head falls, rivers of purple stain his breast. Secundus reassures us, however, that God opens heaven for More, just as Milton's Apollo assures us that we may expect our meed in heaven. For More, the angels sing paeans, just as the swans on the Meander applaud Apollo, their poet god. For Henry, however, not heaven, but the abyss of hell opens. Do you think, Secundus asks, that heaven is pleased with blood? On earth, Henry will suffer the consequences of his act—vainly regretting the loss of the wise councillor More and haunted in his dreams by the ghost of the murdered man. This, says Secundus, is divine judgment for More.

The final passage of Secundus's monody offers comfort and farewell to

the good vates, who underwent death for religion. Because of him, temple and altar survive. Lycidas also concludes with a farewell to the dead pastor and a consolation to the "woeful Shepherds." Like More, Lycidas is received into heaven, where the saints above "in solemn troops, and sweet Societies" entertain him, singing and wiping "the tears for ever from his eyes" (178–81). As More in Secundus's monody becomes an example to human beings left behind, so does Lycidas, now guide "to all that wander in that perilous flood" (185). Renaissance monody had broadened the traditions of ode. With poems like Secundus's as a model, Milton could, in a single ode, mourn the death of the poet, even as he justified the ways of the Christian God.

Like Secundus's monody and like some pastoral eclogues, "Lycidas" is a living poet's tribute to a dead poet. It imitates and echoes classical laments, such as Moschus's for Bion and Vergil's for Gallus—works in which living poets give tribute to dead poets who were their friends. What, however, do Renaissance poets add to this ancient tradition and how do they affect Milton? In the Renaissance it was common for poet-friends to compose epigrams and naeniae on a poet's death and to include these tributes in volumes of his and their own poetry. Especially notable among the many such poets memorialized are Marullo, who, like Lycidas, was drowned accidentally, and Pontano and Crinito—two of Marullo's poet-mourners who knew him well, exchanged poems with him, and reacted with grief and shock at his death.[27] But how different are the poems they produce. Even in death, Pontano retains the affectionate tones of life. His sepulchal epigram speaks with loving regret, not despair, as though Marullo, who had so skillfully led the chorus in Greek and Latin song, was only removed to a poetic Elysium, where Corinna joins him in song while Delia plays the flute and Cynthia dances. Pontano transports his friend to a humanistic heaven, where his patron goddesses warm him in their bosoms. Not death, but the Muses, have ravished Marullo: "Nec Parca eripuit, Musae rapuere Marullum" (68v).

How different is Crinito's poem—no eloquent tribute to the poet of Apollo but a cry of despair that Apollo and the Muses have abandoned the poet. Just like "Lycidas," the naenia opens abruptly with repeated question upon question—"Is it true? Has the great vates died?... What do I hear? What evil has snatched you from us, Marullo? O the vanity of human expectation! Now we are filled with empty hope, now cast down!" How far are we from the elegant falsehood that the Muses, not death, have ravished Marullo. And how close are we to the despairing questions that the shepherd swain of "Lycidas" raises in anguished bereavement both at the unexpected death and at the indifference of the world to that death. Both Milton and Crinito

[27] Pontano, "Tumulorum," Lib. 1, *Opera* (1518), fols. 68r–68v; Crinitus, *Poemata*. In the first book of the "Baiarum," Pontano has a witty poem that he sent to Marullo in response to the present of a cheese included with some verses.

direct their attention to the world of nature and to the gods that permitted the poet to perish. Milton's swain, addressing the Nymphs, both demands why they were not there to save Lycidas ("Where were ye Nymphs?" 50), and despairs of their powers to help ("Had ye been there—for what could that have done?" 57). In still another insistent query, he questions the efficacy of his vocation, if neither Nature nor the gods of the poets protect him: "Alas! What boots it with uncessant care / To tend the homely slighted Shepherd's trade, / And strictly mediate the thankless Muse?" (64–66). Milton is asking the very questions that Crinito also asked—universal questions about the purpose of life and of the poet's place in it. Although Crinito does not dress his dead poet in shepherd's weeds, he sets his poem in the classical world of Nymphs and Phoebus and the Muses.

If Secundus's monody was one kind of inquiry into divine justice, Crinito's is another. When Secundus questions divine dispensation, he is secure in its ultimate response that if the good man suffers on earth, he will be rewarded in heaven. In Crinito's naenia, the Christian consolation is absent, and the poet's complaints against divine justice are far more clamorous. Indicting the gods and divine Necessity that struck Marullo with its thunder from above, Crinito can only raise the faint hope that Marullo may live through the grace of Apollo. He recreates the scene of Marullo's death, describing how the swelling waters of the river doomed him. What god, he asks, was deaf to his prayers and denied Marullo life? What cruel goddess drowned both the poet and his verse, consigning his inspired song to the glittering waves? It is difficult to read Crinito's indictment of the gods of nature without thinking of Milton's Orpheus passage, where the clamor of the Bacchic rout drowns both the poet and his song, or, as he was to put it in *Paradise Lost*, "both Harp and Voice" (7.37). In both poems, the mourners stand by helplessly as the scene of drowning occurs all over again. In vain, Milton's shepherd asks the gods of sea and wind what hard mischance condemned the swain. To his "moist vows denied," the "whelming tide" covers the body of the poet (157–59). Both poets cry against the cruelty of the world of nature and the impotence of man to control his destiny. By recreating for us the scene of the death, we are made to share in that feeling of impotence.

Crinito concludes his poem in the interrogative voice with which he began. The closing lines ask the question that Milton's "Lycidas" also asks. Who is there to fill the poet's place? Now that Marullo is gone, says Crinito, who can fitly join, as he did, the Graces and Venus to the Muses? Who can sing the praises of the god, address the king, or bind his hair with the sacred leaves? His only reply is the affirmation that his tears are vain. "Lycidas" concludes, of course, by wiping away those very tears. Yet Crinito's naenia is a powerful testament to one poet's grief at the death of another; its very intensity of personal emotion contributes yet another dimension to the poetry of lament. Once more Milton can look, not just to the classical, but to the neoclassical world for models for his verse.

As Milton progressed from his early to his later odes, he relied increasingly on both the example of ancient masters of lyric poetry—Theocritus, Vergil, Horace, and Pindar—and on the more recent practitioners of these genres—Pontano, Crinito, Marullo, Secundus. In order to evaluate Milton's achievement as a poet, therefore, we must come to understand and appreciate the contribution of Neo-Latin verse.

Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

Bemerkungen zu Biographie und Text im Werk des Jesuiten Jakob Balde

PETER LEBRECHT SCHMIDT

Das geistesgeschichtliche Paradigma in der Tradition Wilhelm Diltheys—emblematisch Titel und Erscheinungsjahr (1906) seines wirkungsmächtigen Buches *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*—hat seit der Epoche vor dem ersten Weltkrieg nicht nur allgemein, sondern auch in der engagierten Baldeforschung seine Spuren hinterlassen. Jene subtilere Vertiefung, aber auch Kontinuierung der biographistischen Fragerichtung des 19. Jahrhunderts, mit der nun das Interesse an der äußeren Abfolge der Ereignisse von dem am Erlebnis im Text abgelöst wurde, hatte—in der Formulierung von Henrich[1]—auch im Werk unseres Barockdichters "die Freuden und Schmerzen des Menschen, Hoffnung und Furcht, Sehnsucht und Wehmut, Stolz und Verzweiflung" gesucht und doch nicht recht gefunden. All dies, so weiter Henrich, "sollte der Jesuit nicht kennen oder doch nach Möglichkeit in sich ertöten. Damit war der Lyrik der lebendige Atem genommen." In der gleichen Richtung argumentierte Wentzlaff-Eggebert,[2] mit Paul Merker und Hans Pyritz einer der wenigen Germanisten überhaupt, der in den 20er und 30er Jahren die lateinische Dichtung deutscher Nation ernst genommmen hatte. Andere Kategorien wie Funktionsgeschichte—schließlich handelt es sich bei Balde zunächst um einen mit der Produktion von Texten in Schule, Kirche und Gesellschaft sozusagen offiziell betrauten Schriftsteller—oder Intertextualität wurden in dieser Sicht nur als Hindernisse auf dem Wege zum Verständnis der poetischen Selbstverwirklichung des lyrischen Ich bewertet.

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[1] Anton Henrich, *Die lyrischen Dichtungen Jakob Baldes* (Straßburg, 1915), 109, zur Erlebnis-Kategorie 57ff.

[2] Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Das Problem des Todes in der deutschen Lyrik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1931), 110–21.

Die modernere, teils wie Schäfer[3] eher rezeptionsgeschichtlich, teils wie Kühlmann[4] mehr sozialhistorisch interessierte Forschung ist auf dem Weg zur Korrektur solcher Fehleinschätzungen ein gut Stück vorangekommen. Und doch bleibt im Detail noch manches zu tun, werden einerseits seit Westermayer[5] die biographischen Daten eher vernachlässigt oder einfach weitergeschrieben, andererseits Baldes poetische Texte in ihrer biographischen Aussagekraft überschätzt. Mein Beitrag soll einige Beobachtungen und Hinweise beisteuern, die dafür plädieren, den biographischen Rahmen der Gedichte noch unabhängiger von ihnen selbst zu rekonstruieren, um sie in ihrer poetischen Autonomie, allenfalls in ihrem Verweischarakter genauer zu begreifen.

"Über die äußeren Lebensumstände des Dichters sind wir im klaren. Die Forschungen Westermayers haben aus den Akten alles erreichbare Material zusammengetragen und uns ein deutliches Bild von Baldes Lebensgang und von seinem Verhältnis zur Außenwelt gegeben." Henrichs Behauptung,[6] einem linearen Fortschrittsdenken verhaftet, zielt darauf ab, das ältere von dem eigenen, neuen Paradigma abzugrenzen und verzichtet infolgedessen auf eine selbständige Überprüfung der biographischen Angaben von Westermayer und ihrer knapperen Tradierung durch Bach,[7] jene Biographie zum 200. Todestag, diese zum 300. Geburtstag Baldes erschienen. Und doch ist für Westermayers in der Tat bis heute grundlegende Synthese der biographischen Tradition zu Balde im Betracht der genaueren Chronologie seiner Lebensübergänge eine gewisse Unschärfe charakteristisch. Wie es scheint, würde sich eine noch konsequenter auf die Quellen und den jeweiligen institutionellen Hintergrund zurückgehende Überprüfung der Lebensdaten des Dichters wohl lohnen. Dies gilt besonders für eine durch das institutionelle und politische Umfeld im weitesten Sinn gegebene Einschränkung des Autor-Ichs, die Zensur im Sinne eines politischen Erwartungsdrucks oder gezielter Eingriffe der Ordenszensur, die die Werke vor dem Imprimatur zu begutachten hatte. Die Münchener Zensurnotizen sind bisher nur teilweise bekannt;[8] ihre systematische Edierung und Kommentierung würde

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[3] Eckart Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz. Conrad Celtis—Georg Fabricius—Paul Melissus—Jacob Balde* (Wiesbaden, 1976), 126–253.

[4] Wilhelm Kühlmann, "Jacob Baldes Korrespondenz mit Ferdinand von Fürstenberg," *Euphorion* 76 (1982): 133–55; Ders., *Literatur Lexikon* 1 (1988): 296–98; Ders. (mit Hermann Wiegand), Einleitung zu *Jacob Balde S.J., Opera poetica omnia*, Bd.1–8 (München 1729; repr. Frankfurt a.M., 1990), 1: 5–36, Bibliographie 37–48, hier 43f.

[5] Georg Westermayer, *Jacobus Balde, sein Leben und seine Werke* (München, 1868).

[6] (Anm. 1), 13.

[7] Joseph Bach, *Jakob Balde. Ein religiös-patriotischer Dichter aus dem Elsaß* (Freiburg i.Br., 1904).

[8] Exzerpte bei Luzian Pfleger, "Unediertes von und über Jakob Balde," *Zeitschr. f. d. Gesch. d. Oberrheins*, N.F.19 (1904): 69–78, hier 73ff., vgl. auch Schäfer (Anm. 3), 156f.; Dieter Breuer, *Oberdeutsche Literatur 1565–1650. Deutsche Literaturgeschichte und Territorialgeschichte in frühabso-lutistischer Zeit* (München, 1979), 218–76, hier 222ff. (Verhältnis zu Maximilian I.). 247ff. (Zensur), vgl. auch Kühlmann, *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* N.F. 29 (1988): 348f.

einen kleinen, aber einflußreichen Ausschnitt der zeitgenössischen Rezeption genauer kennen lehren sowie ergänzende Informationen zu Baldes Werkbiographie versprechen.

Für unsere Zwecke ist ein kaum bekannter, weil an entlegener Stelle publizierter[9] Lebensabriß erhellend, der in seiner Struktur antike Anregungen mit jesuitischer Akzentuierung kombiniert und dessen Angaben, sofern sie von dem traditionellen chronologischen Gerüst abweichen, als die eines fast zeitgenössischen Testimoniums einige Beachtung zu verdienen scheinen: Für den Nekrolog des Neuburger Jesuitenkollegs von 1668—Auszüge sind als T.1 gegeben—ist zunächst als Kriterium für Selektion und Anordnung der biographischen Daten das Schema der antiken Lebensbeschreibung in der durch Sueton vermittelten Form als Horizont vorauszusetzen. Sein Frageraster hebt also ab 1. auf Baldes Herkunft, 2. Aufgaben und Aktivitäten im Dienst des Ordens, 3. die wichtigsten Werke, 4. Bekanntheitsgrad und zeitgenössische Rezeption, 5. charakterliche Merkmale und 6. die Umstände seines Todes.

Nachzutragen bleiben demgegenüber zunächst die meisten absoluten Daten: Balde, aus der Familie eines lokal einflußreichen Beamten im vorderösterreichischen Ensisheim stammend, ist um die Jahreswende 1603/4 geboren. Es erscheint charakteristisch, daß dies Element der ständischen Herkunft—anders als im suetonischen System—im Nekrolog ebenso wie Bildung und Ausbildung übergangen ist. Vor dem Übergang in den Jesuitenorden als in eine sozusagen zweite Existenz interessiert hier fast nichts. So bleiben weiter zu ergänzen Baldes Aufenthalt in Belfort zum Studium der französischen Sprache (1613–1617), seine Rückkehr in die Heimatstadt Ensisheim, nachdem 1615 hier ein Jesuitengymnasium begründet worden war, Gymnasialunterricht 1617–1620 und 1620–1621 ein nur kurzes Studium an der Jesuitenuniversität Molsheim. Balde mußte schon 1622 nach Ingolstadt ausweichen, nachdem im Spätherbst 1621 nun auch das Elsaß durch den Einfall des Grafen von Mansfeld in den Strudel des böhmischen Krieges, wie er damals noch hieß, hineingezogen worden war. 1623 wurde Balde in Ingolstadt zum Magister artium et philosophiae graduiert, nicht zum Doktor gar, wie man in der biographischen Tradition immer wieder behauptet findet.[10] Das anschließend begonnene Rechtsstudium—"iure civili initiatus" in der Formulierung des Nekrologs—wird indes jäh abgebrochen durch den Entschluß, in den Jesuitenorden einzutreten—die

[9] Wilfried Stroh, *Literatur in Bayern* 11 (März 1988): 9–13, vgl. auch Heß (Anm. 56), 624.

[10] Vgl. Neubig (Anm. 63) 3 (Kempten, 1830), V. Westermayer (Anm. 5), 15 (danach Bach, Anm. 7, 16f.) mit Verweis auf die dem ersten Band der Münchener Ausgabe von 1729 (vgl.Anm. 4) vorangestellte Würdigung (*Icon*, S. O 1r): "Suprema Philosophiae et Artium laurea donatus, ad Jus civile primo applicuit animum. . . ." Ioannes Nepomucenus Mederer, *Annales Ingolstadiensis Academiae* 2 (Ingolstadt, 1782), 236, auf den sich Westermayer noch beruft, hat hier speziell zu Balde nichts (vgl. aber T. 6a), vermerkt indes: "et paulo post (sc. post festum Pentecostes) Magistri Philosophiae sunt creati, numero quadraginta et octo."

genaueren Umstände der Conversio bzw. ihre Mythisierung in der Tradition werden uns noch zu beschäftigen haben. Die vorläufige Aufnahme erfolgt am 1. Juli 1624, wiederum bezeichnenderweise eines der wenigen absoluten Daten, die der Nachruf überhaupt für erwähnenswert hält.

Für die frühen Aufgaben des offenbar begabten und exzellent ausgebildeten jungen Mannes vermitteln uns weiterhin die Notizen, von Westermayer[11] aus den Münchener Jesuitica exzerpiert (vgl. T.2), eine etwas genauere Anschauung: Am 2. Juli 1626 legt er, nach der üblichen zweijährigen Probezeit, in der bayrischen Hauptstadt die drei einfachen Gelübde ab, am 20. Oktober empfängt er die niederen Weihen (a). Schon im November wird der knapp 23 jährige mit der Leitung der unteren Grammatikklasse (Rudimenta) des Münchener Jesuitengymnasiums betraut (b): 140 Schüler—die Zahl spricht für sich, ist bezeichnend für die Attraktivität der Schule wie für den Unterrichtsstil, der natürlich nur als Frontalunterricht vorgestellt werden kann. Schon zum nächsten Schuljahr 1627–1628 steigt Balde zum Leiter der unteren Poesie-Klasse (Humanitas maior) auf (c), und betreut außerdem ab Februar 1628 die Rhetorikklasse des in die Oberpfalz abberufenen Kollegen Paul Gabler (d)—dies eine besondere Auszeichnung. Zum Schuljahr 1628–1629 wird schließlich auch Balde selbst versetzt, und zwar an das Gymnasium in Innsbruck, muß dort erneut ein Jahr Poesie und 1629–1630 wieder Rhetorik lehren. Nur eine solche Rekonstruktion der Lehraufgaben im Zeitraum von 1626–1627 bis zunächst 1628–1629 wird jedenfalls den Angaben des Nekrologs (T.1, 2) gerecht, er habe ein Jahr Grammatik und zwei Jahre Poesie unterrichtet.[12]

Auch die nächste Studienphase Baldes hat die Neuburger Vita der Erwähnung nicht für wert befunden: 1630 wurde ihm erlaubt, das (bis 1632 dauernde) Studium der Theologie—nun wieder in Ingolstadt—aufzunehmen, nach dessen Abschluß er 1633 zum Priester geweiht wurde. Nach den Wirren des Schwedeneinfalls durfte er 1635 bis 1637 eben in Ingolstadt erneut Rhetorik[13] und das gleiche Fach ab 1637 wieder in München unterrichten—"docuit rhetoricam annis quatuor" im Nekrolog, d.h. 1629–1630 in Innsbruck, die beiden Ingolstädter Jahre und 1637–1638 in München.[14] Hier und jetzt tritt Balde nun auch in die Phase seiner weitesten geistlichen, gesellschaftlichen und literarischen Wirksamkeit ein: 1638 bis 1641 fungiert er als Hofprediger des Bayernherzogs Maximilian I., bis 1648 auch als Hofhistoriograph. Nachdem der Dichter sich den Münchener Aufgaben, auch

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[11] S. 25ff.

[12] Entsprechend wäre dann die Innsbrucker Notiz (vgl. Westermayer, 38) zu deuten; mit einem Irrtum des Nekrologs rechnet jedoch Stroh (Anm. 9), 9.

[13] Vgl. Mederer, 273 zum akademischen Jahr 1634–35; die Vorlesungen konnten indes erst im Februar 1635 wieder aufgenommen werden.

[14] Das halbe Jahr 1628 wird hier ebenso übergangen wie die Tatsache, daß es 1635 bis 1637 in Ingolstadt eigentlich 2 1/2 Jahre waren; es kommt dem Verfasser des Nekrologs offenbar auf die exponentiell aufsteigende Reihe 1 (Grammatik), 2 (Poesie), 4 (Rhetorik) an.

dem politischen Erwartungsdruck aus gesundheitlichen Gründen nicht mehr gewachsen sah , zog er sich in die Provinz zurück, figurierte als Stadtpfarrer 1650–53 in Landshut, 1653–54 im oberpfälzischen Amberg und bis 1656 auch in Neuburg, wo er bis zu seinem Tode 1668 im Jesuitenkolleg lebte.

Im Grunde wissen wir über diese kargen Notizen hinaus von Baldes Biographie im Detail relativ wenig. Die Lebensbilder im Stil des 19. Jhdts., in unserem Falle also Westermayer, müssen sich denn auch damit begnügen, diese Basisdaten durch eine ausführliche Vorstellung der Werke und den Blick auf die allgemeinen Zeitverhältnisse—die chaotischen Zustände des 30jährigen Krieges, vor dessen Horizont sich Baldes Leben vom 14. bis zum 44. Lebensjahre abspielte, die stabile Ordnung des Jesuitenordens, berühmte Zeitgenossen, zu denen der Dichter in Beziehung stand—jeweils nach allgemeiner Wahrscheinlichkeit aufzufüllen. Hören wir etwa Westermayer[15] zu den Ingolstädter Jahren, einer Phase also, aus der wir in Wirklichkeit kaum Spezielleres notieren können: "In studentischen Kreisen war der feine, schlankgebaute Elsäßer bald der erkorene König; sein geselliges Talent, seine Fertigkeit in Gesang und Lautenspiel, sein immer sprühender Humor, seine Lust an ritterlichen Wagnissen sicherten ihm diesen Rang ohne Frage zu. Wie manche verschollene Herberge Ingolstadt's, wie manches verödete Gäßlein könnte von Baldes Geniestreichen erzählen."

Es fehlen also bestimmte Texte, deren direkte, konkrete Informationen solche Extrapolationen aus den Werken oder gar freie Mutmaßungen überflüssig machen würden: Briefe von oder an Balde sind bisher nur in bescheidenem Umfang bekannt.[16] In seinen Werken hingegen ist dem Dichter nur sein poetisches Ich wichtig, das biographische durchaus marginal. Dies bedeutet nun aber auch, daß in seinem Lebenslauf, der uns vor der Conversio weitgehend unbekannt ist und der danach, jedenfalls nach außen und allenfalls durch die allgemeinen Weltläufte bewegt, gleichmäßig dahin zu fließen scheint, das bedeutsame, charakteristische Detail fast völlig ausfällt, von dem aus das biographische Interesse in der Tradition Plutarchs zu dem eigentlichen Wesenskern einer Vita vorzudringen hofft.

Der Versuch, Baldes Persona privata insgesamt über den Begriff des Lyrischen, der persönlichen Erlebnisdichtung also, zu fassen—so die Bemühungen von Henrich,—mußte auch daran scheitern, daß er sich nicht ausschließlich als Lyriker betätigt, sich vielmehr als professioneller Dichter, wie es zunächst den Anschein hat, in den verschiedenen Werkgruppen je nach ihrer Funktion unterschiedlich stark poetisch engagiert, d.h. daß seine persönliche als poetische Beteiligung in den verschiedenen Werken und Werkgruppen in unterschiedlichem Maße im Spiele ist. Um also genauer beobachten bzw. beurteilen zu können, was in den verschiedenen Phasen seiner Werkbiographie stärker oder schwächer präponderiert, bedarf es allerdings

[15] S.14.

[16] Vgl. Kühlmann 1982 (Anm. 4), 134.

eines vorgängigen Blickes auf die Überlieferungs- und Editionsverhältnisse.

Die auf den Vorarbeiten des Münchener Jesuiten, Theaterautors, Bühnenpraktikers und -theoretikers Franz Lang aufbauende Editio Monacensis von 1729, die trotz ihrer unübersehbaren Schwächen[17] zu Recht soeben nachgedruckt worden ist,[18] hilft mit ihrer Einteilung in *Lyrica* (Bd.1) und *Silven* (2), *Epica* (3) und *Satyrica* (4), *Elegiaca* (5), *Dramatica* (6) und *Varia* (7/8) nicht eben sehr weit, darf mithin nicht als letzte Antwort auf unsere überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Fragen gelten. Langs unbestreitbares Verdienst ist indes zumal darin zu sehen, daß er—damals nicht selbstverständlich—Originalhandschriften in erheblicher Anzahl zusammenzutragen wußte; ja er ließ zu diesem Zweck sogar einen Bücherkasten anfertigen und mit einem im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes epideiktischen Epigramm[19] versehen (T. 3); man ist fast versucht von Personenkult zu reden. Nach der Aufhebung des Münchener Jesuitenkollegs St. Michael und der Zerstreuung seiner Bibliothek ging dieser Bücherkasten mitsamt seinem Inhalt bis auf wenige Stücke verloren; nur zwei Codices mitsamt der ursprünglichen Kastenaufschrift, die erst 1830 als bescheidenes Strandgut eines bedeutenden Schiffbruches auf Umwegen in die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek gelangten, sind bewahrt.

Das Titelblatt der Ausgabe selbst spricht zwar zutreffend von Baldes *Opera poetica* als "magnam partem nunquam edita," setzt dann allerdings mit "e MM.SS. auctoris nunc primum collecta" etwas vollmundig fort; in dieselbe Richtung zielt dann auch die Vorbemerkung zu den in Bd.5 edierten Elegien, sie seien "uti reliqua omnia, e MM.SS Authoris nostri posthumis"[20] zusammengestellt worden. Soweit diese Feststellungen übertrieben sind, lassen sie sich leicht entlarven: 1729 wird z.T. das Titelblatt der von Balde 1626 bis 1664 einzeln in Druck gegebenen Gedichte mit abgedruckt. Auch basiert die Editio Monacensis in ihrem Aufbau grundsätzlich auf des Dichters Gesamtausgabe letzter Hand, Köln 1660: Dem dort der Lyrik, *Oden*, *Epoden* und *Silven* gewidmeten Bd.1 entsprechen hier die ersten beiden Bände; dadurch wird 2 zu 3, 3 zu 4, Bd.5 kommt ganz neu hinzu und der ehemalige Bd.4 wird in die neuen Bände 6 bis 8 hinein aufgelöst und aufgeteilt. Was nun die in der Vorlage fehlenden, d.h. nur handschriftlich oder in Einzeldrucken nach 1660 vorhandenen jüngeren bzw. damals nicht aufgenommenen älteren Werke[21] betrifft, so geht der Münchener Heraus-

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[17] Vgl. Peter Lebrecht Schmidt, "Balde und Claudian: Funktionsgeschichtliche Rezeption und poetische Modernität," *Jahrbuch f. Int. Germ.* A 16 (1986): 157–84, hier 177f.

[18] Vgl. Anm. 4

[19] Vgl. Schmidt (Anm. 17), 177.

[20] Bd.5, 242.

[21] In der Werk-Bibliographie von Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock* 1 (Stuttgart, 1990, zuerst 1980), 378–400 ist jeweils der Erstdruck und sein Wiederabdruck 1729, nicht jedoch die allfällige Zwischenstufe von 1660 registriert. So sind z.B. von den frühen Panegyriken 1660 in Bd.2 der *Panegyricus Equestris* für O.Fugger (1628, vgl. Dünnhaupt, 382) bzw. das Prosimetrum *Maximilianus Primus Austriacus* (1631, Dünnhaupt, 383) nicht

geber so vor, daß diese Addenda in der Regel am Anfang bzw. am Ende des jeweils älteren Kernbestandes en bloc hinzugefügt werden.

Andererseits hat er in der Tat nicht nur für bisher Ungedrucktes, sondern mindestens in einzelnen Fällen—die *Silven* werden uns noch zu beschäftigen haben—auch für zuvor Publiziertes Autorhandschriften benutzen können. Die Varianten der Münchener Ausgabe müssen deshalb—neben der Erstpublikation und der Sammelausgabe letzter Hand—jeweils als präsumptiv authentisch, gegebenfalls sogar als Bezeugung einer textgenetisch früheren Stufe gelten. Leider sind die von Lang gesammelten Handschriften auch unpublizierter Baldeana damals weder vollständig noch in ihrer originalen Abfolge veröffentlicht worden. Dies läßt sich z.B. im Fall des *Regnum poetarum* (1628) anhand der hier ausnahmsweise erhaltenen Handschrift München, Clm 27271.III nachweisen, aus der 1729 zwei Werke[22] überhaupt nicht und vom *Regnum* nur einzelne, nach Gattungsgesichtspunkten verstreute Stücke[23] der Publikation gewürdigt worden sind.

Eine—von der Forschung bisher ganz vernachlässigte—Frage drängt sich auf: Wo hat Lang die in jenem Kasten aufbewahrten und dann doch nur zum Teil edierten Originale vorgefunden[24], bzw. was läßt sich aus dem Ort ihres Verbleibs für das Gewicht, das der Autor diesen Produkten seiner Feder beimaß, erschließen? Am einfachsten liegt der Fall bei dem—für unseren Dichter allgemein in vielerlei Hinsicht aufschlußreichen—Codex Monacensis mit Werken, die er 1627 und 1628 für und mit seiner Münchener Poeten-Klasse geschaffen und szenisch aufgeführt hat. Er lag, wie das entsprechend veränderte Titelblatt zeigt (Abb. 1), noch 1675, also nach seinem Tode (1668) in Innsbruck, wohin sie also 1628 bei der Übersiedelung zunächst mitgewandert, von wo sie aber 1630 nicht mehr mitgenommen worden war.[25] Ebendort war auch das Manuskript des 1629 pflichtgemäß angefertigten und aufgeführten *Iocus serius theatralis* verblieben, das dann in die Wiener Nationalbibliothek gekommen ist.[26] Dies Schuldrama war, wie bei den Jesuiten üblich, anonym[27] und ist wohl deshalb von Lang, der doch den späteren Monacensis in Innsbruck gefunden und nach München entführt hatte, nicht identifiziert worden. Die Autorhandschrift des

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berücksichtigt. Im einzelnen ist kritisch immer auch Bach (Anm. 7), 80ff. heranzuziehen.

[22] Der emblematische Bilderzyklus *De Dei et mundi amore* und die hexametrische Invektive gegen den Grafen Ernst von Mansfeld, vgl. die Beschreibung der Handschrift bei Schmidt (Anm. 17), 174ff. Ich verdanke die Möglichkeit eines alltäglichen Umgangs mit einer photographischen Reproduktion der langmütigen Großzügigkeit von Eckart Schäfer.

[23] Vgl. Schmidt, 175.

[24] Zu korrigieren Schmidt, 177.

[25] Vgl. Schmidt, 176f.

[26] Vgl. Jean-Marie Valentin, "Jakob Baldes *Jocus serius theatralis* (1629)," *Euphorion* 66 (1972): 412–36.

[27] Vgl. dazu allgemein Fidel Rädle, in *Theatrum Europaeum. Fschr. f. Elida Maria Szarota* (München,1982), 87ff.

Historiendramas *Arion Scaldicus* (1649)[28] wird Lang mit anderen Baldeana im Münchener Kolleg vorgefunden haben. Hingegen stammen die Vorlagen der drei späten Satiren, von Lang mit generisch verwandten Texten am Ende von Bd.4 publiziert, ebenso wie die Fortsetzung der *Urania victrix* natürlich aus Neuburg.[29]

Lang hatte es also mit drei Kategorien von Codices zu tun, a) mit Texten, die wie das *Regnum poetarum* für eine bestimmte Situation entstanden und mit ihr sozusagen erledigt waren, seltener b) mit Originalhandschriften von bereits publizierten Werken, und c) Schriften, die für eine dann doch nicht realisierte Publikation bestimmt waren. Einen Sonderfall der Kategorie a) stellt eine etwas spekulativ zu erschließende Handschrift dar, in der Balde poetische Versuche und Vorarbeiten, vorwiegend in Distichen, mindestens bis zur zweiten Ingolstädter Zeit 1630ff. eingetragen und aufbewahrt zu haben scheint, die ihn demnach auf all seinen Lebensetappen von Jesuitenkolleg zu Jesuitenkolleg bis nach Neuburg begleitet hätte Aus der vorjesuitischen Ingolstädter Studienzeit fand sich hier ein poetischer Kommentar zum Thesenthema *De iure venandi*, wo die Natura gegenüber der das private Jagdrecht vertretenden Diana den Verlust des uralten "Ius ubique venandi" beklagt, ferner Innsbrucker Produkte wie etwa einen Heroidenbrief der Göttin Diana an Venus zum Tode des geliebten Adonis, aus der Phase des Ingolstädter Theologiestudiums einen Sonnengesang als poetische Ausgestaltung von Tag 4 des Hexameron, der noch 1662, d.h. in Neuburg zitiert werden konnte.[30]

Aus dieser Rekonstruktion der genetischen Stratigraphie von Baldes Autorhandschriften darf also geschlossen werden, daß mindestens bei einer Reihe von Jugend- und Gelegenheitsgedichten ein Druck überhaupt nicht oder nicht von vornherein vorgesehen war. Diese von Balde selbst gezogene Grenze gilt einmal für Gedichte, die er im Schulbetrieb selbst vortrug oder von seinen Schülern vortragen ließ, etwa die drei Werke des Codex Monacensis, d.h. neben dem *Regnum poetarum* und der *Philippica gegen Mansfeld* auch den emblematischen Zyklus *De Dei et mundi amore*, wo die Vorstellung der

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[28] Bd.6, 259ff.

[29] Vgl. Bd.4, 469ff.; 5, 243ff.

[30] Vgl. Bd.5, 317f. und 318ff. (Diana an Venus), dazu in *De Vanitate Mundi* (Bd. 7, 197): "Dumque meas Helicon curas conspexit ad Oenum ... a) Purgata est Veneris monstro Bethlemia Rupes (verloren), / b) Perque Tyrolenses flevit Adonis agros"; zum Sonnengesang, zitiert in *De Eclipsi Solis* (Bd.4, 140ff.) vgl. ebd. 140: "Ille (sc. Poeta noster) in Thesibus, quae sex Dierum opus declarandum proposuerant Ingolstadii, Solem, sicut rogatus erat, sibi sumpserat celebrandum adhuc Juvenis, Academicae Disputationis Argumento floridum carmen subscribens. ... In hunc modum cecinit." Irrig dazu Bach (Anm.7), 23, der dies Schlußgedicht mit der Disputation selbst verwechselt; richtiger Westermayer (Anm.5), 42. Fand sich in dieser autobiographischen Sammelhandschrift auch die *Fama laureata* auf den Bayernherzog Maximilian I. von 1634, die gleichfalls erst 1729 (Bd.3, 255ff.) gedruckt erscheint?

"Poetae Monacenses"—so ursprünglich in Abb. 1 , Z. 5 unter der Veränderung "Oeniponti" zu lesen[31]—doch wohl bedeuten soll, daß die Schüler bei der Anfertigung der die Bilder des Zyklus deutenden Epigramme beteiligt waren, das Autor-Ich hier also noch weiter zurücktritt als bei einer Schulübung ohnehin gegeben.

Eine zweite Kategorie von Gelegenheitsgedichten im engeren Sinne, die jedenfalls nicht generell für eine Publikation bestimmt waren, bilden Panegyriken und andere die entscheidenden Etappen menschlicher Existenz wie Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod glanzvoll begleitenden Festgedichte, Natalizien, Epithalamien und Epitaphien. Besteht die Reihe der Baldeschen Einzeldrucke von 1626 bis 1636, also vor dem ersten in diesem Sinne sozusagen 'unbedingten' Gedicht, der Ode *De vanitate mundi*, ausschließlich aus solchen okkasionellen Poemen, so scheint er zwar später immer wieder einmal zu solchen Aufgaben herangezogen worden zu sein,[32] davon aber jetzt nicht alles und jedenfalls nicht sofort gedruckt zu haben, auch manches in die Gesamtausgabe von 1660 nicht aufgenommen zu haben.[33] Dies gilt sogar für den Nachruf auf den Zerstörer Magdeburgs, den kaiserlichen General Tilly, ein Text, der—1632 verfaßt—erst 1678 postum das Licht der Öffentlichkeit erblickt hat. Es wäre einmal gesondert zu untersuchen, ob bzw. inwiefern sich aus solchen Divergenzen des genetischen zum Druckprofil Schlüsse ziehen lassen, wie stark Balde die Spannung zwischen den Verpflichtungen einer durch die Lebenssituation gegebenen Persona publica und der autonomeren Persona poetica empfunden und sich ihr zu entziehen versucht hat.[34] Dabei wäre dann auch zu berücksichtigen, daß er im Rahmen der von den antiken Vorbildern vorgegebenen Lizenzen in bestimmten Werken—etwa den *Silven*,[35] wenn auch verschlüsselt, und Satiren—persönliche, private wie politische Elemente eher zum Ausdruck bringen kann als in den in erster Linie an der poetischen Persona arbeitenden *Lyrica*.

Westermayer hatte ja im Rahmen eines werkbiographischen Entwicklungsmodells die Produktion Baldes in vier, wie es heißt,[36] poetische Lichtbrechungen eingeteilt, einen epischen Morgen (1626–37), einen lyrischen Mittag (1637–49), einen satirischen Abend (1649–62) und eine elegische Dämmerung (1662–68). Die, wenn auch etwas holzschnittartige, Charakteristik der Werkphasen zwei, drei und vier mag so stehen bleiben, die der ersten trifft in dieser Pointierung nicht: Balde war trotz der *Batrachomyomachie* (1637) nie eigentlich Epiker.[37] Wenn er bis 1636 in poetischen Vorübun-

[31] Vgl. Schmidt (Anm. 17), 176.

[32] Vgl. die Nr. 19, 23 und 35 bei Dünnhaupt (Anm.21), alle zuerst anonym publiziert. Ein ungedrucktes Elogium auf J. Drexel erwähnt Bach, 34. 120

[33] Vgl. Anm. 21.

[34] Vgl. etwa Henrich (Anm. 1), 27, aber Breuer (Anm. 8), 225ff., zu den Möglichkeiten politischer Distanzierung auch unter der panegyrischen Oberfläche 222ff.

[35] Vgl. Schäfer (Anm. 3), 127f.

[36] S.31, modifiziert übernommen von Schäfer, 126ff.

[37] *Heroica* als Titel von Bd.2 der Kölner Ausgabe von 1660 (= *Epica*, Bd.3, 1729) bezeich-

gen, Musterstücken für die Schule und panegyrischen Gelegenheitsgedichten sich ganz überwiegend des Hexameters und elegischen Distichons bedient, so ist dies didaktisch, insbesondere von den exemplarisch zu vermittelnden Gattungstypen her bedingt. Wohl noch in der Münchener Zeit (etwa 1627) hat er als Gattungsmuster für ein mythologisch-hagiographisches Epyllion die *Juditha triumphatrix*—als Exemplum für die Gattung Preisgedicht—ebenfalls an einem hagiographischen Objekt—den *Panegyricus de laudibus S. Catharinae virginis et martyris* seinen Schülern vorgestellt, schließlich an der—wie das *Regnum poetarum*—im Stile von Statius, Lucan und Vergil präsentierten Legende *Pudicitia vindicata seu tres virgines a S. Nicolao episcopo dotatae* Sicherheit in der Stildifferenzierung gewinnen lassen.[38]

Man könnte diesem Befund zusätzlich entnehmen, daß Balde sich in den Werken der späten 20er und frühen 30er Jahre schon als Lehrender wie noch als Lernender empfunden hat. Er läßt hauptsächlich in der leichteren daktylischen Metrik und im Stil der Klassiker üben, die im Rahmen der *Pudicitia vindicata* und vollzähliger noch im *Regnum poetarum* in einer poetologischen Prosopopoiie auftreten, und gewinnt selbst an Sicherheit. Er scheint es sich erst in den 30er Jahren zugetraut zu haben, den Schritt zu einer konsequenten, systematischen Erarbeitung der metrisch komplizierteren wie stilistisch anspruchsvolleren Form der horazischen Lyrik zu wagen, ein individueller Schritt auch der formalen Aneigung, der ganz allgemein seit der Spätantike und dann wieder im Humanismus immer wieder den Höhepunkt der Imitatio der klassischen lateinischen Dichtung ausmacht. Zugleich entspricht dieser Weg von der eher funktional determinierten Hexameterdichtung zur neuen Aussagemöglichkeit durch die Horaz-Rezeption einer "Befreiung der dichterischen Kraft und einem neuen Selbstbewußtsein."[39]

Neben der Persona publica und der dann teils parallel sich artikulierenden, teils sich mit jener vereinigenden Persona poetica unseres Dichters dürfen wir also mit einer Persona privata weder im Sinne unmittelbar ausgedrückter persönlich-biographischer Erlebnisse noch spontaner Gefühlsregungen rechnen, wie sie die eingangs zitierte Enttäuschung von Henrich bei einem Dichter vor Empfindsamkeit, Sturm und Drang, Klassik und Romantik vergeblich sucht. Balde hat, um eine Formulierung Kühlmanns aufzugreifen, "alles getan, um seine Person in der Dichtung nicht preiszugeben und persönliche Stellungnahmen mit den Mitteln artistischer Verhüllungstechnik zu verschleiern."[40] Andererseits aber ist, wie sich versteht, nicht

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net also wohl Metrik und Thematik, nicht gattungsgemäße Homogenität.

[38] Vgl. Bd. 3, 287ff. Die drei aus dem Unterricht hervorgegangenen Werke mögen ähnlich wie die drei im Codex Monacensis in einer Handschrift zusammengestanden haben und über München bzw. Innsbruck bei Lang angelangt sein.

[39] Schäfer, 138.

[40] 1982 (Anm. 4), 134, vgl. auch die Paradoxie in den "Inventiones" zur *Expeditio polemico-poetica* (1664, vgl. Bd. 6, 492f.): "Videri, satis certam posse sumi conjecturam de animo scriptoris, ex idea scriptionis. - *Palinodia.* Hac conjectura nihil esse incertius: et eos, qui certam putant, desipere. *Dissertatio.*"

nur der politische und kulturelle Zeitgeist, sondern auch Baldes persönliche Position im weitesten Sinne selbst in den *Oden* immer wieder mit Händen zu greifen, der dreißigjährige Krieg, seine elsässische Provenienz und Heimatliebe, Reichsgesinnung, Katholizismus und eine zunehmend intensive Marienverehrung, die dem protestantischen Betrachter besondere Verständnisbemühungen abverlangt; ja auch die eigene körperliche Gebrechlichkeit und Hinfälligkeit wird zum aszetischen Thema, zum Symbol für die Vanitas mundi. Weiterhin gibt die horazische Lyrik als Gattungsvorbild nicht nur die Lizenz, das Gedicht für die politische Situation der Zeit, sondern auch für die Würdigung persönlicher Freunde zu öffnen, so in den Epikedien für Jakob Keller, den Förderer seiner poetischen Studien (lyr. 2, 50), seinen Vorgänger als Hofprediger Jeremias Drexel (1, 16) etc.[41] Demgegenüber findet Baldes Vox privata, wie angedeutet, in den freieren, nicht als geschlossene Sammung gebauten und zudem in Etappen publizierten *Silven* offeneren Ausdruck.

Andererseits hat man mehrfach und, wie ich denken würde, im wesentlichen ergebnislos unternommen, die Maske von Baldes Persona poetica aus biographistischem Interesse zu lüften. So ist z.B. nach Jugendgedichten gefahndet worden, einem Lieblingskind antiker wie moderner Biographik, die die poetisch und intellektuell sich formende Persönlichkeit in solchen Texten zu greifen meint. Daß Balde im jesuitischen Curriculum früh mit Dichtung im Sinne einfacher, handwerklicher Poiesis zu tun hatte, ist prinzipiell vorauszusetzen und konkret auch bezeugt, wenngleich leider nicht belegt: Noch bis in die Phase der französischen Revolution hinein befand sich in Belforter Privatbesitz eine Handschrift mit Jugendgedichten Baldes, wohl aus der Ensisheimer Zeit 1617–1620, die poetische Briefe an seine Belforter Bekannten und sogar eine Ode *ad Bellofortenses* enthielt.[42] In diesen frühen Gedichten hatte er also als Übung praktiziert, was er später lehrte. Auch aus der ersten Ingolstädter Zeit (1622ff.)—und d.h. überhaupt vor der Lebensphase 1626ff., als Balde in München als Lehrer tätig zu werden und zu publizieren begann—ist nur ein einziges Gedicht erhalten, die erwähnte Elegie zum Disputationsthema *De iure venandi*. Allerdings ist zusätzlich zu bedenken, daß unser Dichter auch das Hervortreten seines satirischen Temperaments auf diese frühen Jahre zurückführt, *Iuvenem se scribendis Satyris operam dedisse*, wie es im Titel von Lyr. 3, 32 heißt.[43] Alle diese frühen Gedichte

[41] Vgl. Henrich (Anm. 1), 27ff.

[42] Vgl. Jean-Fréderic Hermann, *Notices historiques, statistiques et littéraires sur la ville de Strasbourg* 2 (Straßburg, 1819): 331: "Il existe encore de lui, probablement dans une famille de Belfort, un manuscrit du temps de la guerre de trente ans, contenant quelques pièces de vers latins à l'honneur de Belfort. La première étoit une ode *ad Bellofortenses*; les autres pièces étoient des épîtres à différens particuliers de cette ville, où il avoit fait une partie de ses études." Vgl. aber Westermayer (Anm. 5), 6 (der mit der Datierung "als Ordensmann," also nach 1624, wohl zu spät greift, danach Bach, Anm. 7, 5). 267f., der mit einem Verlust schon zur Zeit der französischen Revolution rechnet. Eine erneute Suche in Belfort, wie sie seitdem nicht mehr unternommen worden ist, sollte sich vielleicht doch einmal wieder lohnen.

[43] Ein Titel, der nach Schäfer (Anm. 3), 136, Anm. 43 gegen Henrich, 211 nicht als Fik-

waren, ausgenommen wohl die Ode *ad Bellofortenses*, in Hexameteru oder Distichen abgefaßt; diese Metren, nicht aber die Vielfalt und Komplexität der horazischen Odenmaße machen, wie betont, die Realität von Baldes frühem Dichten aus.

Wie steht es aber mit der Communis opinio—etwa in der Formulierung der erwähnten Einleitung von Kühlmann/Wiegand[44]—, daß "von Baldes jugendlichen Dichtungsversuchen ... außer einer Klage der Martinsgans (Silvae V 22 ...) und einer flammenden Invektive gegen Mansfeld wenig erhalten"—immerhin aber diese beiden Gedichte!—sei? Wieviel es bei Balde für eine genauere Betrachtung noch zu tun gibt, läßt sich allein daran ablesen, daß die Aussage der um ihn doch so verdienten Forscher zu beiden Texten in der Tat nicht zutrifft: Das Datum der Invektive ergibt sich daraus, daß sie in dem schon mehrfach herangezogenen Codex Monacensis dem *Regnum poetarum* von 1628 nachfolgt und auf dieses mit "nuper" verweist (T. 4). Die *Philippica* auf den 1626 verstorbenen Freibeuter der protestantischen Sache gibt sich als poetisches Vorspiel einer Behandlung der ciceronischen Verrinen und einer entsprechenden Anfertigung von modernen Suasorien ("Habitaturi deinceps hoc anno Verrinas in Verrem, Mansfeldianas orationes in Mansfeldium"), setzt also die Bestellung Baldes zum Rhetoriklehrer im Februar 1628 voraus. Was der Elsässer seit dem Einfall des Mansfelder Grafen in seine Heimat 1621 in schwärzester Erinnerung haben mußte, wird nunmehr nicht spontan, sondern bei institutionell passender Gelegenheit reflektierend zum Thema einer scholastischen Übung verarbeitet. Jener Irrtum der Communis opinio[45] erklärt sich daraus, daß der Text—wie der vom *Regnum poetarum*—bisher nur unvollständig und zwar gerade ohne die Praefatio publiziert ist,[46] die erst eine genaue chronologische und institutionelle Einordnung ermöglicht.

Als Ausdruck einer autobiographischen Situation aus den Jugendjahren des Dichters hat man, wie gesagt, auch *Silven* 5, 22[47] verstehen wollen. An dem Beispiel dieses Gedichts kann einmal mehr verdeutlicht werden, daß der biographische Horror vacui in die Irre führt, wie wenig weit gerade im Fall Balde der biographische gegenüber dem poetologischen Ansatz trägt, und umgekehrt mit welchen Aufschlüssen aus der Überlieferungsgeschichte für die Werkbiographie noch gerechnet werden darf. Vernehmen wir zunächst wieder die romanhafte Paraphrase des Gedichtes bei Westermayer:[48] "Aus den Ensisheimer Schuljahren besitzen wir noch eine scherzhafte Ode, betitelt: *clangor anseris*, Gänsegeschnatter, die gleich den andern Erst-

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tion aufgefaßt werden darf, vgl. auch Carl Joachim Classen, *Daphnis* 5 (1976): 91, Anm. 88.

[44] Bd.1, 10.

[45] Vgl. auch Westermayer, 11, Anm. 3, ebenso etwa Classen a.O. (Anm. 43).

[46] Vgl. Pfleger (Anm. 8), 70ff.; Bach, 12f.

[47] Bd.2, 153ff.

[48] S.10.

lingsversuchen des Dichters erst nach seinem Tode gedruckt erschien. Sie verräth ihren frühen Ursprung deutlich genug durch manche befangene Auffassung und Construction, am deutlichsten aber durch die naive Lobpreisung der Martinsgans, die zu Ensisheim, wo St. Martin Stadtpatron war, mit besonderer Solemnität verspeist wurde." Geht man von solchem Urteil aus an den Text heran, so würde man wohl eine lokal ausgeschmückte Idylle, ein naives oder witzig pointiertes Genrebild erwarten, so wie es in der Gänsekantate Hofmann von Fallerslebens etwas makaber heißt: "Was machen wir Gänse am Martinstag, / gi ga gack? / Man führt uns aus dem Stall hinaus / zu einem fetten Martinsschmaus, / gi ga gick, / und bricht uns das Genick." Vor einer derart im Doppelsinn "naiven" Betrachtung des Textes hätten aber allein schon seine intertextuellen und topischen Bezüge[49] warnen sollen. Und in der Tat: Nichts könnte bei genauerer Betrachtung verfehlter sein als jene Paraphrase Westermayers bzw. die auf ihm basierende Tradition.

Zunächst spricht hier nicht die Gans selbst, was der Titel *Clangor anseris* suggerieren könnte, sondern ein Redner, der als Anwalt die Sache des zu Unrecht mißachteten Vogels gegenüber den für den Sternhimmel verantwortlichen himmlischen Mächten, Sonne und Mond, vertritt: Wie kommt es, daß alle wilden Tiere und Vögel, "ferarum / omne genus volucrumque," Stier, Widder, ja Löwe eines Katasterismos gewürdigt worden sind, ihren Platz am Himmel gefunden haben, die Gans hingegen nicht? Ihre Verdienste sind doch, im Unterschied zu dem unkeuschen Schwan, dem Verführer der Leda—hier setzt der Text von T. 5 ein—unübersehbar! Schließlich hat Rom seine Zukunft den kapitolinischen Gänsen, nicht dem Adler des Zeus (v.76) zu verdanken gehabt. Ebenso ist es mit dem poetischen, also auch Baldes Nachruhm nichts (v.77ff.), wenn nicht die Gans "calamos bene praeparatos, / scribenda si sunt carmina, / commodet." Dieser Abschnitt v.77–100, in dem mit v.94 "aere perennius" deutlich genug auf ein anderes poetologisches Schlußgedicht (Horaz 3, 30) angespielt wird, ist es, der das argumentative Zentrum der Ode ausmacht, nicht, wie gegenüber jenen in der Tat monumentalen historischen und poetologischen Verdiensten der Gans nur als Antiklimax gleichsam nachgetragen wird, die sozusagen beiläufige Erwähnung der Bettfedern (v.101f.) oder des Gänsebratens zum Martinstag (v.103ff.), dem von den 120 Versen des Gedichtes letztendlich nur ganze 6 gewidmet sind. Das Ende der Ode kehrt dann zum Anfang zurück: die Gans soll nicht einfach nur verstirnt werden, vielmehr am Himmel vor allem den Schwan verdrängen (v.112: "Pelle loco, pharetrate, cygnum"—Apoll, also die Sonne ist gemeint).

Von einem kindlich humorvollen Lobpreis, einer harmlosen Bitte an

[49] Vgl. Henrich, 200f.; Nikolaus Peters, "Der Didactiker Jacob Balde. Seine Stellung zur gleichartigen und gleichzeitigen Deutschen Dichtung," Diss. Münster i.W. 1918 (mschr.), 3ff.

Sonne und Mond, wie Bach,[50] der seine an der Oberfläche bleibenden Impressionen als Argumente einer frühen Entstehung des Gedichtes unterstellt, entwicklungspsychologisch nicht ganz stimmig phantasiert, kann indes angesichts der hier ausgereiften Technik der alkäischen Ode, der souveränen Verfügung über die Motive und Stilmittel der Tradition, der ironischen Verwendung des rhetorischen Topos nicht die Rede sein. Es handelt sich, baldisch gesprochen, natürlich um einen Iocus serius poeticus, am auffälligsten in v.77ff., wo die Gänsefeder als notwendiger Grund des Dichterruhms für seinen hinreichenden ausgegeben wird. Balde präsentiert in und mit *Silven* 5, 22 ein Beispiel der—vor allem in den Progymnasmata des rhetorischen Unterrichts geübten—rhetorischen Textsorte Laus animalium, wo Inventio und Argumentatio im Kontrast zu der geringen Bedeutung des eigentlichen Sujets besonders herausgefordert waren.

Mit diesem Gedicht scheint aber, wie sich an seiner Schlußposition im Buch ablesen läßt, mehr gemeint. Bei seiner Interpretation ist ja nicht zu vergessen, daß bei Vergil (ecl. 9, 35f.) und Properz (2, 34, 83f.) die krächzende Gans, verglichen mit dem singenden Schwan, den schlechten Dichter symbolisiert. Gegenüber Horaz 2, 20, wo sich der Dichter sozusagen vor den Augen des Lesers in einen Schwan verwandelt, und der noch expliziteren Herausarbeitung des Motivs ewigen Dichterruhms bei Horaz 3, 30 nimmt unser Jesuitendichter in *Silven* 5, 22 das Gloria-Motiv mit einem einer rhetorischen Tour de force eingearbeiteten, selbstironischen Bescheidenheitstopos zurück, um es mit dieser Konterkarierung zugleich dann doch wieder zu profilieren.

Für diese poetologische Auffassung von Thema und Positionierung der *Laus anseris*, wie das Gedicht korrekt wohl heißen sollte, spricht noch ein weiterer Aspekt, der zunächst für die Frühdatierung in Anspruch genommen worden ist.[51] Es findet sich nämlich weder in der ersten, sieben Bücher umfassenden Auflage der *Silven* von 1643 noch in der Neun-Bücher-Fassung von 1646 noch gar in der Sammelausgabe von 1660,[52] kommt also erst 1729 hinzu. Das kann nur bedeuten, daß gerade an diesem Punkt die erwähnte, etwas pauschale Behauptung des Editors von 1729, er habe Baldes Autographe benutzt, wirklich einmal zutrifft, daß also das Handexemplar des Dichters hier ausnahmsweise nicht mit dem Druck hinfällig wurde, sondern bei dem Verfasser, d.h. in Neuburg verblieb, dann nach München in den Kasten wanderte,[53] und unser in die älteren Druckfas-

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[50] S.8.

[51] Henrich, 224; danach Schäfer, 166, Anm. 39.

[52] Hier kommen aus der 2.Auflage der Oden (Köln, 1645) 9, 29–32 hinzu, vgl. Schäfer, 129, Anm. 11. 131, Anm. 22.

[53] Vor allem hierauf geht dann wohl auch die Bemerkung in dem die Edition einleitenden *Icon* (Bd.1, 0 2v): "Non sine veneratione inspexeris chartas illas ad posterorum memoriam in Monacensibus scriniis repositas, quae Poeticos Jacobi partus primitus exceperant. Pluribus saepe lituris ornantur quam lineis."

sungen nicht aufgenommenes Gedicht von dort an seiner ursprünglichen Stelle nachgetragen werden konnte.[54] Wir dürfen dann etwas spekulieren und eine von Balde vorbereitete, indes nicht zum Druck gelangte erste Auflage der *Silven* vor 1643 erschließen, die sich demnach wie die *Lyrica*, mit 4 Büchern *Oden* und einem Buch *Epoden* an Horaz orientiert, strikt an die Buchzahl des Vorbildes Statius gehalten hätte. Die Streichung von 5, 22 in der publizierten Fassung mit nunmehr sieben Büchern könnte dann so erklärt werden, daß jetzt am Ende von 7 mit einer geistlichen eine passendere Desavouierung des Dichtens hinzukam, die jenen Scherz als obsolet, ja als fast ein wenig frivol erscheinen lassen mochte.

Wie in diesem vermeintlichen Jugendgedicht, so ist auch zwei Bücher später das Ende der publizierten Erstausgabe der *Silven* in dem emblematischen Motiv der zerbrochenen Leier durch ein ähnlich selbstironisch gebrochenes Verhältnis Baldes zum eigenen Dichten gekennzeichnet. Da Emblem und Motiv in der Genese der wohl bekanntesten Anekdote der Balde-Biographie, den genaueren Umständen seiner Bekehrung zum Jesuiten, ihre Rolle spielen, ist in unserem Kontext auf diese Geschichte etwas ausführlicher einzugehen. Ihre populäre Fassung findet sich natürlich auch bei Westermayer[55]: "Es war eine kühle Mainacht, als Balde von einigen Genossen begleitet gegen das nordwestliche Ende der Stadt zuschritt, um einer anmuthigen Jungfrau, der Sage nach eines Bäckers Kind, die seine Neigung gewonnen hatte, ein Ständchen zu bringen. Vor dem wohlbekannten Hause im Gnadenthale ... schräg gegenüber dem Nonnenkloster, machte er Halt und schlug hier auf der Laute, wie er sich ausdrückt, ein Passamezo.... Da schlug es von den Thürmen Mitternacht und im anstoßenden Kloster der Franziskanerinnen erwachte wie ein überirdischer Wettgesang der Chor der Psalmen. Jakobus lauscht empor—ein Strahl der Erleuchtung durchzuckt sein Innerstes; er faßt seine Laute mit beiden Händen und zerschlägt sie am nächsten Eckpfahl der Kirchenmauer in Splitter mit dem historisch gewordenen Ausruf: 'Cantatum satis est; frangito barbiton.' ... Des andern Morgens, während Ingolstadt über den nächtlichen Vorfall heitere Glossen machte, stand Balde vor dem Provinzial der Gesellschaft Jesu ... um von ihm die Aufnahme in den Orden zu erbitten."

Vergleichen wir dies erbauliche Genrebild mit der älteren Fassung (1782) der bereits hier traditionell wie gattungsbedingt in ein Apophthegma auslaufenden Anekdote bei dem Ingolstädter Universitätshistoriker Mederer (T. 6a), so fällt zunächst die größere Nüchternheit, Knappheit und Detailarmut, etwa die fehlende Identifizierung der Angebeteten—"nescio in cuius gratiam" auf. Der Historiker ist zudem um eine quellenkritische Absicherung

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[54] Wie auch 9, 19, dazu Schäfer, 248, Anm. 67; hingegen ist *Silven* 7, 2 aus den *Odae Partheniae* (München, 1648) vom späteren Editor an dieser—nach dem Einleitungsgedicht an erster Stelle des *Miscellanea Sacra* betitelten Buches—passenden Position eingeschoben worden.

[55] S.16f., danach Bach, 17f.

der Anekdote bemüht, wenn auch ohne Erfolg: Die wie auch immer weiter gegebene "vetus traditio" wird in den Acta, der dokumentarischen Basis für das Geschehen jenes Jahres, nicht vermeldet. Allerdings ist ihre Existenz eine Generation vor Mederer—mindestens im Jesuitenorden—durch eine Nebenbemerkung im Horaz-Kommentar des bayrischen, dann Innsbrucker Jesuiten Ignaz Weitenauer (T. 6b) bezeugt. In dieser Anspielung auf eine bereits feste Tradition findet sich neben dem bezeichnenden Detail, daß die Laute an der Kirche zerschlagen wurde—gleichsam eine handgreifliche Konkretisierung der beiden auf diese Weise kon-trastierten Lebenswelten,—, auch die Behauptung, daß sich in dieser Gegend ("e regione illius templi") ein Bild von Paris befunden habe, wie er, mit Helena nach Troja zurückgekehrt, festlich empfangen worden sei.

Nun mag man sich über mythologische Szenen als Renaissance-Schmuck der Außenarchitektur süddeutscher Städte durchaus Gedanken machen—daß hier als Hintergrund einer Abwendung von der irdischen Liebe gleichsam zufällig eine Szene zuhanden gewesen sein soll, die im Vorblick auf die Zerstörung Trojas den nur scheinbaren und vorläufigen, in Wirklichkeit aber zum Untergang verdammten Triumph des Amor terrenus versinnbildlicht, übersteigt jedes Vorstellungsvermögen, kurz gesagt: die Geschichte ist in all ihren Details zu schön um wahr zu sein. Die bildhafte Dramatik—das Ständchen, der hochpathetische Gestus der Zertrümmerung der Laute—ist mit Händen zu greifen, der Psalmengesang der Franziskanerinnen als Hintergrundsmusik trägt geradezu opernhafte Züge. Sie symbolisieren in dieser Szene den religiösen Kontrast zu den beiden weltlichen Partnern des Geschehens: gegenüber der angebeteten Dame einen Frauentyp, der sich ganz einem himmlischen Bräutigam verschrieben hat, gegenüber dem noch weltlich-irdisch agierenden Dichter die überirdische Macht geistlicher Musik und Poesie. Die dramatische *Komprimierung des auf einen Punkt zusammengedrängten* Entscheidungsprozesses vermag also eher literarisch zu befriedigen als biographisch zu überzeugen.

Zunächst wäre zu erwägen, ob man Balde, wenn er wirklich ein, wie die Reflexion auf die Rezeptionssituation nahelegt, doch wohl deutsches Ständchen mit einem lateinischen Apophthegma abgebrochen haben sollte, die—an sich durchaus mögliche—Lizenz einer Messung von "frangito" als Daktylus statt als Creticus zutrauen sollte. Weiterhin bleibt die Szene in der Richtung hin offen und undeutlich, auf die es doch ankommen sollte: Balde wird in dem Hymnus der Franziskanerinnen zwar mit der geistlichen Dichtung konfrontiert, aber nicht zu ihr, sondern zum Jesuiten bekehrt. Trotz dieser eklatanten Ungereimtheit und Unwahrscheinlichkeit des Ganzen scheint Heß, dem wir eine subtile, auf die allegorischen Elemente zielende Analyse der Testimonien des 18. Jahrhunderts zur Balderezeption verdanken,[56] in

[56] Günter Heß, "*Fracta Cithara* oder Die zerbrochene Laute," in *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorie*, ed. W. Haug (Stuttgart, 1979), 605–31, hier 608ff.

der Tat damit zu rechnen, daß jene Vetus traditio letztlich auf ein von dem Dichter selbst berichtetes autobiographisches Erlebnis zurückführt. Was an Motiven aus dem Werk Baldes wirklich in dies allegorische Konstrukt eingegangen ist, versteht er als autobiographische Allusionen, die allerdings nur ein vorinformierter Leser hätte entschlüsseln sollen und können.

Sehen wir auch hier genauer zu: Das Apophthegma der Anekdote stammt—metrisch korrekter—vom Ende der erwähnten Erstausgabe der *Silven* von 1643 (vgl. Abb. 2), wo drei Putten ihre Instrumente zerbrechen, darunter die Subskription "Cantatum satis est, frangite barbita." Aber wieso gerade am Ende des die Sammlung zunächst beschließenden *Silven*-Buches, das mit Titel und Thema *Miscellanea sacra* den Erfolg jener Conversio als Bekehrung zur geistlichen Dichtung sozusagen unmittelbar veranschaulicht, durch das Schlußemblem auf den Abschied von der biographisch vorausgehenden weltlichen Dichtung angespielt werden soll, ist nicht einsichtig. Es scheint sich vielmehr um den Gestus einer Art von selbstironischer Zurücknahme am Buchschluß zu handeln, eine Distanzierung vom Motiv des poetischen Ruhmes, wie sie Balde liebt[57] und wie wir sie in anderer Weise bereits am Ende von *Silven* 5 angetroffen haben.

Gegenläufig zu diesem scheinbaren Abschied von der Dichtung allgemein (insbesondere als Horazrezeption) ist, wie wir sahen, in die Anekdote das Motiv der Abkehr von der weltlichen Dichtung, der "vana testudo" (sat. 19, 5)[58] eingegangen, wie sie bei Balde mehrfach explizit artikuliert wird, am deutlichsten in dem Titelblatt gerade von *Silven* 7, wo der Dichter sozusagen als neuer Daphnis, als christlicher Apoll Daphne nicht mehr verfolgt, sondern vor ihr flieht und seine eigene Metamorphose erlebt (vgl. Abb. 3). Die dies Bild fundierende biographische Entscheidung steht nun wirklich als angedeutete Erzählung in der Schluß-Ode (T. 7) des marianischen Zyklus *Ehrenpreiß*, der in dieser deutschem Fassung 1640 und dann, um einen lateinischen Dichterwettstreit vermehrt, als *Olympia sacra in stadio Mariano ludis Apollinaribus celebrata* 1648 publiziert worden ist. In diesem Text, nach Heß[59] "geradezu ... Sproßtext der literarischen *conversio*-Legende," indes "als Fragment einer autobiographischen Konfession" entschieden überbewertet, deutet der Dichter in der Tat eine Bekehrung an, indes eben eine zur geistlichen Dichtung, nicht zum Jesuiten. Gemeint ist als Ort der neuen Lebenswahl allerdings, wie nur scheinbar verschlüsselnd enthüllt wird, Ingolstadt ("praestat socios locumque silere") und die Schar der "socii," der

[57] Vgl. ähnlich das eigentliche Schlußgedicht von *Silven* 8, (Nr.26), wo zum Ende die Leier vom Dichter in hundert Stücke zerschlagen wird. Zur Gestaltung der "Schlußgedichte der 'Silvae' auf eine Weise, die ein jähes, definitives Ende seiner ganzen horazischen Odendichtung anzuzeigen schien," vgl. allgemein Schäfer, 127 mit Anm. 4 (vergleichbar vorläufige Schlußakzente in *Lyrica* und *De vanitate mundi* von 1643 bzw. 1636), speziell zum Ende von *Silven* 9 S.131.

[58] Bd.4, 428, eine Erinnerung an das Jahr 1620.

[59] S.608.

Kommilitonen, indes kein einmaliges Ereignis, sondern eine wiederholbare poetische Aktivität ("saepe" v.4, "gar oft" in der deutschen Fassung) in der Form von Liedern zum Reigentanze (Passamezzo). Von Liebesdichtung ist damit allenfalls implizit die Rede. Und schließlich steckt, was die tatsächliche künstlerische Autobiographie Baldes angeht, in dieser Selbstinszenierung eine gehörige Portion rückblickender, die Aspirationen und ersten Erfolge als christlicher Apoll voraussetzender Selbststilisierung, als ob unser Dichter wirklich in seiner Ingolstädter Studentenzeit nicht nur einige Gelegenheitsgedichte verfaßt, sondern schon die Profession und das Ansehen eines lyrischen Dichters, eines Properz oder Horaz angestrebt hätte. Wie es scheint, kann erst diese späte Selbststiliserung der Conversio die Lyrik als frühen Lebensplan ausgeben.

Die bei Weitenauer und Mederer zu greifende Legende der jesuitischen Tradition knüpft also nicht an ein Bruchstück einer großen Konfession, sondern an eine sekundäre Selbststilisierung des Dichters an und biegt sie in ihrer Konsequenz um, ersetzt also den Übergang zur geistlichen Dichtung durch den Eintritt in den Jesuitenorden, der für jene alternative poetische Entscheidung ja nur den notwendigen, nicht den hinreichenden Grund darstellte. Die Schlußfolgerung ergibt sich zwanglos aus den von Heß präsentierten Materialien, drei Jesuitendramen zu Baldes Bekehrung von 1732, 1769 und 1773 aus Regensburg, Freiburg und Eichstätt.[60] Sie dürften jene im Orden verbreitete Vetus traditio konstituieren bzw. befördert haben. So kann etwa die von Weitenauer zitierte Paris-Szene sehr wohl als Anspielung auf ein Bühnenbild verstanden werden,[61] das die allegorische Tendenz verstärken sollte. Die Selbstinszenierung des Dichters Balde wäre demnach zunächst auf der Jesuitenbühne in ein aszetisches Spektakel verwandelt worden. Als im späten 18. Jh. eine solche durch die erbauliche Funktion legitimierte Fiktionalität nicht mehr verstanden wurde, blieb im Klima des frühen Historismus nur der Weg quellenkritischer Skepsis—so bei Mederer—oder ein Wörtlichnehmen und Nacherzählen der in Pseudobiographie verwandelten Allegorie—so bei dem Exjesuiten Johann Baptist Lehmair, auf dessen nur handschriftlich tradierter Beschreibung[62] der Bekehrungsgeschichte die seit 1828 in der lokalen Biographik faßbare Vulgata beruht.[63] Es entbehrt nicht einer gewissen Paradoxie, daß das allgemeine

[60] S.606ff. 611ff.

[61] Auch Heß, 615f. spricht hier zu Recht von einer "Bildfiktion."

[62] Vgl. Heß, 623f., Anm. 3, der Lehmairs Glaubwürdigkeit zu halten versucht, indem er ihn "die mündlichen Varianten über Eichstätt (etwa die Aufführung des 'Jacobus Baldeus' von 1773) [!] oder Ingolstadt erfahren" läßt.

[63] Vgl. Heß a. O. und etwa Johann Baptist Neubig, *Bavaria's Musen in Joh.Jak.Balde's Oden* 1, München 1828, XVIIff. Die "Entführung der Helena durch Paris nach Troja" (S.XIX), bei Weitenauer eine Fassadenmalerei, wird hier als Wandermotiv auf den Schmuck der Leier übertragen.

Interesse des 19.Jh.[64] an einer romanhaft auffüllenden Narrativit ät diese aufklärerische Reduktion des barocken Bildes zu Ehren gebracht und darin bis heute im Prinzip gehalten hat. Auch in diesem Falle also hinterl äßt die Fiktionalität der Anekdote der Forschung die Aufgabe einer wirklich kritischen Rekonstruktion von Baldes Biographie, wie umgekehrt die Stilisierung der in sie eingehenden Elemente und Motive entschieden davon abrät, nach dem also auch hier durchaus marginalen biographischen Ich zu unmittelbar zu fragen und dabei die literarische Multivalenz und Vielschichtigkeit seiner Texte zu unterschätzen. Ein Vergleich mit Vita und Werk des drei Jahre nach Balde geborenen und acht Jahre nach ihm gestorbenen Erzprotestanten Paul Gerhardt sollte einmal die unterschiedlich bedingten Lebenssituationen beider kontrastiv profilieren; dabei würde sich wieder erweisen, wie sehr der Neulateiner und süddeutsche Katholik seit dem 19.Jh. sowohl in der Erforschung seiner Biographie wie auch in Rezeption und Würdigung seiner Werke von einer protestantisch-norddeutsch geprägten Idee der Nationalliteratur an den Rand gedrängt worden ist.

[64] Zur Tradition der Conversio-Legende in der katholisch-süddeutschen Dichtung des 19. Jh. vgl. Heß, 622f.

Testimonien:

1. Auszüge aus dem Neuburger Nekrolog:
   a) Ex incolarum numero pia morte nobis sublatus est pater Iacobus Balde, natus Ensishemii in Alsatia Superiore anno 1603, mense Ianuario.
   b) Societatem ingressus anno 1624 1. Iulii philosophiae magister et iure civili initiatus, quatuor vota professus est anno 1640 31. Iulii. Docuit grammaticam anno uno, poesin duobus, rhetoricam quatuor. A scholis ad cathedram admotus reverendi patris Hieremiae Drexelii successor aulicum serenissimi Maximiliani Bavariae ducis et Sancti Romani Imperii electoris egit annis tribus cum dimidio. (Sex insuper annis tum Landishuti tum Ambergae et hic demum Neoburgi dixit ad populum.) Inde Bavaricam Historiam a reverendo patre Andrea Brunnero coeptam continuare aggressus est,
   c) sed cum in Ludovico Bavaro obicem invenisset, ad lyricam poesin stylum vertit....
   d) A catholicis magnae admirationi fuit....
   e) Ipse vero inter publicos sibique non ignotos plausus unus se abiicere....
   f) Aetate demum ad metam vergente....

2. Notizen zu Baldes Münchener Tätigkeit:
   a) Anno 1626. 20. Octobris ... primam tonsuram et quatuor minores accepterunt Johannes Horstius Georgius Buchmiller et Jacobus Balde.
   b) Ad annum 1626. Novembri. Rudimentorum maiori classi praefuit magister Jacobus Balde. Habuit discipulos 140.
   c) Ad annum 1627. 19. Octobris. Numerati ... in Humanitate maiore 60, in minore 51; hanc docuit magister Johannes Schitz, illam magister Jacobus Balde.
   d) Ad annum 1628. Februario. Rhetoricam docere coepit magister Jacobus Balde, misso in Palatinatum patre Paulo Gabler.

3. Das Epigramm auf dem Kasten (Westermayer, Anm. 5, 245f):

> Alsatico vati, quando haec mortalia liquit,
> structurus tumulum, si licuisset, eram.
> Reliquiis saltem tanti post fata poetae,
> quam struxi, thalamum lignea cista dabit.
> F. L(ang) Bibliothecarius 1724.

4. Vorrede zur Invektive auf Mansfeld, Clm 27271. III, fol. 112r:

Habituri deinceps hoc anno Verinas in Verrem, Mansfeldianas Orationes in Mansfeldium, Auditores, praemittimus levioris armaturae

milites, Poetas inquam, qui primo ferrum et stylum acuant in hostem totius orbis, ut gravitate sua subnixi, deinde subsequantur Oratores. Vobis proinde despiciendum est, quemnam potissimum ex tot, tamque diversis, quos nuper audivimus, stylis in Erestum stringamus.

5. *Silven* 5, 22, v. 45ff. (Opera, Anm. 4, 2, 154ff.):

... cur avium grege
abactus anser non reperit locum
in parte caeli, seu Triones
sive Noton Zephyrumve versus?
Atqui cruentus non procul a Lyra
et viva rodens viscera miluvius
pavoque lascivusque passer
et crocitans per inane corvus
falsusque Ledae cygnus adulterae
miscentur astris! Non potior mihi
sit castus ales, quique nullo
alterius thalamum mariti
decepit ovo? Si meritis peti
illuminantum credimus orbium
convexa stellatasque sedes,
dotibus ingenioque praestans
meretur anser, non tremulos olor
per colla ducens Idalius modos,
sub cuius exerrante forma
flagitii nova larva sedit,
non ille pennis atque oculis tumens
Iunonis Argus. Quis Capitolium
defendit a Brenni rapina,
quis furias Senonum repressit?
Sopore victis iam canibus vigil
clangebat anser, ceu tubicen canat.
'O Roma, custodi penates,
neve iterum tibi Troia fias,
consurge in hastam. Gallus habet tuos
vastatque muros.' Nil memorabitur
aequale fastis, fulminator
tale nihil Iovis ales egit.
Admitte certam posteritas fidem:
Nisi obsequentem se tibi praebeat
famosa post mortem volucris,
ni calamos bene praeparatos,
scribenda si sunt carmina, commodet,
putri iacerent tota sub angulo

oblivioso versa fundo
foeda situ tineisque rosa.
Simul papyri virginis aequora
poetae remex mollior anseris
sulcavit usu, currit acta
per spatium Latiale navis
Lethenque tranat. Quae vel in insulis
sepulta vel dudum immemori vado
antiqua celabat vetustas,
fida patent monumenta rerum.
Salve peracti temporis et meus
sortite vindex aere perennius
nomen! Tibi se turba vatum
pampineis redimita sertis
commendat, anser, supplicibus tibi
novena votis sternitur et suae
momenta famae Musa debet
et citharas viridemque laurum.
Dormire tu das leniter et tuo
humana mulces vellere corpora.
Tu, qua die Martinus ensem
strinxit eques trabeatus ostro
reditque nobis annuus, optima
eduliorum lance beas gulam
festosque convivas ad ignem
exhilaras petulante musto.
En iusta posco! Quisquis eburneo
praeses capistro sidera temperas
sedesque metaris supremas,
pelle loco, pharetrate, cygnum,
dimitte corvum, deiice vulturem
ad nota rostro funera sontium
furcasque semesasque calvas
et Tityi iecur ire iussum.
Horum, precamur, dignior occupet
vicesque tanto clarius impleat
novumque iam scintillet astrum
(sic superi statuatis) anser.

6. a) Mederer (Anm. 10), 238f. zum Jahr 1623/24:

Ex Iurium studiosis specialem sibi memoriam exposcit *Ioannes Iacobus Balde*, Ensishemiensis Alsata; qui cum absoluto apud nos Philosophiae curriculo Iurisprudentiam hoc anno discere caepisset, inter Societatis Iesu Tirones adlectus fuit. Vetus traditio est apud Ingolstadienses,

Iacobum Baldeum, cum noctu haud procul a Monasterio Monialium Franciscanarum, nescio in cuius gratiam cythara luderet, atque subito religiosae Virgines nocturnos de more psalmos intonarent, altiori illustratum lumine, cytharam muro illisisse cum dicto: *Cantatum satis est, frangito barbiton*; atque tum primum ad Iesuitarum ordinem animum applicuisse. Dixi veterem traditionem hanc esse; neque enim Acta illius anni, quae inspicere quidem licuit, ea de re quidquam produnt.

b) Horaz, *Ars poetica*, ed. Ignaz Weitenauer (Augsburg/Freiburg i.Br., 1757), 2:

E regione illius templi, ad cujus parietem Jacobus Baldeus fregisse impactam citharam dicitur, Paridis imago depicta olim erat, Trojam reversi cum Helena: is tormentorum curulium festo plausu excipiebatur.

7. *Olympia sacra* 37 (Opera 7, 382. 384):

Wer ist, der dieses Lied gemacht,
wann einer auch darf fragen?
Vielleicht hat gar oft zu Nacht,
ein Passamezo gschlagen.
Er sagt nit wo: Jetzt ist er froh,
daß d' Lauten sei zertrümmert.
Um Saitenspiel er sich so viel
hinfüran nicht mehr kümmert.

Ille qui hanc cecinit (liceat scitarier) Oden?
Qualis enim Vates, ater an albus erat?
Nempe olim noctu cithara juvenile vagatus
detinuit cursus, Cynthia, saepe tuos,
Urbs quoque—sed praestat sociosque locumque silere.
Dissiluit veteris machina vana Lyrae,
jamque magis Testudo placet, quae repit in horto,
quam quae molle sonans vellicat auriculam.

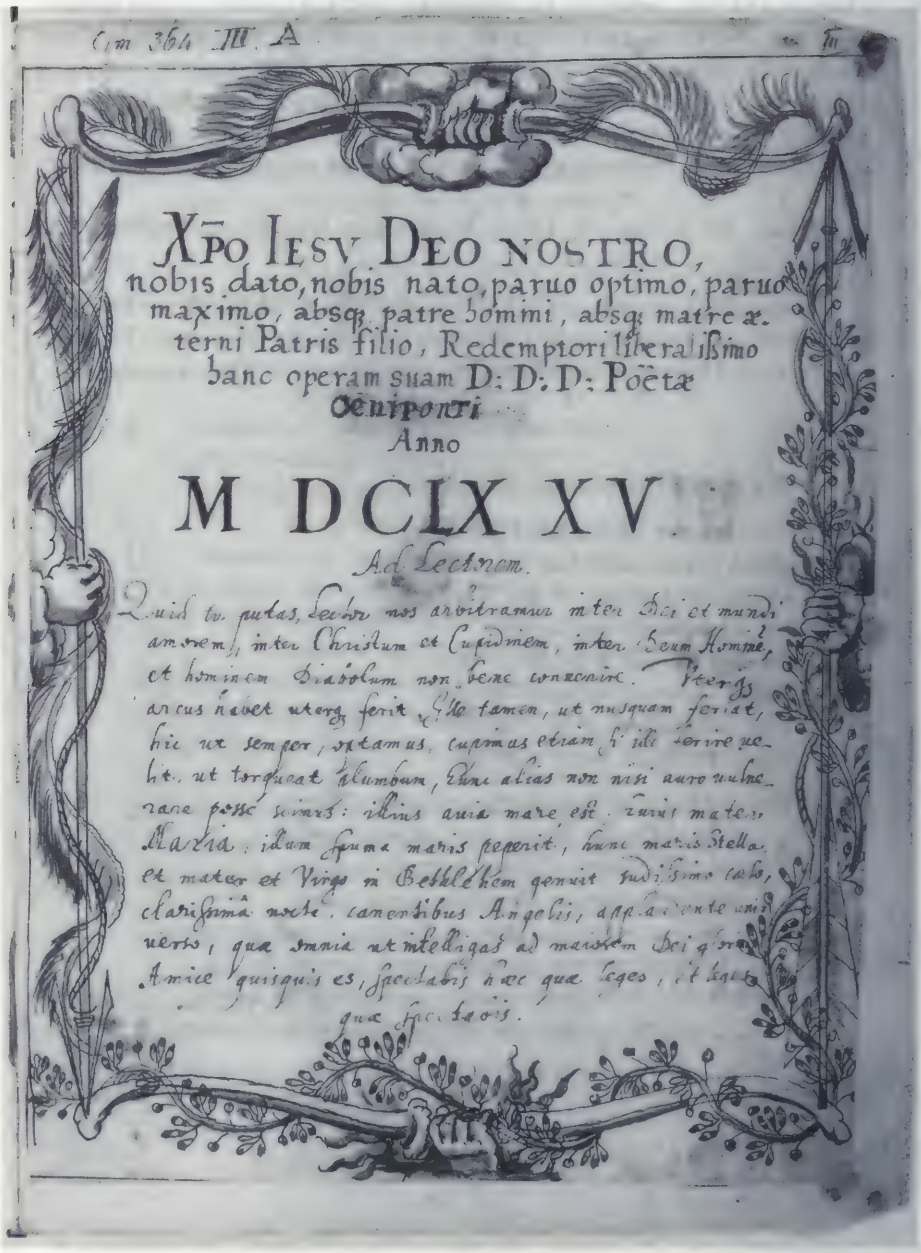


Fig. 1. Clm 27271, III, fol. III^{r} (München).

Intimo felix hiatu
Nemo ripam, nemo remum, nemo quærit asserem.
Lucidi *caligo* ponti,
Portus absorbens carinas,
Grata *tempestas* profundi,
Pax tumultuosa merge,
Merge mitis *turbo* Vatem.
Hic peritur enatando; salvus est, qui mergitur.



Cantatum satis est: frangite barbita.

Fig. 2. Schlußbild zur Erstausgabe der Silven (München 1643).



Fig. 3. Illustration zu Silven 7 (München 1643), nach S. 170.

Seminars

Bilder und Texte. Stadtbeschreibung und Städtelob bei Hartmann Schedel

KLAUS ARNOLD

I. Der Autor

Hartmannus Schedel "comportavit et scripsit inter alia ingenii sui opuscula ex Iacobo Pergomensi et aliis historiographis, addens nonnulla maxime de rebus Germanorum, opus grande et insigne, quod continet historias temporum lib<rum> I; de cæteris nihil vidi. Viuit vsque hodie apud Nurenbergam, sub Maximiliano rege, anno Domini MCCCCXCIV." So lautet der vorletzte Eintrag (vor seinem eigenen) in der ersten, 1494 gedruckten Literaturgeschichte, dem *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* des Johannes Trithemius. Vom Autor des im Vorjahr erschienenen "opus grande et insigne" wird dort noch gesagt: "Nurenbergensis, natione Theutonicus, artium et medicinæ doctor, diuinarum quoque scripturarum non ignarus."[1]

In Nürnberg wurde Hartmann Schedel als Sohn eines wohlhabenden Kaufmanns am 13. Februar des Jahres 1440 geboren. Während seine beiden Brüder Georg und Johannes späterhin ein eher beschauliches Leben führten, begann Hartmann nach dem frühen Tod des Vaters unter dem

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[1] Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basel 1494; benützt in der Ausgabe von M. Freher, *Johannis Trithemii ... Opera historica*, Bd. 1, Frankfurt 1601, Nachdruck Frankfurt/Main 1966, 398. - Ähnliche Formulierungen finden sich in seiner 1495 auf Veranlassung Jakob Wimphelings entstandener Nationalbibliographie *Catalogus illustrium virorum Germaniae* (gedr. ebd. 178) mit dem wohl dem Druck der Weltchronik entnommenen Zusatz: (*sumptus & impensas ministrantibus Sebaldo Schreyer et Sebastiano Kamermeyster ciuibus Nurenbergensibus*); vgl. hierzu unten Anm. 8 sowie allgemein K. Arnold, *Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516)*. Zweite, bibliographisch und überlieferungsgeschichtlich neu bearbeitete Auflage, Würzburg 1991.

bestimmenden Einfluß seines wesentlich älteren Vetters, des Mediziners Hermann Schedel, sein Leben der humanistischen Gelehrsamkeit und dem Büchersammeln zu widmen.[2]

Nach Studien an den Universitäten Leipzig (1456–1462; Magister Artium 1459) und Padua, wohin er 1463 dem Humanisten Peter Luder gefolgt war, erwarb er dort 1466 den medizinischen Doktorgrad. Als Arzt wirkte er anfangs sieben Jahre in Nördlingen und seit 1477 in Amberg, kehrte jedoch später in seine Heimatstadt zurück, wo er seit 1484 Stadtphysikus der Reichsstadt wurde. Bis zu seinem Tod im Jahre 1514 hat er sie lediglich zu einigen Wallfahrten nochmals verlassen.

Nach dem Tod seines Vetters erbte er 1485 dessen stattliche Bibliothek—eine der bedeutendsten des deutschen Frühhumanismus—und vereinigte sie mit seiner eigenen Büchersammlung. Etwa 360 Handschriften und gut ebensoviele Inkunabeln und Frühdrucke haben sich von diesem Bücherschatz bis heute erhalten.[3] Angeregt und angetrieben von seinem Förderer Hermann hatte er seit seiner Studienzeit unermüdlich Handschriften, Drucke und Druckgraphik gesammelt und bis an sein Lebensende Dutzende von Codices selbst geschrieben. Sie dienten ihm nicht zuletzt als Materialsammlung für die 1493 unter seinem Namen erschienene "Weltchronik."

II. Das Werk

Schedels Ruhm beruht in erster Linie auf seinem literarischen Hauptwerk, dem *Liber chronicarum* oder *buch der Croniken vnd geschichten mit figuren vnd pildnussen von anbeginn der welt bis auf dise vnnsere Zeit*, einem, wie schon der Zeitgenosse Trithemius befand, "opus grande et insigne." Die lateinische Ausgabe erschien am 14. Juli 1493 bei Anton Koberger in Nürnberg; der Druck der deutschen Übertragung durch den dortigen Losungschreiber Georg Alt ist auf den 23. Dezember des gleichen Jahres datiert.[4]

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[2] Lebensbilder Schedels bieten: O. Meyer, "Hartmann Schedel," in: *Unbekanntes Bayern*, Bd. 7: Land der Franken, München 1962, 177–92; wiederabgedr. in: ders., *Varia Franconiae Historica*, hrsg. von D. Weber und G. Zimmermann, Würzburg 1981, 788–806; E. Rücker, *die schedelsche weltchronik. Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit. Mit einem Katalog der Städteansichten*, München 1973 und (nahezu textgleich) dies., *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik*, München 1988; sowie *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, bearb. von B. Hernad, München 1990, 13–133.

[3] R. Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ausbreitung der italienischen Renaissance, des deutschen Humanismus und der medizinischen Literatur* (Freiburg i. Br., 1908, Ndr. Nieuwkoop, 1969). Zuletzt W. Milde, "Über Bücherverzeichnisse der Humanistenzeit (Petrarca, Tommaso Parentucelli, Hartmann Schedel)," in *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden, 1984 (Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens, 10).

[4] Rücker, *Weltchronik*, passim. M. Haitz, *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik*, Diss., München, 1899. J. Sprengler, *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik*, Diss., München, 1905. A. Wilson, *The Making*

Berühmt ist das Buch bis zur Gegenwart vor allem wegen seiner 1809 Holzschnitte von 645 Holzstöcken; und insbesondere sind es die Stadtansichten, die nicht allein in den dargestellten Städten einen großen Bekanntheitsgrad besitzen. Die im Ganzen erhaltenen—und mehr noch die (mehr oder minder alt-) kolorierten—Exemplare erzielen auf dem Antiquariatsmarkt ebenso horrende Preise wie bei Graphiksammlern einzelne—im Wortsinn aus dem Zusammenhang gerissene—Blätter.[5] Doch der Ruhm des "größten Buchunternehmens der Dürer-Zeit" oder des "schönsten gedruckten Buchs" steht—ungeachtet der vielfachen Nachdrucke neuerer Zeit[6]—in einem erstaunlichen Gegensatz zu seiner eher seltenen Lektüre und der noch sehr lückenhaften wissenschaftlichen Erforschung.[7] Interesse fanden vornehmlich das Gesamtkunstwerk und seine einzelnen Illustrationen; der Text hingegen und sein Verhältnis zu den Bildern traten vielfach in den Hintergrund.

So bleiben neben einer ganzen Reihe von Desideraten der Forschung für Schedels Oeuvre im allgemeinen Fragen insbesondere im Hinblick auf die "Weltchronik": hinsichtlich Konzeption und Textgestaltung, der Quellen sowie des Verhältnisses von lateinischem Original und frühneuhochdeutscher Übersetzung, schließlich zur Rezeption des Werks.

Der *Liber chronicarum* erweist sich ungeachtet des frühhumanistischen Interesses und der Italienbegeisterung Schedels als eine eher konventionelle Weltchronik spätmittelalterlicher Prägung; ausgestattet freilich mit einem aufwendigen und qualitätvollen Bildprogramm durch die Nürnberger Künstler Michael Wolgemut und Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, wofür Sebald Schreyer und Sebastian Kammermeister die verlegerischen und Anton Koberger die drucktechnischen Voraussetzungen schufen.[8]

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of the Nuremberg Chronicle, Amsterdam ²1978; ders., *The Nuremberg Chronicle*, London 1985. P. Zahn, *Neue Funde zur Entstehung der Schedelschen Weltchronik 1493*, Nürnberg o. J. [1974] (Renaissance-Vorträge 213).

[5] Loga, V. von, "Die Städteansichten in Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik," in: *Jahrbuch der königl. Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 9 (1888): 93–107, 184–96. I. Ramseger, *Die Städtebilder der Schedelschen Weltchronik. Ihre geistigen und künstlerischen Voraussetzungen im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Stadtvedute*, Diss. phil. Berlin 1943 (Maschr.). P. Volkelt, *Die Städteansichten in den großen Druckwerken vornehmlich des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. phil. Marburg 1949.

[6] Die deutsche Ausgabe u. a. Leipzig 1933, München-Allach 1965, Lindau (Antiqua-Verlag) o. J. [ca. 1985]; die lateinische Fassung: Puchheim (hrsg. von der Abtei Niederalteich) 1967–71.

[7] Vgl. Meyer, "Schedel," 805 sowie die Auflistung von Desideraten der Forschung durch St. Füssel (aus Anlaß der Neuerscheinung von E. Rückers Buch 1988) in *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* 1989/90, 157–59.

[8] Insofern ist die Weltchronik als ein Gemeinschaftswerk zu sehen, an dem neben Schedel in der Hauptsache Schreyer, Kammermeister, Wolgemut und Pleydenwurff sowie Hieronymus Münzer, Konrad Celtis und Georg Alt beteiligt waren; vgl. unten Anm 11. sowie Rücker 1973, 17ff. *Nürnberg. Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt*, hrsg. von G. Pfeiffer, München 1971 (J. Pfanner, "Geisteswissenschaftlicher Humanismus," 127–33; J. Hofmann, "Naturwissenschaftlicher Humanismus," 134–37; F. Schnelbögl, "Stadt des Buchdrucks und der Kartographie,"

Trithemius, der gelehrte Abt von Sponheim, hat mit seiner Formulierung "comportavit et scripsit ... ex Iacobo Pergomensi et aliis historiographis" das Rechte getroffen: Schedels Weltchronik ist im Bestreben entstanden, das gesamte Weltgeschehen als christliche Heilsgeschichte zu begreifen und nach den biblischen Weltaltern zu ordnen. So steht am Schluß des Werks nach den sechs Weltaltern das siebte Alter der Welt mit der Ankunft des Antichrist, mit dem jüngsten Gericht und dem Weltenende. Diese Konzeption fand der Kompilator Schedel in mittelalterlichen Weltchroniken wie der des Eusebius von Caesarea, im *Speculum historiale* des Dominikaners Vinzenz von Beauvais und, wie schon der Abt Trithemius bemerkt hatte, insonderheit bei Jakob Philipp Foresta von Bergamo vor. Ihre Werke lassen sich sämtlich auch in seinem Besitz nachweisen, ebenso wie die der Geographen und Kosmographen Ptolemäus, Strabo und Pomponius Mela.[9]

Von besonderer Bedeutung wurden für die graphische Gestaltung neben Forestas Städteansichten (im Druck des Jahres 1486) Bernhards von Breidenbach (im gleichen Jahr) gedruckter Reiseführer in das Heilige Land mit den prächtigen Illustrationen seines niederländischen Reisegefährten Erhard Reuwich sowie die *Europa* des Enea Silvio Piccolomini, welche in Auszügen und ohne rechten Zusammenhang mit dem Vorangehenden an den Schluß des Werkes gestellt ist.[10]

Heute gängige Bezeichnungen wie "Schedels Weltchronik" oder "The Nuremberg Chronicle" können sich zwar auf Formulierungen des dem Werk vorangestellten Registers sowie des Kolophons am Schluß der Nürnberger Drucke von 1493 berufen;[11] sie lassen dabei jedoch außer acht, daß

218–24; K. A. Knappe, "Nürnberger Malerei von 1440 bis 1490," 242–50). F. Machilek, "Klosterhumanismus in Nürnberg um 1500," in: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 64 (1977), 10–45; ders., "Kartographie, Welt- und Landesbeschreibung in Nürnberg um 1500," in: *Landesbeschreibungen Mitteleuropas vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von H.-B. Harder, Köln/Wien 1983, 1–12.

[9] Zu Inhalt und Quellen: Meyer, "Schedel," 797f. Rücker 1973, 20ff.; zu den in seinem Besitz befindlichen Geographen: Stauber, "Bibliothek," 59f.

[10] Rücker 1973, 76f. und oben Anm. 5. R. W. Fuchs, "Die Mainzer Frühdrucke mit Buchholzschnitten 1480–1500," in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 2 (1960), 1–129.

[11] Der dem Register im Holzschnitt vorangesetzte Titel lautet lateinisch: *Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi* und deutsch: *Register Des buchs der Croniken vnd geschichten mit figuren vnd pildnussen von anbeginn der welt bis auf dise vnnsere Zeit*; das Kolophon der lateinischen: *Adest nunc studiose lector finis libri Cronicarum per viam epithomatis & breviarii compilati opus quidem praeclarum & a doctissimo quoque comparandum. Continet enim gesta. quecunque digniora sunt notatu ab initio mundi ad hanc usque temporis nostri calamitatem. Castigatumque a viris doctissimis ut magis elaboratum in lucem prodiret. Ad intuitum autem & preces providorum civium Sebaldi Schreyer & Sebastiani kamermaister hunc librum dominus Anthonius koberger Nuremberge impressit. Adhibitis tamen viris mathematicis pingendique arte peritissimis. Michaele wolgemut et wilhelmo Pleydenwurff. quarum solerti acuratissimaque animadversione tum civitatum tum illustrium virorum figure inserte sunt. Consummatum autem duodecima mensis Julij. Anno salutis nostre 1493.* und der deutschen Ausgabe: *Hie ist entlich beschlossen das buch der Cronicken vnd gedechtnus wirdigern geschichten von anbegynn der werlt bis auf dise vnßere zeit von hohgelerten mannen in latein mit großem fleiß vnd rechtfertigung versammelt. ... Volbracht am xxiij. tag des monats Decembris Nach der gepurt Cristi vnßers haylands M. cccc. xciij. iar.* - beachtlich dabei die Zurückdrängung von Schedels Anteil!

Text und Ausstattung der Inkunabel zu einem nicht unerheblichen Teil auch dem Genos des Städtelobs und der Stadtbeschreibung zugehören.

Ein deutlicher Hinweis hierauf findet sich in der ursprünglichen Schlußschrift des Werks—im Anschluß an die "Ultima etas mundi" sowie die Holzschnitte des Totentanzes und des Weltgerichts—auf Folio 266 der lateinischen Ausgabe:

> Completo in famosissima Nurembergensi vrbe Operi de hystorijs etatum mundi. a c d e s c r i p t i o n e v r b i u m. felix imponitur finis. Collectum breui tempore Auxilio doctoris hartmanni Schedel. qua fieri potuit diligentia. Anno christi Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tercio. die quarto mensis Junij.
>
> Deo igitur optimo. sint laudes infinite.

Während die vorangestellte Titelei für das Register und auch das Kolophon jegliche Erwähnung einer Autorschaft Hartmann Schedels vermissen lassen, ist hier davon die Rede, daß das Werk über die Geschichten der Weltalter u n d d i e B e s c h r e i b u n g v o n S t ä d t e n in kurzer Zeit und m i t d e r H i l f e Doktor Hartmann Schedels gesammelt worden sei.[12] Der Übersetzer Georg Alt hat diesen Hinweis auf den *collector* Schedel in der deutschen Ausgabe wiederum getilgt, den Inhalt des Werks jedoch gleichfalls folgendermaßen umschrieben:

> Auß götlichem beystand. endet sich alhie das buch von den Geschichten der alter der werlt. v n d v o n b e s c h r e i b u n g d e r b e r ü m b t i s t e n v n d n a m h a f f t i g s t e n S t e t t. sagende. durch Georgium Alt desmals losungschreiber der kaiserlichen Reichsstat Nürnberg auß latein in teutsch gebracht. vnd bschlossen nach der gepurt Cristi Jhesu vnsers heylands. M. CCCC lxxxxiij Iar. am fünften tag des Monats octobris:
>
> Altithrono sunt perpetue grates. ag. alt:[13]

In seinem Dedikationsschreiben an den Rat der Reichsstadt Nürnberg läßt Hartmann Schedel jedoch keinen Zweifel an seiner Autorschaft an diesem "immense opus" und äußert sich auch zur Konzeption: "Statui ea tantum, quae ad historiam et descriptionem urbium digna essent, breviter scriptis complecti ... summa cum diligentia collegimus conditiones quoque multarum urbium et monasteriorum cum figuris et imaginibus idoneis."[14] Sei-

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[12] Fol. 262^{r} des Drucks der lateinischen Fassung Nürnberg (Anton Koberger) 1493 [Hain 14508], entsprechend die handschriftliche Vorlage Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Cent. II. 98; (die Sperrung von mir K. A.).

[13] Hier wiedergegeben (Sperrung von mir K. A.) nach der erhaltenen handschriftlichen Druckvorlage aus dem Besitz Sebald Schreyers: Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Cent. II 99, fol. 262^{v}; dabei ist die Schlußzeile ursprünglich gestrichen und dann von gleicher Hand mit der Bemerkung *illud ponatur etiam ad finem* wieder - wie auch im Druck - hinzugefügt worden.

[14] A. Ruland, "Das Exemplar von 'Hartmanni Schedelii Chronicon lat. Norimbergae 1493' welches der Verfasser Hartmann Schedel selbst besaß," in: *Serapeum* 15 (1854): 137–54, 140f.

nem eigenen Exemplar hat er neben diesem Widmungsbrief auch den Einblattdruck beigefügt, der für den Kauf des "liber nouus cronicarum cum ymaginibus illustrium virorum et vrbium impensis magnificorum ciuium—Nurmberge nuper impressus"—also wieder ohne Nennung Schedels—werben sollte: "... Verumetiam clarissimarum vrbium et regionum vniuerse Europe situm. vt queque inceperint floruerint morataque fuerint; quorum omnium cum gesta. facta. sapienterque dicta intueberis omnia viuere putabis. Vale et hunc librum e manibus tuis elabi non sine."[15]

Dem Geschichtswerk ist demnach die Beschreibung der berühmtesten und bedeutendsten Städte integriert; Schedel "mochte gleichsam die Weltgeschichte von der Stadt her sehen."[16] Was die bildlichen Stadtansichten angeht, unter denen sich sowohl 32 "authentische" wie 21 fiktive und teilweise auch mehrfach verwendete finden, so sind sie insbesondere von der kunsthistorischen Forschung beachtet und auch recht gut aufgearbeitet worden.[17] Die zugehörigen Texte hingegen blieben als Quellen der Gattung Stadtbeschreibung und Städtelob bis in die Gegenwart von der Literaturgeschichte nahezu völlig unbeachtet.[18]

Anders als die druckgraphische fanden die sprachliche und die inhaltliche Gestaltung des Werks bei den Zeitgenossen und insbesondere bei den Geldgebern offensichtlich keine ungeteilte Zustimmung. Hinweise darauf, was einer Verbesserung für nötig erachtet wurde, enthalten die entsprechenden Passagen eines Vertrags, der bereits am 23. November 1493—also noch vor dem Erscheinen der deutschen Ausgabe—zwischen Sebald Schreyer als Vertreter der Gesellschafter und dem zu dieser Zeit in Nürnberg weilenden "deutschen Erzhumanisten" Konrad Celtis abgeschlossen wurde.[19] Dort ist nachzulesen, daß Celtis "das werck der Cronica, so jetzo gedruckt ist ... von Newem Corigiren vnd jn ainen anndern form prynngen, mit sampt ainer Newen Europa, vnd annderem darczu gehorig vnd notturfftig...." Diese verbesserte Neuauflage sollte innerhalb eines halben Jahres fertigge-

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[15] Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar. 287 (früher Inc. c. a. 2918), fol. 2; vgl. Ruland, "Exemplar," 138f.

[16] Ramseger, "Städtebilder," 10, 190.

[17] Rücker, "Weltchronik," 72ff., 85ff., 129ff.; vgl. die oben Anm. 5 genannten Arbeiten.

[18] So fehlen etwa entsprechende Hinweise in dem Verzeichnis der städtebeschreibenden Texte vom frühen Mittelalter bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, die Hartmut Kugler seiner Studie *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters* (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen, Bd. 88), München 1986, 234–68 beigegeben hat.

[19] H. Bösch, "Eine projektiert gewesene zweite Ausgabe der sogenannten Schedel'schen Weltchronik," in: *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* 1 (1884–86): 37–39. A. Gümbel, "Die Verträge über die Illustrierung und den Druck der Schedel'schen Weltchronik," in: *Repertorium der Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1902): 430–37. Die Texte auch bei Rücker 1973, 136–40; - auffällig, daß bei all diesen Dokumenten Hartmann Schedels keinerlei Erwähnung geschieht! - Zu Schreyer: E. Caesar, "Sebald Schreyer. Ein Lebensbild aus dem vorreformatorischen Nürnberg," in: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 56 (1969): ix–xi, 1–213.

stellt werden; sie gelangte jedoch nicht mehr zur Ausführung.[20]

Ungeachtet der wenig modernen, eher scholastischen als humanistischen historiographischen Konzeption des Werkes sowie der lediglich angehängten und nicht integrierten geographischen Partien war das zeitgenössische Interesse derart groß, daß 1496 bei Johann Schönsperger in Augsburg ein preisgünstiger, weil weniger aufwendiger "Raubdruck" im Quartformat der deutschen sowie im Jahr darauf (und nochmals 1500) auch der lateinischen Fassung erscheinen konnte.[21]

Die von Schedel und den beteiligten Künstlern gefundene Lösung der großformatigen Stadtansichten und insbesondere der Verknüpfung von Stadtvedute und historisch-literarischer Stadtbeschreibung steht am Beginn einer Tradition, in die sich in den folgenden Jahrzehnten Sebastian Münsters *Cosmographia*, der Städteatlas von Braun und Hogenberg und die Topographien Matthäus Merians einreihten.

III. Nürnberg

Nürnbergs Ansicht aus der "Weltchronik" Schedels ist unzählige Male in historischen und kunsthistorischen Werken reproduziert wurden, die sich mit der mittelalterlichen Stadt im allgemeinen oder mit Nürnberg im besonderen beschäftigen. Doch auch weniger Geschichtsbeflissenen ist Nürnbergs Erscheinungsbild um 1500 vertraut—und sei es nur zur Weihnachtszeit von der Verpackung der berühmten Nürnberger Lebkuchen.

In kaum einer anderen Stadtansicht wurde der Inbegriff dessen, was wir uns unter der deutschen Stadt des Mittelalters vorstellen, so wesensmäßig erfaßt wie in dieser Vedute.[22] Für Nürnberg erlangte das Blatt für die folgenden Jahrzehnte gleichsam kanonische Geltung: Unter seinem direkten Einfluß stehen sowohl der beigegebene Holzschnitt zur 1502 im Druck erschienenen *Norinberga* des Konrad Celtis wie entsprechende Stadtansichten in der Nürnberger Chronistik des 16. Jahrhunderts.[23]

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[20] Spuren einer Bearbeitung bzw. Mitarbeit durch Hieronymus Münzer haben sich im lateinischen Entwurf des *Exemplar libri cronicarum*, cod. Cent. II 98, fol. 304^{r}–323^{r} erhalten. Rücker 1973, 62f.; dies., "Nürnberger Frühhumanisten und ihre Beschäftigung mit Geographie: Zur Frage einer Mitarbeit von Hieronymus Münzer und Conrad Celtis am Text der Schedelschen Weltchronik," in: *Humanismusforschung und Naturwissenschaften* (Beiträge zur Humanismusforschung 6), Boppard 1980, 181–91. E. Ph. Goldschmidt, *Hieronymus Münzer und seine Bibliothek* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 4), London 1938.

[21] Zu den "Raubdrucken" [Hain 14509, 14511, 14512]: Rücker 1973, 82, 143. P. Wescher, "Die Illustration der Augsburger Schedelchronik und ihr Meister," in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1933, 62–68.

[22] Rücker 1973, 72.

[23] Der Nürnberg-Holzschnitt (des Hans von Kulmbach?) für die 1502 in Nürnberg erschienene Ausgabe der *Quattuor libri amorum* des Konrad Celtis, Hans Wurms Prospekt der Stadt Nürnberg von 1520 und die Nürnberg-Ansicht im um 1533/36 entstandenen Familien-

Innerhalb des Drucks von 1493 nimmt der Holzschnitt "*Nvremberga*" in mehrfacher Hinsicht eine hervorgehobene Stellung ein: Er ist der einzige, der eine aufgeschlagene Doppelseite des Bandes zur Gänze beansprucht und ohne zusätzlichen Text bleibt; und er erscheint zwar nicht genau in der Mitte des aufgeschlagenen Codex, doch auf Blatt Hundert (fol. 119^{v}/100^{r}); der zugehörige Text okkupiert die folgende Doppelseite. Der Ort der Entstehung macht wahrscheinlich, daß Wolgemut und Pleydenwurff hier nach der Natur gearbeitet und die Reichsstadt gleichsam aus erster Hand abkonterfeit haben.

Vor den Augen des Betrachters ersteht eine Sigle für "Stadt": Die dichte Bebauung, ein Konglomerat von Häusern, Steinbauten (anders als die dörfliche Bauweise der Zeit); vom Umland geschieden durch eine—in Nürnberg zweifache—Mauer, die mit Toren, Türmen und Zinnen bewehrt ist; akzentuiert von den Türmen der Gotteshäuser und überragt von der kaiserlichen Burg auf der höchsten Erhebung. Vom gleichem Typus erscheinen Städte auf mittelalterlichen Siegel—und Wappenbildern.[24]

Die gelungene Umsetzung des städtischen Erscheinungsbildes macht nahezu vergessen, daß ein Idealbild, nicht die Realität zur Darstellung gelangt: Nicht eine perspektivische Ansicht Nürnbergs ist das Ergebnis von Wolgemuts und Pleydenwurffs Bemühen, sondern eine durch das Buchformat bedingte Reduktion in der Breitenerstreckung der Stadtsilhouette.[25] Auf 53 cm ist die Breitenausdehnung verkürzt, die Vertikale (34 cm) durch Überhöhung betont; die an den linken und rechten Rand gesetzten Türme bilden die Bildränder und begrenzen den Blick auf die Stadt.

Daß dieses "gotische" Erscheinungsbild eigentlich unnatürlich ist, zeigen zum einen der Blick auf die älteste erhaltene Stadtansicht Nürnbergs als Hintergrund des vor 1483 von Jodokus Krell für die Lorenzkirche gestifteten Altars und zum anderen der im wesentlichen aus Schedel kopierte Prospekt der Stadt Nürnberg, den Hans Wurm um 1520 als lavierte Federzeichnung auf das Format 48 mal 160 cm brachte.[26]

Nürnberg ist von Süden gesehen—so wie ein heutiger Besucher die Stadt bei seiner Ankunft vom Hauptbahnhof aus erblickt,— doch von einem deutlich erhöhten Standpunkt. Wolgemut-Pleydenwurffs Vedute blickt auf die Stadt und über den Mauerkranz in sie hinein. Der Blick geht über die Dächer auf die Doppeltürme der beiden mit Namen bezeichneten Haupt-

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buch der Haller bei Rücker 1973, 109f.; *Geschichte Nürnbergs in Bilddokumenten*, hrsg. von G. Pfeiffer unter Mitarbeit von W. Schwemmer, München 1977, Abb. 28, 32.

[24] Ramseger, "Städtebilder," 65ff. Rücker 1973, 105ff.

[25] W. Krings, "Text und Bild als Informationsträger bei gedruckten Stadtdarstellungen der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Poesis et Pictura. Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften und alten Drucken. Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von St. Füssel und J. Knape, (Saecvla Spiritalia, Sonderband) Baden-Baden 1989, 295–335, 308f.

[26] Pfeiffer, *Geschichte Nürnbergs in Bilddokumenten*, Abb. 136. Krings, "Text und Bild," 309. - Vgl. Anm. 23.

kirchen *S. Laurentius* und *S. Sebaldus*. Genaues Hinsehen erst gibt Aufschluß über weitere Türme, kirchliche und profane. Bekrönt wird Nürnbergs Erscheinungsbild von der vielgliedrigen Baugruppe der Kaiserburg.

Glückliche Umstände erlauben Einblick in das Entwurfsstadium des seit 1487 unter Schedels Leitung in Arbeit befindlichen Buchunternehmens. Aus dem Besitz des Hauptgeldgebers Sebald Schreyer haben sich in zwei Bänden die Druckvorlagen für die lateinische und die deutsche Ausgabe erhalten; darunter auch der *Nvremberga* überschriebene Layout-Entwurf für die Darstellung Nürnbergs. Wiewohl die Skizze vom Zeichner mit eiligen Federstrichen aufs Papier geworfen wurde, wird das Wesentliche deutlich: Der doppelte Mauerkranz um die Stadt mit dem sich dem Betrachter öffnenden Tor, die Doppeltürme der beiden Hauptkirchen und die Lage der anderen Türme über dem nur angedeuteten Dächermeer, schließlich der aufgipfelnde, hier den Blick noch stärker in seinen Bann schlagende Burgberg. Die zweimal geänderte Foliierung läßt im übrigen erkennbar werden, daß die Blattbezeichnung *.C.* nicht von Anfang an geplant war, sondern aus dem ursprünglichen *97* geändert wurde. Eine entsprechende Vorzeichnung, ebenfalls in Originalgröße des späteren Satzspiegels, hat sich auch für Blatt *.C.* der deutschen Ausgabe erhalten.[27]

In den Druckvorlagen—wie im Druck—folgt der bildlichen Darstellung Nürnbergs auf gut eineinhalb Seiten seine literarische Beschreibung. Bereits die Einleitung ist deutlich enkomiastisch: "Nuremberga vrbs tota germania: et apud exteras gentes nominatissima celeberrimaque. Emporium germanie amplissimum: magnificis operibus publicis et priuatis ornata. Arx regia in colle vrbi supereminet vetustissima. ex qua intra vrbem et extra prospectus est. . . ."

Gut drei Viertel des Textes befassen sich mit der Vergangenheit und Lage Nürnbergs, mit "origo" und "situs" der Handelsmetropole. Ob ihr Name von Nero ("neroberga") herzuleiten ist, wird intensiv unter Heranziehung vieler Autoritäten abgehandelt. Schedel schließt sich in der Namensfrage Enea Silvio an, wonach "Norinberg" von "noricus mons" abzuleiten und Name und Stadt folglich bairischen Ursprungs seien. Obgleich die Nürnberger zur fränkischen Diözese Bamberg gehörten, wollten sie "nec bauari nec francones videri volunt. Sed tercium quoddam separatum genus."[28]

Die Stadt wird vom Pegnitzfluß in zwei Teile geteilt, die jedoch durch schöne Steinbrücken wieder vereinigt werden. Da auf sandigem und unfruchtbarem Boden errichtet, muß dies durch den Fleiß ihrer Bewohner

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[27] Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Cent. II 98, fols. 120^{v}/121^{r}; Cent. II 99, fols. 113^{v}/114^{r}. Rücker 1973, 61ff. K. Schneider, Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften (Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, 1) Wiesbaden 1965, 434ff.

[28] E. Mummenhoff, *Nürnbergs Ursprung und Alter in den Darstellungen der Geschichtsschreiber und im Lichte der Geschichte*, Nürnberg 1908, 2ff.

kompensiert werden: "In agro sterili et arenoso condita. atque ob eam rem industrioso populo. omnes autem plebei opifices ingeniosissimi aut plerumque negociatores prudentissimi. Repertores et magistri mirandarum ac subtilium operum et arcium que ad decorem ac vtilitatem hominum plurimum conducunt."[29] Ungeachtet der Unsicherheit über seine Ursprünge, die Nürnberg bekanntlich mit Rom teile, habe es—in kühner Mutmaßung—schon zu Zeiten Karls des Großen in Blüte gestanden. Einigermaßen sicheren Boden betritt die historische Spekulation erst mit dem 11. Jahrhundert—Nürnbergs erste Erwähnung stammt, wie wir heute wissen, aus dem Jahr 1050[30]—und den hochmittelalterlichen Gewährsleuten Gottfried von Viterbo und Otto von Freising. Richtiger ist da schon die Bedeutung Kaiser Karls des Vierten für den Ausbau der Stadt und ihrer Befestigung gesehen: "Estque edibus ciuium amplissimis et firmissimis exornata. et in medio ferme germanie sita...."

Die Auffassung, daß Nürnberg in Deutschlands, ja ganz Europas Mitte gelegen sei, teilt Schedel mit anderen Autoren des ausgehenden 15. Jahrhunderts: So findet sich am Schluß der "Weltchronik" eine doppelseitige—die erste im Buchdruck erschienene—Karte Deutschlands und Mitteleuropas. Sie ist eine Zutat des Nürnberger Arztes und Kosmographen Hieronymus Münzer und weist Übereinstimmungen mit der Deutschlandkarte des Nikolaus von Cues (von 1439) sowie den entsprechenden Partien auf dem 1492 entstandenen Globus des Martin Behaim auf.[31] Im gleichen Jahr edierte Erhard Etzlaub als Einblattdruck Jörg Glockendons eine Wegekarte Nürnbergs und seiner weiteren Umgebung sowie um 1500 eine Romweg-Karte, in deren graphischem und geographischem Mittelpunkt jeweils die Stadt Nürnberg steht; Schedel hat beide seinem Handexemplar des *Liber Chronicarum* eingefügt.[32] Und ebenfalls 1492 beendete Konrad Celtis, in jenen Jahren ständiger Gast Schedels und Schreyers, die Erstfassung seiner *Norinberga*;

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[29] Schedel zitiert hier die *Europa* des Enea Silvio; desgleichen Georg alt in seiner *Descriptio Nuremberge* von 1492 (clm 472, fols. 98f., 266f., gedr. Mummenhoff, *Nürnbergs Ursprung*, S. 106ff.), die wohl ebenso zu den Vorarbeiten der "Weltchronik" gehört wie Schedels eigene Entwürfe zum Nürnberg-Artikel in (seiner Handschrift von Sigismund Meisterlins Nürnberger Chronik) clm 23877, fols. 192–195^{v}: Kugler, *Vorstellung*, 255.

[30] Pfeiffer, "Geschichte Nürnbergs in Bilddokumenten," Abb. 11. K. Bosl, "Die Anfänge unter den Saliern," in Pfeiffer, *Nürnberg*, S. 11ff.

[31] Rücker 1973, 77ff.; dies., "Frühhumanisten," 181ff. bes. 186. Machilek, "Kartographie," 2ff. - In einem Brief vom 15. Juli 1493 an Schedel, den dieser seinem Handexemplar beigefügt hat (Ruland, "Exemplar," S. 143f.), schreibt Münzer u. a.: *Addidi similiter in calce tabulam communem locorum Germaniae cum confinibus suis ab oriente et occidente.*

[32] Ruland, "Exemplar," 146f. Machilek, "Kartographie," 2f. Hernad, "Graphiksammlung," Nrn. 80, 81. - Hinzu kommt noch die 1501 von Glockendon gedruckte Karte der *lantstrassen durch das Romisch reych*, die wie die Umgebungskarte die Mittelpunktlage Nürnbergs durch die Wiedergabe seines Wappenschilds hervorhebt. H. Krüger, "Des Nürnberger Meisters Erhard Etzlaub älteste Straßenkarte von Deutschland," in *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 18 (1958): 1–286, 379–407. A. Höhn, *Franken im Bild alter Karten*, Würzburg 1986, 27ff.

auch dort findet sich die Auffassung, daß Nürnberg die Mitte Europas bilde.[33]

Am Schluß des Textes über Nürnberg finden sich Bemerkungen über das städtische Regiment, über Kirchen und Klöster; wobei die Frauenkirche und der Schöne Brunnen am Marktplatz eigens Erwähnung finden. Dem heiligen Sebald als Stadtpatron sowie den in Nürnberg aufbewahrten Reichskleinodien und der jährlichen Heiltumsweisung gelten die Schlußbemerkungen. Ein sechszeiliges Lobgedicht findet sich allein in der lateinischen Fassung; die etwas unmotiviert anschließende Passage über die Apostel der Kirche ist lediglich Seitenfüller.

IV. Lübeck

Lübecks mittelalterliche Türmelandschaft ist dem Liebhaber deutscher Süßwaren bestens vertraut; sie ziert bis in die Gegenwart die Produkte eines renommierten Lübecker Marzipanherstellers ebenso wie die Marmeladenproduktion aus dem benachbarten Bad Schwartau—die Ansicht der Stadt von Osten, wie sie 1493 der Holzschnitt in Schedels "Weltchronik" bot, hat sich in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten nur geringfügig gewandelt. Daß wir sie dort finden, ist freilich eher dem Zufall zu verdanken; genauer: dem Umstand, daß die Informationen über "Sarmacia" (Polen) sowie die Städte Krakau, Lübeck und Neiße zwar nach Fertigstellung der Druckvorlage in Nürnberg eintrafen, doch rechtzeitig genug, um dem Druck (wie im handschriftlichen Exemplar) auf ungezählten Blättern vor der *Europa* Enea Silvios noch eingefügt zu werden. Somit lernen wir etwas von der um Informationen aus erster Hand und bis zum letzten Augenblick bemühten Arbeitsweise Schedels kennen.[34]

Wer die Bild—und Textvorlage für Lübeck lieferte, läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen. Der Text ist, wie später im Druck, in die obere Hälfte einer aufgeschlagenen Doppelseite eingepaßt, um unten den Holzschnitt *LVBECA* im Format von 20 mal 52 cm aufzunehmen. In der Druckvorlage aus Schreyers Besitz für die lateinische Fassung ist dieser Platz unter dem autographen Text Schedels frei geblieben; für die deutsche Ausgabe fehlen solche Beobachtungen, da die entsprechenden Blätter beim Binden offenbar verlorengingen.

Wie die Bildvorlage ausgesehen haben muß, läßt sich hingegen mit einiger Sicherheit sagen: ganz ähnlich der Ansicht der beiden Druckfassungen. Dafür lassen sich als Beweis nicht nur der—allein aus Autopsie zu gewinnende—Lauf der Wakenitz im Bildvordergrund ins Feld führen, sondern mehr noch die topographisch exakte Schilderung der Turmlandschaft Lübecks, wie sie sich dem Betrachter zwischen 1450 und 1500 darbot.

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[33] A. Werminghoff, *Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg*, Freiburg i. Br. 1921, 174f.

[34] So hat Schedel in seinem Handexemplar (fol. 273f.) noch die Beschreibung der Stadt Braunschweig nachgetragen: Ruland, "Exemplar," 142.

Zieht man zum Vergleich den in Lübeck seit den sechziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts gültigen Kanon der Stadtansicht heran, so zeigt sich, daß die Vedute in der vorliegenden Form in bildlichen Zeugnissen seit 1463 belegt ist. Bis zu seiner Vernichtung am 28. März 1942 war der 30 Meter lange und zwei Meter hohe Fries mit dem Tanz des Todes und der Toten, das früheste Werk Bernt Notkes, in der Beichtkapelle von St. Marien zu sehen. Hinter Bürgermeister, Domherr, Edelmann und Arzt war die großartige Stadtansicht gemalt, die uns wenigstens in einer Kopie erhalten geblieben ist. Sie ist mit der Lübeck-Ansicht bei Schedel ebenso identisch wie eine weitere Lübecker Stadtansicht auf einem Altar Hermen Rodes in der Nikolaikirche zu Reval aus dem Jahr 1482. Damit scheint erwiesen, daß Hartmann Schedel seine Vorlage unmittelbar aus Lübeck erhalten haben dürfte.[35]

Für den Text der Stadtbeschreibung können wir Entsprechendes annehmen. Dabei entspricht der Aufbau des Lübeck-Artikels weitgehend dem von Nürnberg und läßt somit die Hand des Redaktors Schedel vermuten. Daß ihm die Frühgeschichte der hyperboräischen Reichsstadt alles andere als geläufig war, wird offenkundig, wenn aus dem Slawenfürsten Cruto schon in seiner handschriftlichen Fassung—paläographisch nicht schwer zu erklären—"Krito" und "Kitto" und im Druck hieraus "Kyto" wird.

Das Schlußdrittel verdient mehr als die entsprechenden Passagen über Schedels Heimatstadt die Bezeichnung Städtelob. Nach einem Hinweis auf die Ratsverfassung wird die Sauberkeit der zu beiden Seiten in ihren Straßen zum Fluß hin abfallenden Stadt beschrieben sowie der Dom in ihrem Süden gerühmt. Auch im Text findet die Turmlandschaft Erwähnung: "Ornatur hec vrbs preter istam quatuor parrochianis basilicis que septem turres celsas peracutas ac pulcherrimas habent cupro ac plumbo tectas ac in summitate auro decoratas." Die übrigen Kirchen der Stadt sind gleichfalls wohlgeschmückt, wobei die Marienkirche hervorgehoben wird; desgleichen findet das Heilig-Geist-Spital Erwähnung. Das Straßennetz mit den beiden Hauptstraßen und den davon rechtwinklig abzweigenden Gassen wird vorgestellt, ebenso der Markt mit seinen Waren, Wakenitz und Trave in ihrem Lauf und die Schiffbarkeit der letzteren bis zum Hafen. Eine letzte Information gilt dem "nouissime," seit 1492, inthronisierten Lübecker Bischof Dietrich (2. Arndes) aus Hamburg—"cetera ornamenta vrbis ob longitudinem scripturarum et varietatem silentio pretereunda fore dignum duxi. . . ."

Universität Hamburg

[35] *Der Totentanz in der Marienkirche zu Lübeck . . . Lübeck 1866.* Neudruck mit einem Nachwort von Hartmut Freytag: "Der Totentanz in der Marienkirche zu Lübeck und das Totentanz-Fragment in der Nikolaikirche zu Reval (Tallinn)," Lübeck 1989; - ich habe Herrn Kollegen Freytag/Hamburg herzlich für hilfreiche Hinweise zu danken.

Medieval Traditions in the English Renaissance: John Stow's Portrayal of London in 1603

XAVIER BARON

> Do you imagine, brothers, that a city is defined by its walls, and not rather by its citizens?
>
> St. Augustine, *Sermo de urbis excidio*, c. 420.

> A city is a number of people joined by a social bond. It takes its name from the citizens who dwell in it. As an *urbs* it is only a walled structure, but inhabitants, not building stones, are referred to as a *city*.
>
> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum libri*, c. 625.

> If the present be compared with the remote past, it is easily seen that in all cities and in all peoples there are the same desires and the same passions there always were.
>
> Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Disourses*, c. 1517.

John Stow (1525–1605) published the first edition of *The Survey of London* in 1598, and brought out an expanded second edition in 1603.[1] That he could successfully publish two editions in five years attests to the growing power and importance of London, after the commercial eclipse of Antwerp in 1574, the failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the long and successful reign of Elizabeth I. London was becoming the commercial and merchant center of the western world, and as an international capital city was laying the foundations for her preeminence achieved some two hundred years later in the nineteenth century.[2]

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[1] The standard edition is John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908). I have used the Everyman's Library edition: John Stow, *The Survey of London*, ed. H. B. Wheatley (London, 1956). Page numbers refer to this edition.

[2] See G. D. Ramsey, *The City of London in International Politics at the Accession of Elizabeth Tudor*

John Stow, as a conservative, patriotic, native Londoner, responded to London's growing prominence by seeking to celebrate and explain her organization, character, and identity. He did so for himself, as an expression of his civic pride, but also to register some of his concerns about a concentration of English society that showed the signs of urban sprawl and dehumanizing stress in a city that had experienced a fourfold expansion during his lifetime. Stow was also a shrewd and successful editor and publisher. He knew his market and was aware and confident of an interested audience, and an opportunity to present his idea of London that was rooted in his idealization of the past and mixed with a denial of many of the negative realities of his contemporary experience.

This interest in a written depiction of London is partially related to and mutually interacts with the complimentary and concurrent dissemination of printed map views and cityscapes. Sixteenth-century Europe was exposed to Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut view of Venice (1500) and Leonardo Bulfoni's woodcut scale map of Rome (1551), for example, and their influence was felt in imitations elsewhere. As visualizations of London, those in G. Braun and F. Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572), John Norden's *Speculum Britanniae* (1593 and c. 1600) and C. J. Visscher's *Long View of London* (c. 1600) are especially prominent.[3] Often they provide fascinating and important corroborations in visual terms of what Stow presents verbally. But we should not trust them as accurate and "true." *The Survey of London* uses a medieval rhetorical tradition to "filter" experience, simplifying it, distilling it, organizing it, and concentrating it into a formalized and idealized presentation. The engravers and producers of sixteenth-century "views," maps, and panoramas did something visually similar. Like Stow, their depictions are attractive and suggestive, but stylized and idealized: as were all the portrayals of the cities of Europe during the Renaissance.[4]

The restrictions and parameters of the printer's and engraver's media and art influenced the form and even the scale of the cities presented. The horizontal axis dominates, quite out of proportion to the actual bursting out beyond medieval city walls, for example. More importantly, maps and panoramic views of cities appealed to printers and engravers and their consumers because they are relatively angular and regular and therefore both amenable to metallic plate and wood block; but also symbolic of raw and unruly

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(Manchester, 1975) and A. L. Beier and R. Finlay, eds. *London, 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, (London, 1986).

[3] J. G. Links, *Townscape Painting and Drawing* (London, 1972). See also Ida Darlington and James Howgego, *Printed Maps of London circa 1553–1850* (London, 1964) and Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, *London 2000 Years of A City and Its People* (London, 1974), 35–108.

[4] See Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World.* trans. William McCuaig (Princeton, 1991); Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1988); and Walter S. Gibson, *"Mirror of the Earth" The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, 1990).

nature superseded and made orderly. Produced by city craftsmen and sponsored and bought by an urban population, they were rather popular, and certainly widespread, because they spoke to civic pride and a wish for the reassuring evidence that the city was orderly and well governed. The crisp, neat image becomes the symbol of the ideal urban community of law and order. It is notable that these visual depictions are usually sparsely populated.[5]

There are few people, perhaps because people are not only irregularly shaped visually, but also because real men and women are often disorderly, unruly and sometimes not law abiding. Such visualizations of London and other Renaissance cities are thus rather like architects' drawings: idealized and sanitized since they don't present the irregular and disorderly aspects of actual experience. They also eliminate much of the richness and complexity of city life.[6] John Stow's lovingly written celebration of London is similar in conception, execution, and effect.

In the "walking tour" that comprises three-fifths of *The Survey of London* Stow conducts his reader through the principle streets of London's twenty-six wards, the near suburbs and Westminster, claiming to present what we should see and encounter along the way, with frequent digressions about those buried or memorialized in the churches, and what historical events took place at participating spots. Significantly we witness or encounter very few living people and the selection of views and anecdotes all points to a symbolic (and largely medieval) London of law and orderliness. This suggests that, like the distant "bird's-eye" views of the map maker and engraver, Stow didn't want to get too close to any version of living London, for fear that it would be too irregular and ruin his celebration of an idealized (and largely past) city. Probably this is why he relied so extensively on William Fitzstephen's *Description of London*, written in 1174, an idealized celebration of the medieval London Stow loved rather than the actual city both writers chose to virtually ignore.

Stow acknowledged his debt to Fitzstephen in his "Introduction." He quotes from it extensively and repeatedly at length, and frames his *Survey* by printing the entire work as his final appendix. The first one-fifth of his work is a tenfold expansion of the medieval *Description* which rearranges it to give increased attention to some of the history and importance of London "landmarks," that Fitzstephen either ignored or did not know. Stow also attends to London's educational, governmental, and commercial institutions with far greater historical depth, and gives details of many city services. In the 1603 (expanded) edition, he adds a new chapter on wealth *and* charity, and on the rich and famous who bring honor to London and thereby certify

[5] For reproductions of theses Renaissance "Long Views" of London, see Ralph Hyde, *Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects. Panoramic Views of British Towns 1575–1900* (New Haven, 1985), and Barker and Jackson, *London 2000 Years*, 48–55 and 94–95. See also I. Scouloudi, *Panoramic Views of London, 1600–1666* (London, 1953).

[6] Malcolm Warner, *The Image of London. Views by Travellers and Emigrés 1550–1920* (London, 1987), 102–7. Cf. Hyde, *Gilded Scenes*, 42–45; and Scouloudi, *Panoramic Views*, 19–21.

and exemplify its importance. Even when he expands on the medieval work, it is clear that he treats it as an historical document, depicting a medieval London fully and authentically; even though it does not. Fitzstephen's *Description of London* is at best a partial and impressionistic account because it ignores virtually all the complexities, problems, shortcomings and many of the realities of any major city. What Stow is clearly attracted to in Fitzstephen's keen, but general description of twelfth-century London, is its convincing and attractive orderliness. Its lucid structure becomes an emblem of London the orderly city, well-organized because well-governed and law abiding. Stow picks up and uses this orderly arrangement, expands references to its contents, and uses its observations as the dominant figure or emphasis in his celebratory depiction of the praiseworthy character of a medieval London become Renaissance London.

Fitzstephen's twelfth-century *Description of London* is an appendix to his valuable, but probably slanted life of St. Thomas Becket. It is a unique piece in English historical literature, but it has a number of analogues in medieval celebrations of Milan, Verona, Padua, Bergamo, Rome, Paris, Florence, and several other cities from the eighth through the fourteenth centuries. These "*Laudes civitates*" gave idealized and impressionistic atten tion to the city site, its walls, gates, rivers, main buildings, and churches, its founders and governmental or royal leaders.[7]

Stow's expansion of Fitzstephen shows no awareness of the other medieval writers who use the "*Laudes civitates*" rhetorical tradition. Neither does he make any reference to the contemporary Renaissance elaboration of the medieval tradition that appear frequently enough to have their modes of presentation and choices of details and emphasis codified by Albrecht Meier in his *Methodus describendi regiones* (1587), which was translated into English by Phillip Jones in 1589.[8] Stow didn't need to be aware of these other works. He absorbs the tradition they manifest in Fitzstephen himself.

Rhetorical orderliness and predictable organization, choice of observations and formal patterns of presentation epitomize the civic orderliness and predictable structures of London itself. Stow and the reader are at a comfortable distance from the city, analogous to the viewer's perspective or vantage point in the panorama, "longview," or bird's-eye map. London dirt, noise, and tense, tightly wound and sporadically-released power—her very energy and life—are passed over and ignored. London is presented as static and lifeless. Thus it is that the painterly traditions of Renaissance views of cities and the rhetorical traitions of "*Laudes civitates*" have a sameness and a static quality that is attractive because it is accessible and controllable. Stow and the visual artists present a cityscape that is frozen in time and static in

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[7] J. K. Hyde, "Medieval Descriptions of Cities," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48 (1966): 308–40. See also Frugoni, *Distant City*, 54–81.

[8] Clare Williams, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599* (London, 1937), 61–76.

its gesture and pose. London is fixed and honored by being preserved and recorded. But distance and predictability, though they offer to conserve and to order, also rob the city of its very life. They cheat the viewer or reader of the city's energy, dynamism, and crazy, irregular complexity. Arguably its most vital and authentic qualities—its very disorderliness and incessant liveliness—are passed over. Perhaps this is so because dynamic vitality and disorder cannot be controlled and rendered through orderly techniques of artist's images and writer's phrases, but Stow shows himself concerned about presenting a distorted view of Renaissance London for moral and philosophical reasons as well.

In addition to Fitzstephen, *The Survey of London* is much indebted to the thirteenth-century works of the historian Matthew Paris. Among his prolific works are some of the earliest painted manuscript paintings of London and other cities. But for Stow he was the champion of hierarchy, stability, and authoritarian order as necessary controls on fallen and unruly human nature. Only with such restrictions and orderings could cities, civilizations and societies flourish and survive. As a monk of St. Alban's abbey, Matthew Paris was hostile to London, as Stow certainly is not, but they share a certainty about the fragility of civic and social order and the necessity of keeping fallen men and women under control, with their propensities to riot and rebellion restrained or crushed, and fiercely punished.[9]

Thus, for example, Stow keeps returning in his *Survey* to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Throughout all parts of the work, some ten different times he celebrates the defeat of the unruly peasants and their London supporters, and the victory of William Walworth the Lord Mayor. He is the hero and not the feckless Richard II. Stow does the same with his presentation of the insurrection of Jack Cade in 1450, and with the failed rebellion of Thomas Neville, the Bastard Fauconbridge in 1470. He brings all three rebels together in a final restatement of the central importance of law and order in London, in his first appendix, "written by way of an apology (or defence)" (482):

> The history of William Walworth, the mayor of London, is well known; by whose manhood and policy the person of Richard II was rescued, the city saved, Wat Tiler killed, and all his straglers discomfited; in reward of which service, the mayor and other alderman were knighted.
>
> Jack Cade also having discomfited the King's army that was sent against him, came to London, and was there manfully and with long fight resisted, until that by the good policy of the citizens his company was dispersed.
>
> Finally, in the tenth year of the reign of King Edward IV., and not

[9] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), 1: 362–72.

> many days before the death of Henry VI., Thomas Nevill, commonly called the bastard of Fauconbridge, armed a great company against the king, and being denied passage through London, he assaulted it on divers parts; but he was repulsed by the citizens, and chased as far as Stratford, with the loss of a great many. (488)

Stow emphasizes the roles of London citizens in restoring order and punishing the rebellious and unlawful. In dealing with London riot, crime, and disorder, he greatly expands on Fitzstephen, who only mentions two London evils: "the immoderate drinking of foolish persons and the frequent fires (506)." In contrast, Stow talks about violent crime (e.g., 171, 178, 375–78), political corruption (379, 427–28), cruelty (313), arrogance (121, 137, 162), harmful greed (121, 135, 137, 162) and violent anti-Jewish hatred (250–52). These discussions are all worked into the narrative as violations of the social order and the civic peace that are successfully crushed and the criminals severely punished, usually with death. In *The Survey of London* the crimes are always punished, the fires and other disorders always extinguished and ruined buildings always restored or rebuilt.[10]

Most of all, Stow idealizes and sanitizes the negative and disruptive realities of London life by keeping them in the past. Not only are all of the serious disorders of London in remote and distant history (e.g., 91–92, 146, 228, 379, 418), but by implication, any new disorders will be handled as decisively and effectively as the old ones. Civic order will prevail and the disorderly will be punished.

Only three times does Stow talk about urban congestion and growth and the accompanying distresses of inflated traffic as problems in his Elizabethan London:

> But now in our time, instead of these enormities [fires], others are come in place no less meet to be reformed; namely purprestures, or encroachments on the highways, lanes and common grounds, in and about the city.... The number of cars, drays, carts, and coaches, more than hath been accustomed, the streets and lanes being straightened, must needs be dangerous, as daily experience proveth.... For the world runs on wheels with many whose parents were glad to go on foot.[11] (76–77)

The conservative Stow is being nostalgic here. He clearly prefers the past, and part of his nostalgia causes him to pass over examples of a sordid medieval London. He winks at the high-level crime and corruption in official government. For example he presents the houses of prostitution in Southwark, but stresses how well regulated and orderly they were, governed

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[10] Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability* (Cambridge, 1991).

[11] See R. A. P. Finlay and B. Shearer, "Population Growth and Suburban Expansion," *London, 1500–1700*, ed. Beier and Finlay, 37–59.

"according to the old customs that had been there used time out of mind" (360), and lists some eleven of these regulations. He passes over without comment that some were owned by the Bishop of Westminster, and many by William Walworth, his "hero" Lord Mayor during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 when the whorehouses were "spoiled by Walter Tyler, and other rebels of Kent (361)."[12]

Similarly, he minimizes and sanitizes the serious pervasiveness of low-level and street crime. For example, he misuses and misleadingly quotes or refers to the early fifteenth-century satirical poem, "London Lykpenny" three times (75, 178, 195) but defuses its sharp criticisms of lawyers, civil officials, merchants and street sellers , by ignoring its scathing satirical condemnations and using the poem as a city guide to London typography. In the appended "apology" for the benefits of cities, near the end of Stow's *Survey of London*, we have a clear statement of his conservative, authoritarian and nostalgic sympathies and attitudes. London's wealth, power and orderly well-being are dependent on civic law and order. These, following conventional Renaissance neo-classical political theory, are divinely sanctioned:

> At once the propagation of religion, the execution of charity, and the defence of the country is [*sic*] best performed by towns and cities; and this civil life approacheth nearest to the shape of that mystical body, whereof Christ is the head, and men are the members; whereupon both at the first, that man of God Moses, in the commonwealth of the Israelites, and the governors of all countries, in all ages since, have continually maintained the same; and to change it were nothing else but to metamorphose the world, and to make wild beasts of reasonable men (484–85).[13]

John Stow's *Survey of London*, especially in the expanded second edition of 1603, continues and transmits medieval rhetorical and political theory and attitudes toward cities like London in three main ways. First he makes direct use of the "*Laudes civitates*" traditions as exemplified in England by William Fitzstephen's twelfth-century *Description of London*. He uses and expands the medieval work as a trope or figure of the orderly city that Stow chooses to see in London's past and argues must continue into the present and future.

Second, he draws on the political and social values of Matthew Paris and other medieval historians who stress the fragility of the social and civic peace, taking their more general observations about persistent human weakness and unlawfulness, crime and vice, and presenting examples from London life. However, he distances himself and his reader from their persist-

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[12] See E. J. Burford, *The Orryble Sinne: A Look at London Lechery from Roman to Cromwellian Times* (London, 1973) and J. S. Cockburn, ed., *Crime in England, 1550–1800* (London, 1977).

[13] Cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

ence, by situating them in London's past and showing violence always for the good end of a restored order, and crime always corrected and punished. Thus he presents an idealized picture that is distorted and skewed toward the desirable and the hoped for, rather than toward the actual and the "real."

Third, he uses London as an example of the necessity and worth of the orderly and law-abiding city, which, although clearly the main "message" or teaching of the medieval tradition he follows, were never before so elaborately interwoven with the detailed history of a city after the Roman empire's fall.

Even though *The Survey of London* is presented mainly as a walking-tour of what we would see and experience in the city, suburbs, and Westminster, it is essentially an elaborated Renaissance example of the medieval "*Laudes civitates*" with historical (and moral) digressions. It is most interesting and valuable, provided we recognize that it is a special but representative English Renaissance idealization of London about 1600. It is accurate and "actual" in that sense. If we acknowledge that it is rhetorical, stylized and distorted to celebrate a London that never fully ever was, and that it ignores or minimizes the realities of the sordid, criminal, and disorderly sides of London, then it is both important, invaluable, and fascinating. *The Survey of London* is most useful and illuminating if we read it as a half or partial truth, and an approximation of the authentic. We should read William Fitzstephen's celebration of London along side of the damnation of Richard of Devizes. So too, should we read Stow along with the satirical pamphlets of his contemporary, Thomas Dekker. We will then achieve something like a balanced view.[14]

Still, we must remember that the negative and cynical critics of London are just as biased, partial and misleading as the positive and praising celebrants. Both kinds of city artists choose to see and highlight different aspects of the same London. London was (and is) an orderly, varied city where virtuous life should be celebrated and honored; it is also a disorderly, chaotic city where vicious conduct should be damned and condemned. As the two rival rhetorical traditions exemplify, London, as every city, is both praiseworthy and damnable. It was so in the Middle Ages, and it is so today.

Distortions, indeterminancies, and inaccuracies between thing and experience and word and image are built into human perception and expression. Art is a superior form of that. Among other things it presents and interprets the tensions and contradictions between what is (or was) and what might be,

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[14] Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. John T. Appleby (London, 1963). Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderful Year*, ed. G. B. Harrison (New York, 1966); and *The Seven Deadly Sins of London*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1879). See also Gail Paster, *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens, Ga., 1985); Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages, Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge, 1991); and T. McAlindon, *Shakespeare's tragic cosmos* (Cambridge, 1991).

or should be. Therein, despite its deceptions, falsifications, inaccuracies, and manipulations, lies its necessities and its truth. John Bururchard tried to remind us some twenty-five years ago "that the city which we see and city which we interpret and the city which we project beyond itself is never the city that is actually there. Ours is more beautiful and simpler and perhaps even more symbolic. That ought to be enough."[15] John Stow would agree.

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

[15] John Burchard, "The City As Symbol," in *Sign Image Symbol*, ed. Gyorgy Kepes (New York, 1966), 241. Cf. Jonathan Raban, *Soft City* (London, 1974); and Susan Wells, *The Dialectics of Representation* (Baltimore, 1985), 103–32.

The Changing Architectonic Aspect of the Ideal City in the Early Renaissance

LISE BEK

The modern city, as everybody recognizes, is fraught with multiple problems. Whatever bright ideas or good intentions have been at work on the part of architects and planners as well as sociologists and other experts on human life and behaviour, not to mention the politicians, they seem to have been of no avail in the face of the increasingly uncontrolled growth of today's mega-cities all over the world.

One may ask if, in a similar way, the keen attention paid in the Renaissance to the ideal city had its background in the acute situation provoked by the development and expansion of existing cities as a consequence of their increasing economic and political power. At any rate, the notion of the ideal city seems to have had a more pervasive effect upon reality then than is the case nowadays. In fact, the innovations in both townplans and cityscapes resulting from the efforts to realize the ideal conceived by political and architectural theoreticians among the Renaissance humanists are still visible in many a city throughout Europe and the new world.

The concept of the city as norm and form of human society advocated by the humanists was deeply influenced, no doubt, by the models devised by ancient authors on social and political matters from Plato onwards. What will mainly interest us here, however, is not the role played by antiquity in the formation of the city ideal as an abstract construction of thought, but rather the part it plays in the visualization of the ideal city in its concrete architectonic aspect. In this respect the inspiration drawn from antiquity in the form of what one may term the adoption of an ancient literary model of description on the part of the humanists, will, as we shall see, turn out to be of a very far-reaching kind, in as much as the model showed itself adaptable to describing the modern city of the Renaissance, in spite of the difference in concept adhered to by the writers.

One might even say that what those humanist authors gained from their

common model was how to depict in words what they experienced visually as seen and sensed reality, far more than a precept for what this reality was to look like.

However, as the individual interpretation of their common source of inspiration was, of course, bound to be tinged by the ideological views held by each of the authors, it will be appropiate, here, first roughly to outline two divergent concepts of the city which were both in play in the early Renaissance.[1]

City concepts, old and new, on the threshold of the Renaissance:

As already pointed out, the notion of the ideal city will always contain at least two interrelated aspects in as much as any ideological or political idea of the city in terms of society will inevitably see itself mirrored in its lay-out and architectonic formation. During the early Renaissance, a radical change in the concept of the city took place, a change which was noticeable, especially, in Italy, where the transition from what one may call the medieval concept to the Renaissance concept is traceable step by step in the literary preoccupation with the theme, as well as in its artistic treatment, be it in pictorial representation or architectonic realization. For the sake of clarity and brevity, I should like to term this new concept the *civitas humana* as opposed to the old medieval one, which might aptly be designated by the Augustinian term, *civitas Dei*.

According to the latter concept, the city is regarded as a vague earthly reflection of the heavenly Jerusalem, the society of man being in a state of pilgrimage towards the realm of God.[2] Thus, the daily flow of human life is constantly measured against the eternity of divine reality. The ideal of human society, in other words, was for the State of God to be realized in the community of the Church rather than in the worldly city. Having its origin and end in one and the same point, the City of Heaven, the primary function of the city on earth was to provide a basis for spiritual evolution

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[1] For a thorough treatment of the city as urban structure in theory and practice I shall refer to the three-volume *Storia dell'urbanistica* (Bari, 1982), especially to the first two volumes: V. Franchetti Pardo, *Dal trecento al quattrocento*, and E. Guidone and. A. Marino, *Il Cinquecento*, further indicated as *St. urb.* For the city as an image af the ideal society in a broader sense cf. F. E. and F. P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Oxford, 1979).

[2] For Saint Augustine's use of the concept *civitas* as referring to society in terms of the city and as having the celestial Jerusalem as its spiritual analogy cf. *De Civitate Dei* preface to Book 1, Book 11.1 as well as Book 17.16, in which the concepts of *speculatio* and *contemplatio* are discussed in this respect. For the humanistic concept of the city of man as opposed to the Augustinian city of God many references might be made, cf. for instance E. Garin in *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte* (Venezia-Roma, 1958): "Alberti" (Il pensiero dell'A.).

upwards. It was, therefore, conceived as being, in principle, of a more or less static kind, with vertical movement making up its axis of vitality, so to speak.

This idea of the city as enclosed in a symbolic un-changeability is visualized in a host of representations of the heavenly Jerusalem and of earthly cities throughout the Middle Ages. Similarly, the concept of the city outlined above is spelled out in the urban structure of the typical medieval city. A circular or concentric configuration, the graphic form of the old token of eternity, is thus recognizable in its planimetric system, the apparent labyrinthine disorder of its actual disposition notwithstanding. The city centers around the towering hallmarks of religious and civic power, the church and the palace of the prince or municipality. On the periphery, on the other hand, it is encircled by its ring or rings of defensive walls, and outside these surrounded by its *contado*. This is precisely the kind of city imagined by the Sienese painter Ambrogio Lorenzetti in his allegory of Good Government painted in fresco in one of the council halls of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena 1338–1340 (fig. 1).[3]

The new concept, for its part, the *civitas humana*, is based upon the idea of the city as the finest expression of human civilization in its function as core and kernel of man-created society. This city-ideal seeks its fulfillment not in the realm of God, but in the institution of a better reality on earth. This endeavour to improve the conditions of human life lends to the city a certain dynamic development along a line of force suspended in history between times past and those to come, a line indicating, in other words, a horizontal course of movement. The city in its architectonic appearance now no longer symbolizes a state of perfection never to be reached in time, but foreshadows far more, as an architectonic representation, a perfection to be reached by man some time in his future by means of his rationality.

The rational principles laid down as a guidance for this man-made community find equivalents, in their turn, in a geometric rationality transferred into the structural element of the new form of urbanism. In its plan the axially divided city was made to reflect regularity and symmetry in its straight and broad intersecting streets and clear-cut blocks of building, gradually diminishing in magnificence and size towards the outskirts. In elevation the cityscape fully corresponds to this scheme as manifested through the prospects in centrally viewed perspective, still to be found in many a city reaching back to the period, as well as in pictorial representations. Here, the well-paved street or square, flanked by its two rows of ornate palaces converging in the distant focus-point of the linear-perspective

[3] For an interpretation of Lorenzetti's decoration and its program cf. U. Feldges Henning, "The Pictorial Program of Sala della Pace, Siena: A New Interpretationm," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 145–62, and for the city building practice of the period cf. W. Braunfels *Mittelalterliche Städtebaukunst in der Toscana* (Berlin, 1953).

construction, was to become a favourite motif of the mid and late fifteenth century (fig. 2). Special mention ought here to be made of the intarsiated panels often inserted in furniture or door-fillings and representing the subject in the geometric character of their sharp-edged woodpieces, though dimmed with the subdued tones of their warm brown colors, as seen in the splendid examples from the Ducal Palace in Urbino.[4]

It might be noticed already here that unlike Lorenzetti's fresco, in which the beholder's eye was attracted immediately by the soaring palace in the middle of the cityscape, it is now summoned to traverse the emptiness of pictorial space and to follow the street perspective to the horizon.

From villa prospect to city prospect: a new model for the old concept

If we look at the profusion of descriptions of the city of Florence dating from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries we will see that they are all saturated with the medieval concept of the city as *civitas Dei* in as much as they all seek to adjust its cityscape to the concentric figure symbolic of the heavenly city. Noticeable is the one given in 1379 by the then chancellor of the city, Coluccio Salutati, in his work *De saeculo et religione*.[5]

Salutati takes his reader up the hillside outside the city to show him its marvels (fig. 3). Among them, first to catch his eye is its town hall, the Palazzo della Signoria. This must have been quite in accordance with the scene as it was, since the enormous Brunelleschian dome of the cathedral, S. Maria del Fiore, had not yet been erected.[6] Departing from that central point, furthermore, the reader is prompted to take the view of the city, so to speak, in a spiralling movement outwards towards the encircling walls,

> Ascendamus, precor, et intueamur minantia menia celo, sidereas turres, immania templa, et immensa palatia, que non, ut sunt, privatorum opibus structa, sed impensa publica vix est credibile potuisse compleri, et demum vel mente vel oculis ad singula redeuntes consideremus quanta in se detrimenta susceperint. Palatium quidem populi admirabile.... (7–8)

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[4] F. Kimball, "Luciano Laurana and the High Renaissance," *Art Bulletin* 10 (1927–28): nr. 2, as well as A. Chastel, "Marqueterie et perspective au 15. siècle," *Revue des Arts* 3 (1953), who more specifically deals with the intarsiated panels.

[5] C. Salutati, *De saecula et religione*, ed. E. S. Ullmann (Florence, 1957), 60f.

[6] After its construction, however, the dome became not only the visual but the absolute topographic and ideographic center of the city, the top of its lantern serving also as the centre point for surveying and mapping the whole territory, cf. *St.urb.*, 2:218ff.

A similar concentricity is to be observed in an earlier description of the city given by Giovanni Villani in his *Florentine History* as well as in the one by Salutati's successor as chancellor, Leonardo Bruni, presented in his *Laudatio Florentiae*, issued in 1404.[7] In the reccurrence of the concentric scheme is to be found, no doubt, an echo of the step-pattern of the Rose of the Heavens, *la rosa candida*, in Dante's *Commedia*.[8] This uppermost region of Paradise is envisaged most conspicuously in a fourfold form of rose and garden, courtly hall and well-planned city— "Vedi la nostra citta quant'ella gira!" (30.30), as Beatrice exclaims. There is little doubt that this Dantesque ideal city, though conceptually inspired by the Augustinian *civitas Dei*, had been given architectonic substance through the visual impression drawn by the poet from the Roman Colosseum. But at the same time, in its intrinsic meaning, the whole imagery is thought out in reference to his chosen place, Florence, the flower-city.

Unlike his fellow authors, however, Salutati uses, as we have seen, a specific device to make his account more vivid and authentic as a portrayal of things actually viewed. In my opinion, he has in all probability come across this device through his classical reading. He has in no way, it must be admittted, repeated his model verbally or literally, but used it freely for his own purpose, which was that of describing a city, not a villa. But his source of inspiration was none other than Pliny the Younger's letters on his two villas in Laurentum and Tuscany.[9]

In the letter concerning the Tuscan villa situated with a view of the Apennines, the region is explicitly likened to an immense amphitheatre. Having praised the environment in general, the description culminates in a view of the villa proper from above, the observer standing on a hillside embracing the building complex and its surroundings, laid out before the moving glance of the reader-beholder, not unlike the views offered in the villa prospects known from Roman wall-paintings like those seen in the *tablinum* of Marcus Lucretius Fronto's house in Pompey (fig.4),[10]

> Magnam capies voluptatem, si hunc regionis situm ex monte prospexeris. Neque enim terras tibi, sed formam aliquam ad eximiam pulchritudinem pictam videberis cernere (5.6).

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[7] These descriptions of Florence are discussed in *St. urb.*, 2:35, as well as the circular form of the ideogrammatic city plan common also in the later part of the fifteenth century, 1:159f.

[8] Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, ed C. S. Singleton (Princeton, 1970–75), cf. primarily the editorial notes upon *la rosa candida*.

[9] *C. Plinii Caeciliae Secundi epistolarum libri decem* (Oxford, 1963), 2.17 on the Laurentine villa and 5.6 on the Tuscan one.

[10] For the way things were visually experienced in antiquity as well as for the ancient use of Euclidean optics in architectonic planning, as in pictorial depiction cf. my article, "From Eye-Sight to New-planning: The Notion of Greek Philosophy and Hellenistic Optics as a Trend in Roman Aesthetics and Building Practice," to be issued in the *Acta* of the Collegium Hyperboreum seminar held in Copenhagen in the autumn of 1991.

Significantly, Pliny interrupts his description of the utilities and beauties of his place with the outburst that the scene looks more like a painted picture than real nature. That Pliny's letters, which were, incidentally, to become for centuries part of the reading syllabus of classically educated people enthusiastic about villa-life and gardening, were known and read already in fourteenth-century Florence is attested by Giovanni Boccacio. In day VI of his *Decamerone* he had turned to the same introductory passage of the letter on the Tuscan villa for a model for his depiction of the so-called *Valle delle donne*, otherwise to appear as an earthly counterpart of Dante's *rosa candida*. But as for the form of the valley, Boccaccio directly refers to it as being that of an "anfiteatro immenso."[11]

In Salutati the literary paradigm used repeatedly by Dante to confront the reader visually with the sense of the place or situation narrated becomes the vehicle for describing the reality of Florence, as experienced by an eye-witness. This was occasioned through the intermediary of the ancient model of description found in Pliny. But whereas Pliny's view is focused on his solitary villa amidst the Tuscan landscape, his humanist successor let his field of vision be overwhelmed by the host of monumental buildings present in the Florentine cityscape, thus elegantly revising the ancient pattern.

Finally, it is worth while noticing that the way in which Salutati perceives his prospect of Florence as centered around the imposing building mass of the Signoria Palace is very much akin to what has, in modern art history, been termed the "view planning" of late medieval architecture.[12] Through this a specific weight is given to the front elevation as constituting a vast surface element within the beholder's field of vision.

Organizing the ideal city of the new era: the Plinian model revised once more

To find a precise formulation of the new concept of the city as man-made society and what it was to look like in its architectonic appearance we have to move well into the fifteenth century and to peruse the novel genre of architectural treatises headed by Leon Battista Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*, composed presumably shortly after 1450.[13]

In several places and especially in Books 4 and 8 Alberti deals at length

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[11] For the utilization of Pliny's letters by Boccaccio and other humanist writers on landscape and garden cf. my analysis, "Ut Ars Natura—Ut Natura Ars: le ville di Plinio e il concetto del giardino nel Rinascimento," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 7 (1974): 109–56.

[12] Cf. J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250–1400* (Harmondsworth, 1966), notably on the Signoria Palace in Florence, 170f.

[13] L. B. Alberti, *L'architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, 2 vols. ed. G. Orlandi and P. Portughesi (Milan, 1966).

with the problem of the city. He does not specify any particular city, but one may suspect that the city which was in his mind was Florence, where together with his elder colleague, Filippo Brunelleschi, he had in those same years undertaken diverse building projects in the new manner. Due to their large-scale dimensions, the symmetry of their disposition, and the location of their blocklike structures for perspectival viewing, these buildings were of a character which would affect deeply the visual impression offered by the cityscape.[14] Besides, there were the recent city planning projects of prospering Ferrara, the residence of the Estense family, and the new Rome of Nicolaus V, enterprises for which Alberti in all probability functioned as a consultant.[15] Some decades later, moreover, Alberti's ideas about the city were to become a formative element in the rebuilding by Pope Pius II of his native hamlet Corsignano in the Tuscan hills, to be renamed Pienza after him.[16]

As for the ideal form of state to be represented in the ideal city, Alberti's preference was for the free city state on the model of the Roman republic or Greek polis. Most certainly it was as re-creations of this ancient concept that he saw the Tuscan city-states and first and foremost among them his beloved Florence. Second came the residential city of the enlightened prince, which was contrasted with the stronghold of the tyrant (cf. 5.1).

Apart from the philosophical and political writers of Antiquity, Alberti drew on the chapters on city planning in Vitruvius's treatise *De Architectura*.[17] But in his description of the beauties and utilities of the ideal city, with its broad, straight and colonnaded streets, spacious squares and properly ornamented buildings,

> Atqui viam quidem intra urbem, praeter id quod recte constratam et omninio mundissimam esse oportet, belissime ornabunt porticus lineamentis pariles, et hinc atque hinc mutuo coaequatae domus ad lineam et libellam. Sed viae ipsius partes, quibus egregie ornamenta debeantur.... (8.6)

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[14] For Florentine Building projects up to the mid-fifteenth century, cf. among others L. Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura dell'Rinascimento* (Bari, 1973), and *F. Brunelleschi: da sua opera e il cuo tempo* (1977; repr., Firenze, 1980).

[15] For the urban planning of Estensian Ferrara cf. H. Gamrath, "The Herculean Addition to Old Ferrara. The Birth of Modern European Town-Planning?" in *La Cote di Ferrara ed il suo Mecenatismo 1441–1598* (Copenhagen, 1990), 151–58, and for that of Rome, C. W. Westfall, *In this most perfect Paradise. Alberti and Nicolaus V and the invention of conscious urban planning in Rome 1447–1455* (Pensylvania State University, 1974) and, further, *St. urb.*, 1:509f. and 531.

[16] For the rapid construction of Pienza 1462–64 cf. *St. urb.*, 1:522–26 and first and foremost the Pope's own diary, Pius Secundus, *Commentarii rerum mirabilium* (Rome, 1584), in which, moreover, Pliny's letter on his Laurentine villa is paraphrased in the passage describing the entrance sequence of the Piccolomini Palace.

[17] Vitrivius, "De architectura libri decem," *Zehn Bücher über Architektur*, ed. K. Fensterbusch (Darmstadt, 1976).

its siting in a healthy and fruitful region, varied, and rich in water reserves

> Itaque esse oportere urbem statuimus eiusmodi, ut incommodorum omnium ... et siquae res ad vitae frugalitatem optentur, nullae desint. Habebit agrum salubrem latissimum varium amoenum feracem munitum refertum, ornatum omni fructuum copia, omni fontium exuberantia: aderunt flumina lacus, marisque oportunitas patebit, unde commodissime si qua desint convehantur et quae supersint exportentur. (4.2)

he is more likely to have had in mind Pliny's letters about his villas, notably 5.6.

That this was so is supported by their indisputable presence in Alberti's chapters on his favorite type of building, the villa and its garden lay-out (9.2 and 4).[18] Here, what Pliny relates as seen and sensed reality is transformed into a theoretical ideal. So Pliny's imprecise enumeration of the shapes and sequence of the rooms contained in his houses is transcribed into accuracy in Alberti's indications for the exact geometric figures and right proportions suitable for the succession of rooms arranged along the main axis of his villa to provide the perfection of its symmetry. Similarly with regard to the villa's elevation, the beholder's eye is now no longer allowed to wander idly here and there, but is firmly fixed and guided along the horizontal perspective.

It should be added here that precisely in regard to this long, continuous line of sight through the house Alberti avails himself more specifically of the passage in Pliny's letter on his Laurentine villa, in which a record is given of the view from the *triclinium* facing the sea through halls and courtyards, colonnades and door-openings to the distant mountains inland. But whereas the combination of these elements forms what must have been experienced as a two-dimensional composition, to be enjoyed visually only, in Alberti the reader is expected to let his steps follow his eyes and thus to exploit the building in its three-dimensionality, the central passage through the house opening up to him just like the main street running through the middle of the town,

> Et a portu mediam in urbem dirigetur via militaris confluentque vici non pauci.... (4.8)

One justification for taking Alberti's far more detailed precepts for the villa to represent his ideal of the city and further support for the theory that he chose Pliny's letters as his descriptive model are found in his repeated claim that the city should be like a large house and the house like a small city (5.14). He could not, it seems, have expressed more explicitly his views upon the city as an ideal of a man-created community. If we take into

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[18] For an analysis of Alberti's chapters on the villa, see my *Towards Paradise on Earth: modern Space Conception in Architecture, A Creation of Renaissance Humanism* (Odense, 1980), 64ff.

account his interest, shown in *Della Familia* and elsewhere, in the family as the basis of that kind of society, the comparison of the city to the house and vice versa, though a loan from his medieval sources, becomes meaningful, not only as a demonstration of his concept of the city, but as an illustration of its architectonic formation as he imagined it.[19]

It might be added that some decades later, in a description of the Ducal Palace in Urbino, the grandiose residence built by Federigo da Montefeltro, a fellow humanist and patron of Alberti, this building complex is compared to a city.[20] And here it is worth remembering that precisely in the Urbino Palace the genre of city prospects, represented in perspective, reached excellence in the intarsiated door-panels prolonging the vistas and the illusion of walking through salas and corridors, as if through the streets of a city.

Obviously, it was the same kind of effect Alberti wanted to achieve through the regular planning of his city. Similarly, as compared to the earlier literary visualizations of city prospects, as for instance in Salutati, Alberti reverses the values of masses and vacua, building blocks and free space relative to one another. Streets and squares become, to Alberti, as they are in the Urbino prospects, the essential element in the perspectival organization of the cityscape, the dual row of orderly arranged buildings on either side being reduced to a secondary or merely attendant function. In Alberti's own words,

> Sed praecipuum urbibus ornamentum afferent ipsa viarum et fori et deinceps operum singulorum situs ductus conformationes collocationes, ita ut pro cuiusque usu dignitate commoditate omnia recte parata et distrubuta sint. Nanque amoto quidem ordine nihil prorsus erit, quod sese aut commodum aut gratum aut dignum praestet. (7.1)

As argued above, Pliny's view from his Laurentine dining-room may have inspired Alberti in his description not only of the axial lay-out of his villa, but also of his city. In his case, however, the transformation imposed upon his model was even more thorough than the one undertaken by Salutati. Whereas Salutati aims at an identical visual image, except that he transposes from villa to cityscape, in Alberti, the vagueness of Pliny's rendering of visual experience is transmuted into the certitudes of exactly calculated mass and space relations, resulting from the superimposition of regular geometry and linear perspective. Furthermore, the passivity of gazing is rivaled by the physical act of bodily movement.

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[19] Isidore of Seville, among others, has the comparison in his *Ethymologia.*

[20] Cf. P. Rotondi, *Il Palazzo ducale di Urbino,* 2 vols. (Urbino, 1951), in which Francesco Mercatello's description is cited.

Truth above the veneration for the ancients

One may see the concept of city-society introduced by Alberti in his architectural treatise in the mid-fifteenth century and more fully elaborated by his successors from Antonio Averlino Filarete's scrupulous planning of his princely Sforzinda to Thomas More's quick sketch of the utopian cities of utopian democracy, as a brand-new invention of the Renaissance (figs. 5 and 6).[21] At least as far as its architectonic formation as urban structure is concerned, it came into existence as a product of a joint venture of artists and humanists. Indeed, the novel form of the perspectival organization of the city-totality by means of the spatial intervals between building blocks functioning as the nerve system or communication lines of its organism, seems, in a peculiar way, to be congenial to the new idea of the society of man as suspended between the history of his past and a utopia to be gained somewhere in his future. Through the architectonic form given to the ideal city this utopia became a true vision.

It was the achievement of Alberti, that universally gifted man, experienced in the field of architecture as well as in the study of the ancient authors, to consecrate geometric planning and elevation in perspective as the true vision of the city inherited from antiquity. Characteristically, Alberti's procedure was to reorganize the precepts and models of architecture handed down from the Romans in order to constitute a new rational order worthy of man, considered as a rational being.

It was far from Alberti's intention, however, to annihilate God as the supreme ruler of society in favour of man. For him, as also for Platonic-Christian tradition, geometry was the very idiom of divine order, manifested consequently in his ideal city, not as a mere reflection of heavenly reality, but far more as the artistic revelation of universal harmony on earth. Therefore any deviation from true geometry, so common in ancient architectonic practice, sanctioned in Vitruvian theory and inherent, too, in the formation of the medieval city, was condemned by him.[22]

It was for the same reason and the same purpose that Alberti undertook his reinterpretation of the descriptive model derived from Pliny. In no way did he content himself with mere imitation. Instead, Alberti set out to analyze his Roman texts in order to go behind the surface phenomenon there described to find the structure immanent, in his opinion, in all true architecture: the order of geometry. This order, through which truth became visibly manifest in architectonic form, meant more to Alberti than

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[21] For the ideal cities from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century cf. primarily *St. Urb.*, 2, the chapter on "La Cittá ideale," and Manuel, 150ff.

[22] For Alberti's interpretation of Vitruvius along what might be termed the lines of Christian Platonism cf. Bek, 213ff. In *St. urb.*, 1:547ff. any Christian trend in Alberti's ideal city is denied.

veneration for his ancient mentors, be it in matters of building practice or theory or as literary models. Therefore he did not hesitate to twist their precepts so that they became compatible with his Christian-humanist ideas.

Arhus

(From: The Ideal City in the Early Renaissance)

List of illustrations proposed:

Fig. 1. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Allegory of Good Government, fresco in the Council Hall of the Nine in Palazzo Pubblico, Siena 1338–40 (previously termed the *Ager Senensis*).

Fig. 2. Anonymous Italian artist of the Urbino circle, Prospect of a harbor city in centrally viewed-perspective, probably painted as a model for an intarsia panel about 1470. Formerly Berlin Museum, now lost.

Fig. 3. View of Florence seen from the Hill of S. Miniato.

Fig. 4. Roman villa prospect in the so-called III Pompeian Style, detail of wall decoration in the *tablinum* of Marcus Lucretius Fronto's House in Pompey, first century AD

Fig. 5. Antonio Filarete, Elevated plan of the ideal city of Sforzinda, illustration from his treatise on architecture, about 1464.

Fig. 6. View of Nyboder in Copenhagen, founded by Christian IV, about 1630, almost a materialization of Thomas More's Utopian city.

Imaging the City of Thebes in Fifteenth-Century England

PAUL M. CLOGAN

The legendary history of the city of Thebes had a prominent place in classical, medieval, and early Renaissance literature. The tragic story of Oedipus and the royal house of Thebes was transmitted to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in the Roman classical epic of Statius's *Thebaid*, and redacted into Middle English in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale, Troilus and Criseyde*, and Lydgate's *The Siege of Thebes*. This paper examines the responses to the city of Thebes in late medieval and early Renaissance literature and explores a series of internal antitheses—city of man and city of God—which illustrate the potential of the city as both an expression of an ideal community and as a trap ensnared by fratricide and darkened by conflict. Lydgate's imaging of the city of Thebes is the focus of attention.

The idea of the "city" was one of the dominant metaphors of Christian symbolism. According to Northrop Frye,[1] the city is the form imposed by human desire on the mineral world, the world of stone, just as the garden and sheepfold are the forms imposed by human desire on the vegetable and animal worlds. The familiar contrast between the city and country or garden or natural world of unconscious life is as old as Western civilization and expresses a range of antithetical human attitudes and possibilities. In literary celebrations of the city, the form illustrates human desire for dominance over nature by the expressions of abstract patterns—the square, the circle, the straight line.[2] As Gail Paster notes, "when the desire for ascendance

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[1] See *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, 1957), 141; on the city in general, see Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York, 1961); Helen Rouseau, *The Ideal City: Its Architectural Evolution* (London, 1974); L. S. Mazzolani, *The Idea of the City in Roman Thought*, trans S. O'Donnell (Bloomington, 1970); Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. W. McCuaig (Princeton, 1991).

[2] Frye, *The Stubborn Structure* (Ithaca, 1970), 126.

over nature is regarded as rational in spirit, motivated by an eagerness to perfect rather than to ignore form, the city will appear as an ideal mode of social organization, or at least as a benevolent consequence of human aspiration."[3] Yet the dialectic of opposed cities—city of man and city of God—expresses its own antitype. This ambivalence in urban literature may account for the influence of the city on the imaginations of artists and writers. The city stimulates an ambivalent literary response among those who fear it as well as desire it and reflects self-division and self-destruction. This ambivalent response is seen particularly in personifications of the city as woman. The walls of the city were associated early on with the feminine gender. Christian iconography adopted classical representations of the city as a noble woman and the Virgin Mary came to represent the classical city goddess. This personified city signifying a fortified place liable to siege and assault was related to sexual control.[4] Implicit in the idea of city as woman is the idea of the city as a soul subject to siege and assault by spiritual powers. In the arguments of some Renaissance humanists the city serves as an ideal form of social structure, the ideal place of complex and diverse human community.[5] Alberti celebrates individual liberty found in the diversity of the city, Castiglione writes of a city in the form of a palace, and Erasmus expresses his enthusiasm for the ideal of the city when he equates the city with the monastery and connects it with the city of God.[6]

The text of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* exists in twenty-nine manuscripts designed for aristocratic patrons.[7] Though it has generally been assumed that Lydgate had no patron for *Thebes,* recently it has been noted that "no fifteenth-century poet wrote at such length without a patron in mind," and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, has been suggested as a likely patron.[8] Three of the manuscripts contain Lydgate's *Troy Book,* and the two works are linked in many ways. The stories of Thebes and Troy were associated in the medieval mind, became the first *romans antiques,* and were later transposed into French prose, appearing together in numerous manuscripts of

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[3] *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens, Ga., 1985), 1–32, esp. 1–8.

[4] See Paster, 4–5.

[5] William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty* (Berkeley, 1968), 63.

[6] Castiglione, "The Booke of the Courtier," in *Three Renaissance Classics,* ed. Burton A. Milligan (New York, 1953); and Erasmus's *Enchiridion* in *Christian Humanism and Reformation,* ed. John C. Olin (New York, 1965), 130.

[7] *The Siege of Thebes,* ed. Axel Erdmann and Eilert Ekwall, EETS ES 108, 125 (London, 1911, 1930), 2:36–94. For modern criticism on this poem, see R. W. Ayers, "Medieval History, Moral Purpose, and the Structure of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes,*" *PMLA* 72 (1958): 463–74; W. F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century,* trans. Ann E. Keep (Berkeley, 1961); Alain Renoir, *The Poetry of John Lydgate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London, 1970); John M. Ganim, *Style and Consciousness in Middle English Narrative* (Princeton, 1983), 103–22; A. C. Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge, 1985), 66–88.

[8] *Selections from Hoccleve,* ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford, 1981), 30, n. 20.

the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*. Lydgate composed *Thebes* toward the end of 1420, after completing the *Troy Book* for Henry V, and finished it in 1422. The epilogue echoes the terms of the Treaty of Troyes (1420), which achieved peace and concord through the union of England and France by Henry V's marriage to Katherine and the promise of their offspring as king of both countries. Lydgate's praise of peace and vigorous condemnation of war continues the theme of peace initiated in the *Troy*-epilogue (V, 3399–3458).

The source of *Thebes* is some version of the late French prose redaction of the *Roman de Thèbes*, similar to the *Roman de Edipus* or *Hystoire de Thebes* in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, the earliest ancient history written in Old French prose. Though the Lydgate's text of the prose *Thèbes* is not known, the narrative style of the *Siege of Thebes* owes much to the tradition of the *roman antique*[9] and to the integration and prosification of the *Roman de Thèbes* in the *Histoire ancienne*. As the first *roman antique*, the *Roman de Thèbes* combined learned traditions (*translatio studii*) and political concerns (*translatio imperii*) into a romance paradigm connected with the establishment if the Norman-Angevin kingdom in England and later political problems caused by the rebellious parricidal and fratricidal sons of Henry II.[10] The short version of the *Roman de Thèbes* reflects and comments on the dangers of civil war and the contemporary political crisis and uses poetry to denounce war. In the long version of the *Roman de Thèbes* these historical and political values are replaced by adventure scenes as the text moves away from contemporary historical concerns. When the *Roman de Thèbes* was integrated into the prose *Histoire ancienne* around 1213 the verse form was thought of as intrinsically false and inappropriate for a "true" historical text. Thus the story of Thebes, recovered in the twelfth century from an ancient "historical" text (Statius's *Thebaid*), rejoins historiography in the thirteenth century.

The unedited text of the *Histoire ancienne* appears to be a French prose translation of Paulus Orosius' *Seven Books Against the Pagans*, with interpolated narratives for Thebes and Troy. There are over seventy widely divergent manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne*, many with illustrations, the earliest dating from the end of the thirteenth century. The work has been attributed to Wauchier de Denain, a thirteenth-century translator, and is dedicated to Roger, châtelain de Lille. The text of the *Histoire ancienne* creates "history" from "literary" romance sources and reveals a close relationship between

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[9] On the source of the genesis of the *roman antique*, see E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et des romans courtois du moyen âge* (Paris, 1913), 399; Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Old French Narrative Genres: Towards the Definition of the *Roman Antique*," *Romance Philology* 34 (1980): 143–59; and Barbara Nolan, "Ovid's *Heroides* Contextualized: Foolish Love and Legitimate Marriage in the *Roman d'Eneas*," *Mediævalia* 13 (1987): 157–87; and my article, "New Directions in Twelfth-Century Courtly Narrative: *Le Roman de Thebes*," *Mediaevistik* 3 (1990): 55–70.

[10] Paul M. Clogan, "*The Knight's Tale* and the Ideology of the *roman antique*," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n. s., 18 (1992): 129–55.

the two, manifesting generic transposition and preference for moralization. Moral commentary is an important feature of this text as it was of vernacular historiography during this period of transition which witnessed formal changes from verse to prose, selections of different subjects, and the appearance of the layman as a new kind of author. Early vernacular historiography often served the purpose of an important family or dynasty who sought to glorify lineage and military adventures, and moralization became characteristic of the historian's way of evaluating events in an impartial or non-annalistic manner. Thus "literary" romance sources are transposed into history for the purpose of moral edification and justification.

Though the translator of the *Histoire ancienne* recognizes the "historical" significance of the *romans antiques*—especially the *Roman de Thèbes* which underwent few changes in its integration—he is concerned with the veracity of the narratives because they were composed in verse. At the beginning of the thirteenth century verse and rhyme scheme were not considered appropriate to the search for truthful discourse. The appearance of prose as the new authoritative literary mode has been attributed to politico-historical and religious influences. Theorists concerned with the advent of prose note the beginnings of early prose chronicles and a new religious monastic ideal.[11] As romance in the mid-twelfth century moved away from historical reality toward elaborate adventure tales, it became verbose, misdirected, and detached from historical significance. The addition of adventure episodes in the *Roman de Thèbes* did not directly contribute to the development of the story. The change of this text from verse to prose at the beginning of the thirteenth century suggests an attempt to recover its historical significance.

The verse prologue of *Histoire ancienne* reveals the clerk's historiographical intention. He addresses the audience directly ("seignor") and alludes to an oral source ("je ai oï retraire"), which provides moral principles for writing, not the material.

> Li hom ne vit c'est une sole ore,
> Ainz trespasse et va a la fin,
> S'il a eü vrai cuer et fin
> Que s'uevre ait este bone et fine. (4–7)

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[11] See J. M. Dornbush, "Conjecture and Continuation in the Old French *Prose Lancelot:* Essays in Form and Craft in Thirteenth-Century Romance" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1976); J. Beer, *Villehardouin, Epic Historian* (Geneva, 1968); Peter Dembowski, *La Chronique de Robert de Clari: Etude de la langue et du style* (Toronto, 1963); Richard Hartman, *La Quête et le Croisade: Villehardouin, Clari et le "Lancelot en Prose"* (New York, 1977); Peter Schon, *Studien zum Stil der frühen französischen Prosa,* Aanalecta Romanica, vol. 8 (Frankfurt, 1960). For theories on the rise of prose, see Erich Köhler, "Zur Entstehung des altfranzösischen Prosaromans," in *Trobadorlyrik und höfischer Roman* (Berlin, 1962), 213–22; Peter Schon, *Studien,* 16–38; Herman Tiemann, "Zur Geschichte des alfranzösischen Prosaromans," *Romanische Forchungen* 63 (1951): 306–28; Rudolph Brummer, *Die erzählende Prosadichtung in den romanischen Literaturen des 13. Jahrhunderts,* 1 (Berlin, 1948).

Writing in the vernacular is clearly associated with moral truth. He places himself in the tradition of the *romans antiques* by mentioning topics associated with them and insisting on the truth, which is assured by the *auctores* the *roman antique* poets used. In his invocation to his patron he insists on the accuracy of his translation from Latin:

> Por qu'il plaise le chatelain
> De l'Isle Rogier, mon seignor,
> Cui Deus doint santé et honor,
> Joie e paradis en la fin.
> S'il veut, en romans dou latin
> Li cuic si traire lonc la letre
> Que plus ne mains n'i sera metre. (262–68)

Yet for the Thebes section, he uses and abbreviates the Old French *Roman de Thèbes*. Implied in his criticism of his material is a denunciation of verse romance form: "tant com il au siege furent n'est mie grans mestiers que ie vos descrise quar asses tost por bel parler porroie dire mesonge que ne seroit raisnable ne convegnable ne a profit ne torneroit a nulle creature. Por ce lairai ie a deviser lor conrois. . ." (fol. 114r b). He justifies his use of prose in recounting the siege because it was originally composed in verse which lies. He begins his account of the history of Thebes by associating the strong, beautiful city of Thebes with the miseries of the world:

> Pour avoir evidente congnoissance des misères du monde, nous devons noter que Thèbes fut une fort belle cité, de la quélle ung nommé Layus fut roy.

His frequent negative criticism of romance, his corrections of the text, and his numerous interpolated moralizations suggest his dependence on the *Roman de Thèbes* which replaced the text of the *Thebaid* as a Latin model.

When we place the *Siege of Thebes* in the conceptual framework of the *roman antique* and in the tradition of the *Histoire ancienne*, its poetic purpose becomes clear. R. W. Ayers notes that Lydgate "regarded his material not as fiction but as history, and that his purpose in writing was not so much to tell a story of any kind as it was to teach some moral and political lessons by reference to what he regarded as ancient historical example."[12] Yet A. C. Spearing comments that it is "an error to draw a sharp distinction between the literary and the moral, at least so far as Lydgate's likely intentions in *The Siege of Thebes* are concerned."[13] As we have seen, however, interpolated moralizations were a characteristic of the *roman antique* and in particular of the *Histoire ancienne*. Lydgate's desire to "complete" Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* by narrating the beginnings of the story of Thebes led him to choose the

[12] 463–74, esp. 463 and 468.

[13] *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge, 1985), 66–88, esp. 69 and 83–84.

prose *Thèbes* in the *Histoire ancienne* rather than the *Roman de Thèbes*, which Chaucer negotiates as his text in his adaptation of Statius's *Thebaid*. And that has made all the difference. Lydgate makes explicit the moral significance of the story of Thebes, which Chaucer left implicit. While the *Knight's Tale* can still be considered a chivalric romance, the *Siege of Thebes* is a historical romance-like narrative in the historiographical tradition of the *Histoire ancienne*.

Lydgate dates the foundation of the city of Thebes in a traditional way typical of medieval historians by alluding to parallel events in sacred history.

> I wol reherce a story wonderful,
> Towchinge the siege and destruccioun
> Of worthy Thebes the myghty Royal toun,
> Bylt and begonne of olde antiquitè,
> Vpon the time of worthy Iosuè,
> Be dyligence of kyng Amphioun
> Chief cause first of his fundacioun,
> For which his fame which neuere shal away,
> In honure floureth yit vnto this day,
> And in story remembred is and preised. (184–93)

According to Jewish chronology the creation of the world occurred in the year 3761 BC. Lydgate dates the foundation of Thebes in the time of Iosue during which Amphion built the city in approximately the year 1827 BC. References to pagan rites of marriage and burial (585–96, 1555–56, 2541–42, 4047–58, 4128–29, 4495, 4565) and oracles (538–44) suggests that the story occurs at a certain time in the history of Thebes and Argos. The use of the term *story* in reference to the narrative of Thebes means "historia," not fabula or fiction. History is used here for didactic purposes, offering examples of moral and political action. Lydgate turns the story of Thebes into a mirror for magistrates and provides examples of good (Adraste and Thideus) and divisive (Oedipus and his sons) rulers. This conception of history is traditionally medieval,[14] but Lydgate laces it with his ideology of kingship, influenced by the moralizations in the prose *Thèbes*.

Lydgate commences his history of the city with the legendary figure of Amphion who built the city walls by the power of his words (184–327). Amphion was the son of Zeus and Antiope and husband of Niobe and was responsible with his twin brother Zephus for building a wall around the city by charming the stones into place with the music of his magic lyre. Statius briefly alludes to Amphion's song that bade "the Tyrian mountains move to

[14] Renoir following the suggestion of Schirmer finds in the *Thebes* "a somewhat unmedieval attitude towards classical antiquity," which approaches that of "Renaissance humanism" (1–26), and concludes that the *Thebes* is a "French medieval romance translated into an English Renaissance epic" (135). In this, I am more in agreement with the Pearsall (14–15), Spearing (341, 343), and Ganim (121–22).

form a city's walls" which incurred the wrath of Bacchus (I. 9–11), but neither the verse nor prose *Thèbes* mentions Amphion. For the legend of Amphion Lydgate refers his reader to "myn auctour" and Boccaccio, but it is not clear that he took the legend from Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum* (V. 30) only. Long before Boccaccio's work Lactantius Placidus commented on Statius's allusion ("quo carmine muris / iusserit Amphion Tyrios accedere montes") in *Thebaid* I. 9–10, and "myn auctour" may well refer to either the commentator, to whom Boccaccio was indebted, or to a glossed manuscript of Statius's epic.[15] Lydgate is aware of the other myth of Thebes's founding, Cadmus's sowing of the dragon's teeth that caused the internecine strife, (293–96), but he relates only that of King Amphion because it expresses his ideology of kingship. Lydgate interprets the "derke poysye" of Amphion's miraculous construction of the walls of Thebes as a political allegory. Amphion built the city walls by the music of his lyre, given him by Mercury, the god of eloquence and the husband of philology or wisdom. The power of Amphion's song was the sweetness of his words, the rhetoric of crafty speech, which won the love and the hearts of the people who built the city of Thebes. Lydgate recovers the legend of the Amphion and assigns it political significance as a mirror for kings. Amphion represents the wise and eloquent ruler who founded the city by the power of his words.

> His cheer his port was outward so benygne,
> That thorgh his styring and exortacioun
> With hym they went to bylde first this toun,
> And forsook ecch man his contrè,
> Be on assent to make this Cytè
> Royal and riche that lich was nowher noon. (234–39)

He is a civilizer and harmonizer of men. His story introduces a major theme in *Thebes*: a coherent moral vision of kingship and an examination of the rhetorical means by which that vision has been itself produced. The Thebes of Amphion is described in terms that recall the *civitas Dei*: the rational, harmonious, and well-ordered city. Lydgate begins his history of Thebes with the foundation myth of Amphion that serves as a Fürstenspiegel or mirror for princes, expressing the figurative image of Jerusalem and its king, David.

The legend of Amphion leads to a long discussion on statesmanship (244–85) and the duties of princes and kings, particularly their attitude regarding common people, which becomes a recurring theme in the poem. The poet admonishes princes and kings to be cheerful and kind toward their subjects, to avoid haughtiness and disdain which breeds envy. He paints a vivid picture of a contemporary scene in lines 258–61 which may well refer not only to Richard II, but also Henry IV and Henry V. Using

[15] See Richardvs Jahnke, ed. *Lactantii Placidi Qui Dicitvr Commentarios in Stati Thebaida et Commentarivm in Achilleida* (Leipzig, 1888), 10.

the Corpus Christi myth—the idea of a uniform yet differentiated social body prevalent in medieval sociopolitical thought—the poet compares the members of the human body and the orders of the state, especially the relation between the head and the foot (262–71). Princes and kings should not appropriate the nation's treasury to their pleasures and impose heavy taxes on their subjects (2688–94). Unless supported by the love of their people, princes and kings will in the end come to nothing (283–85). The admonitions may well refer to certain contemporary political situations and to Henry V, who was Lydgate's patron until 1420 and was engaged in the Hundred Years' War against Charles VI of France. The Treaty of Troyes in May 1420 concluded the war with the marriage of Henry V to Katherine, daughter of Charles, and may have been the occasion for Lydgate's decision to undertake the *Siege of Thebes*. The concluding lines of the epilogue, 4690–4703, express hope, peace, and concord between the realms and echo the terms of the treaty. When Henry V died on 31 August 1422, royal power was in the hands of his rival brothers, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in England, and John, duke of Bedford, in France; and by the end of 1422 Charles VII abolished the treaty and acceded to the throne of France. These important political events are somewhat similar to the tragic events in the story of Thebes and may explain the poem's popularity in fifteenthcentury England.

The walls of Amphion's Thebes, according to Lydgate, are made of "lym and stoon" (240) and he describes the stones as "myghty square stonys" (312). The building of the ring of the walls as a symbol for the city and its persistence had already been used in classical art on coinage, which contributed to the awareness of this imagery.[16] The ring of the walls in classical antiquity was often represented by a divinity with a turreted crown which served as emblem of a city, and this emblem continues in the Middle Ages.[17] This stereotype developed the mode of regarding the walls of the city as its essential characteristic. Lydgate associates the walls of Thebes with the walls of Jerusalem when he alludes to Nehemiah, the Jewish leader and governor of Judea, who by truth received permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem from "living" stones during the Babylonian captivity (1728–41). The emblem of square stones, representing virtue, in the walls of Jerusalem is found in biblical commentaries.[18] In *De civitate Dei*, written after the sack of Rome, St. Augustine notes that "The house of the Lord, the city of God, which is the Holy Church, is built in every land by men be-

[16] J. Ehrenberger Katz, "Les représentations de villes fortifiées dans l'art paléochretien et leurs dérivées byzantines," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 19 (1969): 1–27; and id., "Les représentations de villes dans l'art chrétien avant l'an Mil," *L'information d'histoire d'art* 3 (1964): 130–32.

[17] W. Deonna, "Histoire d'un emblème: la couronne murale des villes et pays personifiés," *Genava* 18 (1940): 119–212.

[18] Hugh of St. Victor, "De claustro animae," *PL* 176, col. 1114; and Joseph Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1922), 113.

lieving in God, who are like 'living' stones from which the house is built" (8.24.2). The walls of Amphion's Thebes, doomed to death as an earthly city, contain the mighty square stones of the heavenly city.

Lydgate uses the foundation myth of Amphion's music to emphasize the ideology of kingship and of city at the beginning of his history of Thebes. This image of the city, with its figurative implications of Jerusalem and of the *civitas Dei*, expresses human desire for ascendance over nature through control of the environment by the abstract, conceptual mental pattern of the circle. The ring of the walls made of square stones and constructed by the harmony and concord of the music of Amphion's lyre expresses an ideal mode of social organization and reflects the moral character of its ruler. Yet Laius is "of the stok of Amphyoun" (332) by lineal descent, according to Lydgate, engendering the house of Oedipus and his war-like sons and the *civitas terrena*. In contrast to the concord and harmony of Amphion's Thebes, the Babylonian Thebes of the house of Oedipus is ruled by discord, strife, fraternal hate, and death. The city is here represented as a trap ensnared by fratricide and darkened by conflict, leading to the siege and destruction of the walls of the city and the end of civic order. The two brothers, Tydeus, and all except Adrastus are killed, and Theseus, duke of Athens, levels Thebes to the ground and delivers to the Argive widows the bodies of their lords. Lydgate, the historian, dates the siege and destruction of the city as occurring four hundred years before the building and foundation of Rome (4623–25). The epilogue closes with a strong condemnation of war, which destroyed the worthy blood of both Greece and Thebes and brought the city to ruin, turning it to wilderness and desert. In the disintigration of classical myth in fifteenth-century England, Lydgate's imaging the city of Thebes becomes a state of mind, a matter of consciousness.

University of North Texas

Urbs Bonna *quomodo Latinis litteris inde a decimo sexto ineunte fere saeculo descripta sit et laudata*[*]

KARL AUGUST NEUHAUSEN

Exordium ac divisio

Siquidem optimae cuiusque rei species existimari solet esse triplex, imitatus illud exemplum, quod in utroque praebui priore conventu,[1] Hafniensi hoc quoque in octavo iam congressu Neo-Latinae societatis internationalis Latina, si placet, libenter utor lingua tamquam totius Latinarum orbis litterarum patrio sermone adhuc adhiberi desita numquam. Qua de causa Latine locuturum spero facillime memet intellegi posse, praesertim cum unicuique audientium viginti duas porrexerim chartas scriptis singulas refertas Latinis.[2] Atque ut hanc equidem tralaticiam Latine loquendi normam solus redintegrare nunc pergam, apparet vel aetate eius urbis, quam Latinis litteris descriptam laudibusque elatam sim tractaturus, etiam debere me commoveri.

Etenim urbs Bonna ceteris omnibus Germaniae Foederatae praestat oppidis non solum propterea, quod eadem, quemadmodum multo maior Roma septem edita collibus eaque ad Tiberim sita floruerat Romani caput imperii, sic ipsa ad Rheni ripam sita septemque proxima montibus quadraginta et duos viguit annos veteris illius quidem foederalis rei publicae primaria urbs (donec duobus demum abhinc mensibus ex acerrimo certamine, quale de futura Theodisci gubernii sede exarserat, paulo superius Berolinum discederet

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[*] Dietero Schaller medii aevi Latinitatis professori Bonnensi eidemque perpetuo Neolatinitatis fautori tredecim iam lustra nato d.d.d.

[1] *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini* et *Guelpherbytani* (117–26) et *Torontonensis* (549–58).

[2] Quin eorum hic exigua tantum pars typis mandetur, fieri non potest; reliqua ergo eaque plurima aliis prelis erunt excudenda.

Bonna).[3] Immo monendum imprimis est eandem Bonnam inter reliquas urbes Germanicas cunctas, quae quidem sint adhuc singulae duo milia iam annorum natas esse se gloriatae, idcirco feliciter eminere, quia eidem contigit soli, ut uno utique antiqui cuiusdam auctoris eiusque Latini testimonio nixa bimillenarium nuper iubilaeum litterario fultum fundamento sollemniter celebraret.[4]

Iam vero, cum non de prisca mihi sit aut medii aevi Bonna disserere propositum, exponendi principium ab Ioannis Cochlaei sumam illius humanistae *Brevi Germanie descriptione*,[5] quod opus celeberrimum anno 1512° prodiit primum. Nam postquam Coloniam Agrippinensem "totius Germaniae florem" summis extulit laudibus, tria prope clarissimam hanc urbem oppida tam et breviter Cochlaeus adumbrat et plane, ut Bonna denique utpote iam Augusti imperatoris temporibus condita renascentiaeque aetate Archiepiscopi ipsius Coloniensis ordinaria facta sedes nullis aliis significetur verbis notisque nisi "vetustate episcopique domicilio celebris."

Itaque ut universae Latinitatis historiam Galliae omnis instar a Caesare divisae tripertitam esse iam dudum probatum est,[6] sic tota Bonnae Latinis obviae litteris explicatio distribuenda videtur in partes tres, quarum postrema, cum ab humanistarum inchoandum sit epocha, inde a decimo sexto ineunte fere saeculo usque ad hos pertinet dies ita, ut eandem tamquam semimillennii paene spatium sit necesse complecti.

Atqui priusquam amplissimam hanc rem deliniare possimus, statuendum est veterem illam quidem Bonnam Latine scriptis illustratam satis esse iam cognitam,[7] sed recentiora eiusdem urbis Latina quaedam vestigia, quae a Cochlaeo profectus exordiar indagare, adhuc ne collecta quidem esse neque omnino (excepta aliquatenus ea commentatione, quam praedicavi quam proxime datum foras iri)[8] putata videri digna, de quibus doctus quispiam homo fusius disputaret. Similiter igitur atque "Hercynius" ille Germaniae "saltus," quem "invisum atque inaccessum" Drusus primus Romanorum dux "patefecit, cum Bonnam et Glaesariam pontibus iunxit classibusque firmavit,"[9] incognitus plane Bonnensis iacet campus is, qui Latinis traditus litteris nobis est explorandus cuiusque materies, si in unum quando locum, esset coacta, dubium non est quin complures fuerit libros effectura.

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[3] Textus ad praesentem pertinentes Bonnam infra citabuntur.

[4] Cf. priorem meam commentationem in Appendice collocatam.

[5] Edidit K. LANGOSCH (Darmstadii, 1960, 156–58).

[6] Cf. alterius editionis priorem partem fundamentalis eius operis, quod composuit J IJSEWIJN: *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies—History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature* (Lovanii, 1990).

[7] Desideratur tamen id etiam volumen, quo omnes et antiqui et mediaevales textus Latini ad Bonnam referendi comprehendantur.

[8] Cf. posteriorem meam relationem in Appendice indicatam.

[9] De restituto Florianae huius sententiae textu, in quo solo bimillenaria Bonnensis tum festa civitatis erant solido posita fundamento, cf. priorem meam relationem in Appendice allatam.

Quae cum ita sint, principem velut orationem habiturum non tam expedit in singulos, ubi Bonnense nomen occurrat, inquirere me fontes quam omnem Neo-Latinae quasi urbis Bonnae silvam summatim intuitum repertos tot tantosque textus Bonnenses (quorum specimina aliquot coacervata paginis, ut supra commemoravi, audientibus tum suppeditanda curaveram) in certum quendam digestos ordinem exhibere, quo facilius percipi possit, quid cuique loco momenti tribui par sit; nisi istum procedendi modum exigeret ipsa res, alia prorsus inita via ac ratione me medias in descriptiones urbis Bonnae singulas ingressurum assevero fuisse. Ita factum est, ut Neo-Latinos fontes Bonnenses sub aspectibus et chronologico et systematico collocatos in quattuor omnino censerem capita dispertiendos.

Tractationis pars prima

Primum autem hoc caput excerpta sistit maiorum quattuor operum, quibus ut aliarum urbium sic etiam Bonnae descriptiones ac laudes comperi contineri. Initium igitur recensendae huius quadrigae capiendum est ex grandibus utilissimisque rursus tomis eorum voluminum, quae sexaginta annis post Cochlaei *Brevem Germanie descriptionem* divulgatam *Civitates orbis terrarum* inscripsere G. BRAUN et F. HOGENBERG;[10] eadem enim una pagina, quam editores duo nobiles illi Bonnae quoque[11] describendae dedicaverunt, urbis eius concise conspicueque repraesentatur et actualis status ac forma et earum memoria rerum, quae inde ab antiquissimis repetitae temporibus praeclarius gestae esse tradantur. Praesentis quidem urbis Bonnae bona G. BRAUN hisce ornat eximiis laudibus:

> Sinistrum Rheni latus inter Confluentes et Coloniam Agrippinam situ plano ac peramoeno illustrat, iucundissima agri ubertate gaudet, qui non modo omne frumenti genus, sed etiam optima vina maxima ex se ubertate fundit. Iuxta sunt colles praestantissimis fructibus, non tantum ad necessitatem, sed et ad delicias peroportunis undique conserti, qui et venatoribus optatos praebent recessus. Feracissimis etiam excolitur hortis atque pomariis, qui dulcissima rivulorum ac fontium aqua, non sine grato murmure irrigantur. Tanti vicini agri amoenitas et elegantia cum olim tum nostra quoque aetate permultos nobilitate praestantes viros atque adeo Archiantistites Colonienses, credo, invitavit, ut domesticam in eo figerent sedem.

Ac praeterea, ut tam grave hoc honorificumque de praecipuis urbis Bonnae atque omnis circumiectus propriis iudicium confirmet augeat amplificet

[10] Vol. I (1572) primae partis altera sectio, 33: BONNA.

[11] De Norimberga Londinio aliisque urbibus, quas *Civitates orbis terrarum* continent illae, collegae modo rettulerunt.

poetico more, ille decimi sexti saeculi scriptor sese testatur "de hac quidem aeris solique felicitate huiuscemodi in antiquo saxo carmen invenisse":

Bonna solum felix, celebris locus, inclyta tellus,
Florida martyrio, terra sacrata Deo,
Exulibus requies et asylum mite fuisti
Semper et externi te reperere suam.

Etsi vero sive typothetarum neglegentia sive aut ignoti poetae aut inventoris effectum est errore metrico quodam, ut carmen ab eo primo (quoad sciam) posteris traditum non careat mendis,[12] quattuor eidem illi versus posteriore iam saeculo et correcti et singulis binisve adaucti distichis[13] tantum denique sunt gloriae consecuti, ut magnificus is symphoniae cantus, quem excellens quidam componista bimillenario illi festo Bonnensi pepigit dedicandum atque in ipso Ludovici BEETHOVEN odeo praesentibus cum urbis Bonnae tum totius rei publicae foederalis principibus primum obtulit moderator, tribus ex iis verbis, quibus antiquum illud erat carmen coeptum, traxerit nomen: "Bonna solum felix."[14]

Tantum autem honoris vereor ut umquam iis impertiatur, quae de urbe Bonna nonnullis post illas *Civitates orbis terrarum* decenniis memoriae prodidit PETRUS BERTIUS, cuius *Commentariorum rerum Germanicarum libri tres* bis sunt publici facti iuris;[15] namque in tertio eorum libro, quem proprie DE VRBIBVS inscripsit, auctor ille, quamquam etiam tres sibi Bonnam paginas (72–74) vindicare debere concessit, res hac in urbe usque ad decimum sextum exiens saeculum gestas pedestri mero sermone usus siccius enarrat neque novi quicquam communicat, multa etiam ad amussim mutuatus ex illo Bonnensi capitulo, quod exhibent *Civitates orbis terrarum*. Aliud enimvero propositum erat ei itinerario, quod undecim fere lustris, postquam Bertius opus suum emiserat primum, exaravit DANIEL PAPEBROCH e Flandria oriundus; is enim Iesuita, cum Antverpio profectus ad Italiae fines, ut *Acta Sanctorum* colligeret, Bonnam quoque esset visitaturus, eius urbis monumenta tam praecise subtiliterque quam succinte ita descripsit, ut multa et nova et memoratu digna esse videantur. Verum hac de Bonnensi parte diarii illius Latini nondum edita alius alias referet plura.[16]

Eodem fere tempore, quo D. PAPEBROCH illud faciebat iter Italicum,

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[12] Deest quidem (ut interpungendi pravitates omittam) in alterius distichi priore ac posteriore partibus vocula "et."

[13] Quae BURMAN et STREVESDORFF addiderunt, infra laudabuntur.

[14] Non multum autem afuit, quin notione "soli" et adverbio eo, quod est "solum," perverse confusis alius isque publice propagatus multo deplorabilior (ne dicam deridendus) error exsisteret.

[15] Prima prodiit editio a. 1616°, altera a. 1635° Amsterdami.

[16] U. KINDERMANN: "Kunsthistorisches aus dem Bonn des 17. Jahrhunderts, Erstedition mit Übersetzung aus dem Reisetagebuch des D. Papebroch," *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*, Vol. 39 (1989–92), 61–70.

et alia Rhenana poetice descripsit oppida locaque et Bonnam cecinit centum undesexaginta hexametris versibus MARTINUS HENRIQUEZ à STREVESDORFF, et in eo quidem libro, qui *Archidioeceseos Coloniensis descriptio historica* inscripta Coloniae Agrippinae primitus prodiit a. 1662°, tertiis autem curis post auctoris obitum auctior et emendatior ibidem a. 1740° est impressus gravibus quibusdam titulo vocibus additis; postrema enim haec editio tertia aptius accommodatiusque inscribitur *Archidioeceseos Coloniensis descriptio historico-poetica per ordines et status digesta.* Sed admodum ista luculenta cum Bonnae (pp. 108–12) tum totius fere vicinae regionis descriptio vere poetica iam diu iacet ubique neglecta atque interea adeo oblivione videtur esse obruta, ut etiam eo in opere, quod auctoritate iussuque ipsius senatus Bonnensis nuper editum omnem illam urbis Bonnae comprehendit historiam,[17] ne nomen quidem occurrat illius poetae.

Qui quidem suam ipsius Bonnae descriptionem, cui hoc in capite quartum eundemque postremum—neque eum infimum—statui locum esse tribuendum, sollerter dispertitus tam concinne exposuit, ut et veteris Bonnae tamquam bonae a Romanis olim fundatae et urbis imago contemporaneae perspicue ob oculos versetur legentium; itaque ostendendi causa, quam late pateat Bonnensis sibi ambitus describendus, hisce eiusdem urbis extollendae laudibus exorditur:

> Electoralis BONNA est primaria sedes
> Archidioecesis, Cancellaria suprema.
> Consilium, Archivum, Rectoratusque triumphat,
> Iustitia usque Reo, Viduis patet atque Pupillis.
> Urbs etiam dicta est veterana Voconio, quae post
> A Comite Hochstedio Conrado Antistite cincta est
> Moenibus et foveis, ornataque Turribus altis.
> Urbis habet claves, gestans pro tempore fasces
> De more antiquo longoque a tempore Consul.
> Romani BONNAM quondam bona castra vocarunt,
> Nempe Bonas illic quoniam sibi figere Sedes
> Est visum testante chrono. Nam plurima tali
> Non modo parte rubet bene sano Vinea Baccho,
> At quoque frugiferax circum protuberat Arvum,
> Immensique supra per binas circiter horas
> Clauduntur montes, qui ad Rheni littus utrumque
> Hanc e Teutonia ferme ducuntur ad Urbem.

Postquam igitur et explicavit, quales fuissent urbis Bonnae tot per saecula fortunae vicissitudinesque tam variae, et non solum ipsius oppidi splendorem atque amplitudinem, verum circumiacentium etiam naturae locorum pulchritudinem fertilitatemque uberrimam poeticis depinxit coloribus, hac

[17] Tertium scilicet Bonnensis operis volumen in Appendicem receptum.

praesentis status Bonnensis laude MARTINUS ille STREVESDORFF sibi perorandum esse arbitratur (vv. 154–59):

> Urbs vere felix, de bello tempore pacis
> Perpendens, rursum Bonnae bona castra locantur.
> Surgit enim insignis iam fortificatio, circum
> Et validum munimen huic supponitur Urbi.
> Quod superest laudis, de Bonna haec ipsa leguntur
> Carmina, quae subdo, cecinitque probabilis auctor.

Sequuntur ergo duo illa vatis anonymi disticha iam in *Civitatibus orbis terrarum* laudata, sed adiectis augustis duobus his versibus:

> Principibus Sedes hinc Electoribus illa est,
> Iustitiae Patribus, qua Themis alma viget.

Tractationis pars secunda

Hoc in capite Latina partim poetico partim pedestri sermone conscripta proponuntur opera nulli loco nisi Bonnae Bonnensibusque solis rebus ita dedicata, ut ipsorum tituli illius urbis prae se ferant nomen. Quocirca primordia sunt enumerandi capienda ab ea sexaginta quattuor distichorum elegia, quam reliquit *Belgicarum rerum Epitome ... Auctore Pantaleone Candido* (Francofurti, 1605) inscriptam *De initio turbarum Bonnensium sic quidam* (pp. 132–36). At etsi hoc carmine, quod ab anonymo videtur esse compositum atque hodie oblitteratum, asservata traduntur permulta, quae manifestum est ad illas Bonnae condiciones accuratius exquirendas magni futura esse momenti, non plus inde quam unum arcessiverim versum (14); exclamavit enim auctor ille se velle huius esse compotem voti: "Sit bona Bonna mihi, nec sit iniqua tibi."

Est igitur veri simile eundem exstitisse primum, qui sibi persuasisset Bonnae nomini quandam intercedere necessitudinem cum boni notione. Namque haec quidem interpretandi ratio, quamvis etymologiae legibus observatis falsa sit prorsus (neque enim Bonna a bono est appellata nec vice versa bonum liquet a Bonna aut Bona posse derivari),[18] tantam tamen habuit vim, ut lepidam hanc agnominationem haud semel STREVESDORFF ille poeta (ut animadverti supra), saepius etiam postea alii, inter quos eminet Tripsius, in suum ipsorum singuli converterint usum.

Quinque autem decenniis post inventam hanc quasi quandam Bonnae bonique propinquitatem clericus quidam Bonnensis primus est ausus id chartis opus illinere, quod cunctas urbis Bonnae res ab originibus deductas complecteretur. Exstat enim in eiusdem urbis conservatum bibliotheca ma-

[18] Illud praecipue notandum est Bonnae vocalem "o" litteram esse longam; idem modo monui inter adverbium "solum" et "soli" notionem interesse.

nuscriptum a doctis hominibus illud quidem interdum citatum, sed typis excusum numquam hac inscriptione praemissa: *Historia universalis de Ubiorum Ara seu Bonna. Compendium ex variis historiographis collectum per Adolphum Sigismundum BURMAN Bonnensem* . . . (1656). Huic sexaginta fere paginarum tractatui in capita diviso opusculum alterum e viginti quinque constans chartis annexum est hocce affectum titulo: *Sacrarium seu Ara Ubiorum sacra et continens omnium urbis Bonnensis Ecclesiarum descriptionem.* Utrumque hoc compendium adhuc ineditum de auctoris exemplari transscriptum pluribusque videlicet exaratum manibus dignum profecto est, quod quam primum publicis tandem sumptibus divulgetur. Sufficiat hic ad illius *Historiae universalis de* . . . *Bonna* tertium caput, quod est *De situ*, legentium animos avertisse; in huius enim capituli fine carmen illud in antiquo saxo repertum, cuius initialia sunt verba "Bonna solum felix," A. BURMAN contendit a compluribus iam viris praeclaris esse laudatum, et hoc quidem addito disticho:

Inde suas nobis turres ostendit opesque
Templaque cum Laribus Bonna superba suis.

Accedit huc, quod in margine idem BURMAN ut sacerdos Catholicus Christianarum revocandae rerum memoriae gratia alterum superbae Bonnae distichon a semet investigatum censuit collocandum:

Te sibi Mars pridem bene messuit Imperialem,
Ut sua Thebaeis ultro tributa feras.

Verumenimvero omnibus et clericis et profanis auctoribus, qui quidem umquam Bonnae Latinis mandandae litteris operam ferantur dedisse, duorum ADOLPHI BURMAN ac MARTINI STREVESDORFF aequalis unus longe antecellit Franciscus Xaverius TRIPS (a. 1630–1696) pastor Rhenanus idemque Latinus scriptor excellens atque etiam laureatus poeta. Qui quidem incredibili praeditus ingenii vi copiaque dicendi necnon profunda liberalium instructus artium eruditione egregius et prosae orationis auctor et vates evasit ita, ut cum innumerabilia composuerit alia, quae maximam partem (velut *Tractatus historico-poeticus* mox ponendus in medio) inedita manserunt atque oblivione iam pridem esse videntur obtrita, tum in elegiarum ipsis titulis binarum Bonnam ad Bonae veteris etiam deae personam simulacrumque accommodatam induxerit quasi loquentem atque adeo cum fletu querentem:

(a) Altera enim elegia tribus tradita manuscriptis[19] eaque—ut ex priorum inscriptionibus colligi potest—exarata Kalendis Ianuariis anni 1675 inscribitur *Bonna lamentans*. Edidit autem elegantissimam hanc ipsius urbis Bonnae querellam nonaginta duo disticha (nonnullis introductionis epilogique versibus omissis) continentem unus adhuc PANTALEON ESCHENBRENDER in suis *Tyrocinii poetici libris*, quorum prima prodiit editio Coloniae a. 1729*, se-

[19] Duo Coloniensis asservat bibliotheca, tertium Monacensis.

cunda 1746°, tertia 1763° ita quidem, ut et earum supersint paucissima neque omnino liqueat, quonam nixus sit manuscripto editor ille vel ex quibus carminis oblati textum ipse conflaverit. Cum igitur *Bonnae lamentantis* perinde atque ceterorum omnium, quae Latino Tripsius usus sermone conscripsit, critica sit opus editione iam diu desiderata, non plus hic licet quam diplomaticum qui vocatur praebere textum.

Abundare autem carmen istud luculentis urbis Bonnae octavo saeculi XVII. decennio florentis descriptionibus laudibusque perquam clare vel tum elucebit, si quis consideraverit exordium eiusdem illius elegiae, quam evomit urbs Bonna, cuius quidem personam Tripsius poetarum nimirum ritu induerit, quo citius rediret Maximilianus Archiepiscopus idemque Bonnensis civitatis princeps in eandem suam urbem, quam deseruisset miserrimam. Ut enim Horatius paene senex Venerem diu intermissam precatus monuit destitisse se esse talem, qualis quondam fuisset (carm. IV, 1, 3/4: "Non sum qualis eram bonae / Sub regno Cinarae"), sic lamentantem inducit ille poeta urbem Bonnam, quod desierit praestare se talem, qualis sub Maximiliani ducis fuisset imperio:

Heu mihi, quae Boicis distincta coloribus ibam
Albo-caerulea Bonna decora toga.
Heu mihi, quae primae subiit mutatio formae?
Heu fleo, cum solum cogito: qualis eram?
Qualis eram? Bavaras urbs cancellata fenestras
A Tricoronata prima sorore soror.
Qualis eram? peramoena situ, coeloque salubris,
Plana solo, Rheni filia, dives opum.
Qualis eram? populosa viris, munitaque vallo,
Fortis, honora, ferax, vite beata, potens.
Qualis eram? Templisque nitens domibusque superba,
Ampla foro, portis turgida, laxa viis.
Qualis eram? (meminisse dolet) pietatis asylum,
Iurasses ipsos hic habitasse Deos.
Qualis eram? dixisse vetor. Dolor imperat ori;
Mergitur et lacrimis naufraga lingua suis.
Qualis eram? mutesco. Negant lamenta loquelam.
Vos, qui me nostis, dicite: qualis eram?
Numquid honorato stabam circumdata peplo?
Virgineo-roseas tincta virago genas?
Nonne serenatam pingebat gratia frontem?
Ex oculis visus Sol radiasse meis?
Aemula formosae stabam Verona Dianae,
Lux Patriae, Rheni gemma, palaestra ducum.
Bonna fui bona, fausta fui, cui terra polusque
Favit, ab innumeris Bonna vocata bonis.
Larga Ceres plena vallabat moenia dextra,

Fertilis irriguos unda rigabat agros.
Annua luxurians praebebat gaudia palmos,
Et praegnans tumidi vitis honora botri.
Prosperitas aedes, portas pax firma tenebat,
Alta quies tutis civibus atque salus.
Mercatura suis inhiabat fervida lucris,
Stabat et artificis lassa labore manus.
De super infudit pleno mihi copia cornu;
Vix de pauperie qui quereretur erat.
Vasa redundabant vinis, aeraria nummis,
In plena grano vix erat urbe locus.
Tempora vivebant Saturnia nescia belli,
Nescia venturi tempora laeta mali.
Hic decor, haec facies, haec pax et copia rerum,
Hic meus ingenitae fertilitatis ager.

(b) Altera quoque elegia Tripsiana, quae *Querella ac suspirium urbis Bonnae* inscribitur, in Tyrocinii poetici libris legitur impressa, at neque ullo (ut videtur) est tradita manuscripto nec prior—id quod editor ille assumpsit—sed evidenter posterior *Bonna lamentante*. Scatere autem ipsam hanc *Querellam* magis etiam quam *lamentantis Bonnae* carmen limatis et politis urbis Bonnae descriptionibus laudibusque vel inde perspici potest, quod et amplificatam habet titulum et, cum centum octoginta duo contineat disticha, altero tanto maiorem ambitum. Etenim exorditur laureatus noster poeta ita, ut nobili quadam vatum veterum formula sublimique ad id aptata, quod sibi proposuerat consequendum, atque etiam paganis antiquorum temporum dis deabusque ipsam in urbem Bonnam congregatis quam efficacissime mirumque quam dilucide legentium oculis subiciat tot tamque varia status illius Bonnensis elementa clarissimis etiam aliis anteponendi:

ILLA ego, quae felix et nomine et omine quondam,
Sum bona, de multis BONNA vocata BONIS;
Illa ego, quae nostris venerata SORORIBUS olim,
Per totam patriam iussa verenda dedi.
Illa ego, quae quondam sceptro sertoque decora,
Nostratis patriae firma columna fui;
Illa ego, cui vivae Charites in fronte sedebant,
Quae sociabus ego pulchrior una fui;
Illa ego, quae forti late circumdata vallo,
Quae sociabus ego tutior una fui;
Illa ego, quae Martis schola, quae quoque pacis asylum
Quae sociabus ego spesque salusque fui.
Vere novo nostros cumulabat floribus hortos
Chloris, puniceis tempora cincta rosis;
Larga Ceres plenis complebat et horrea plaustris,
Divitias nobis Triptolemusque dabat;

Vina lacus etiam pingui spumabat Iaccho,
Millenus mihi grex, multus et agnus erat;
Servet Hymettus apes, servet sua thura Sabaeus,
Hyblaque quicquid habet, quae quoque mittit Arabs;
Pruna Damascenis laudentur caerula campis,
Fertilis atque suas India laudet opes:
Laudentur placidis hirsuta Cydonia ramis
Quaeque subaurato cortice mala nitent.
Uberior nostros campos Pomona rigabat,
Noster ager multo nobiliora dabat;
Quasque alias nobis natura noverca negabat,
Advexit gravido flumine Rhenus opes.
Ex his BONNA quidem dicor bona, sed bona dicor
BONNA magis BAVARUM de BONITATE DUCUM.

Reliqua nunc eaque Tripsianis posteriora Latine conscripta, quorum vel frontibus singulis Bonnensium quarundam rerum memoria colligatum iri videtur, transeunda sunt leviter ac tantummodo perstringi queunt. Eorum autem maxime idoneum, cui palma detur, id arbitror opus esse, quo cuncti flores in urbe Bonna eiusque circumiacentia obvii Linnaeum ad illud naturae systema redacti atque in unum coacti volumen exhibentur; grandis enim hic liber, qui plus quingentis complexus paginis ante hos centum quinquaginta annos Bonnae publicam vidit lucem (verum hodie tenebris circumfusa videtur latere), inscripta est: "FLORA BONNENSIS scripserunt J. Jos. Schmitz et Ed. Regel. Praemissa est L. C. Trevirani Prof. Bonn. *Comparatio Florae Wratislaviensis et Bonnensis*."

Quasi per transennam praeterea hic oportet et id opus aspici, quod inscribitur *Historia* atque *Ortus et Progressus Collegii Bonnensis* (scilicet Societatis Iesu), cuius manuscriptum reperitur in urbis Bonnae bibliotheca, et eius opusculi, cuius genuinus est titulus *Gaudeamus Bonnense quod in honorem almae matris quinquagenariae in commercio Heisterbachiano canatur*, duo carmina quinque decenniis post universitatem studiorum Bonnensem conditam composita Bonnae (a. 1868°). Multo plenior autem Bonnensium est rerum memoratuque dignissima ea dissertatio inauguralis, quam "De Bonnae urbis topographia et statistica medica" Bonnae a. 1860° protulit Carolus PELMAN Rhenanus. Magnam denique merito gloriam nuperrime est adepta classis quaedam gymnasii Bonnensis a Clara SCHUMANN nominati, cum primum uno collectas fasciculo propagavit centum triginta fere inscriptiones Latinas, quae quidem inde a decimo sexto exstent saeculo omnem per urbis Bonnae regionem dispersae. Nam attingi nunc non decet *Bimillenarium carmen Bonnense*, quod addita *Bonnae tam insignis situs descriptione quam status eximii laude succincta* ipse composui publicaturus comitante collega hymni *De bimillennio a.u.c. Bonnensi* auctore.[20]

[20] *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*, Vol. 39 (1989–92), 529–47.

Tractationis pars tertia

Iam vero laureatus ille poeta Tripsius in opere prosimetro prorsus adhuc ignoto tantum urbi Bonnae tribuit momenti, ut singularem id locum obtinere sit in promptu. Tribus enim fere lustris, postquam *Bonnam lamentantem* et *Querellam ac suspirium urbis Bonnae* absolverat elegias, excellens ille auctor Latinus confecit tractatum duobus in bibliotheca Coloniensi asservatum manuscriptis, quorum prius inscriptum est *Tractatus historico-poeticus de annis 1688, 89, 90 elaboratus*, alterum *De rebus sui temporis*.

Ac primum quidem Tripsius, cum istis in annalibus Bonnae fecerit subinde iam mentionem, expositioni suae perpetuae, in qua capita pedestri poeticoque sermone conscripta alternis inter se vicibus excipiunt, id inserit capitulum, cuius proprius est titulus *BONNA. EIUSDEM DESCRIPTIO.*[21] Hac autem in urbe describenda idem ita processit, ut quam artissime, verum more suo et eleganter admodum et acute astringeret ea, quae fusius explicaverat ille *Civitatum orbis terrarum* scriptor, uberrime triginta minus annis ante STREVESDORFF poeta. Atque in his tribus Bonnae descriptionibus inter se comparandis facile percipi potest suo quamque modo ad illa rhetoricae artis praecepta quadrare accommodata, quae nuperrime ipse W. LUDWIG tam diligenter enucleavit, cum proavi sui *Hallarum Encomium* ederet locupletibusque instructum commentariis enodaret.[22] Quare, etsi deesse videtur adhuc talis urbi Bonnae soli laudandae destinata oratio, qualis fuit Hallarum illa laudatio prosaico sermone conscripta, operae certe pretium est examinare, quonam pacto cur quatenus decem fere principales aspectus, qui quidem sint ad urbes laudibus efferendas plurimum valere perhibiti, in Bonnae quoque illis descriptionibus Latinis auctores observaverint singuli: origo; nomen; situs; res gestae; civitatis constitutio; aedes et sacrae et profanae; scholae; clari viri; caeli salubritas; soli denique natura frugifera.

Eo magis igitur dolendum est Bonnae cuncta fere aedificia aestate a. 1689—i.e., biennio, priusquam Tripsius in *Tractatu historico-poetico* descripsit hanc urbem—funditus esse eversa. Totius autem illum interitum urbis Bonnae solo adaequatae tam deplorabilem idem poeta ante hos trecentos annos coepit ita deinceps evolvere, ut, simulatque ex eventu vaticinatus est (p. 22a: "Sed nec ulli Bonnensium persuaderi potuit praeclarem hanc urbem eo miseriarum redactum iri, ut nec lapis lapidi esset adhaesurus"), talem similitudinem, qualis vix ne excogitari quidem potest, deducere non vereretur. Quaero quidem, quando quis umquam temptaverit Bonnam in eodem reponere numero atque urbes tres, quibus exstitissent antiquis temporibus vix clariores. Neque enim Tripsius dubitavit instans illud Bonnae excidium conferre cum deletis et Troia et Carthagine et pristina Roma simulque de fortunae temeritate atque humanarum omnium rerum meditari fragilitate:

[21] Sequor *Tractatus historico-poetici* manuscriptum (21b).

[22] Reperitur haec quoque commentatio in Appendice obvia.

Rebus in humanis numquam fortuna perennat:
Dic, ubi Carthago? dic, ubi Troia stetit?
Una quod exstruxit mox altera destruit aetas:
Prima quod hora dedit, saepe secunda rapit.
Heus, ubi sunt veteris vestigia pristina Romae?
Verte solum: Romae Roma sepulta iacet.
Quod natum est moritur, quod stat cadit, alta suopte
Pondere subsidunt; tecta domusque ruunt.
Omnis ad occasum vergit properatque vetustas:
In nihilum redeunt cuncta creata suum.

Itaque paulo post (pp. 49b–54a) exustae sequitur enarratio Bonnae, qui cantus lugubris plus ducentis triginta distichis continens multo latiorem habet ambitum prioribus illis elegiis, quae sunt *Bonna lamentans* et *Querella ac suspirium urbis Bonnae*. Ac si amplius hic superesset spatii, omnem assero tertiam hanc vatis illius Bonnensem elegiam in medio me positurum fuisse; est enim eadem querella quasi quidam thesaurus reconditus idemque luce clarior omnium urbis Bonnae rerum, quae quidem tum, cum "tempora vivebant Saturnia," subito tormentis ignibusque exstincta prorsus perierint. Impeditus igitur loci penuria satis habeo redire ad mirificam illam comparationem, qua Bonnam poeta dignatus est. Nam posteaquam obiter iam Troiae fatum ac Bonnae flammis devoratae recordatur esse commune (v. 190: "excidium Troiae nonne facesque vides?"), memoria et illius prisci et Poenorum capitis repetita Tripsius non modo ratus est necesse esse devastatam urbem Bonnam iterum sese cum excisa Priameia arce conferre eversaque Carthagine, sed etiam confitetur sese, cum dirutam cerneret Bonnam, ne ipsum quidem puduisse lacrimarum maris effusi:

Quid cramben recoquo? venias ocularis et esto
Inspector nostri, lector amice, status.
Urbis te Tyriae speculum Troiaeque videre
Rudera te dices, flebis et usque gemes.
Bonnae eris et Bonnam quaeres plenusque stuporis
Non poteris lacrumas continuisse tuas.

Sed quamvis Bonnam tam plane tum deleta numquam in pristinum restitui posse haud ignoraret, Tripsius ipse suam urbis Bonnae disturbatae querellam ita peroravit, ut non desperaret neque diffideret aurea fore reversa aetate, ut contra atque et Tyria et Troica urbs, at priscae reviviscentis Romae similis nova resurgeret Bonna eademque, quae antea iam bona esset appellata, resuscitata melior etiam posset evadere:

Ne tamen abicias animos, nova Bonna resurget,
Ditior et fieri, quam fuit ante, potest.

Tractationis pars quarta

Restat, ut disiecta quaedam urbis Bonnae post renatas litteras Latine descriptae laudibusque praedicatae colligam membra. Quamquam enim inter commemoratos hucusque eos auctores, qui Bonnam attigerunt Latinum usurpantes sermonem, Tripsii carmina aetate medium, vi momentoque principem locum obtinere in aperto est, Latina exstant passim tradita permulta alia, quae quidem ad Bonnam spectantia hic est opus respici. Paucis quidem annis post Bonnam a Cochlaeo descriptam Eobanus Hessus Germanicorum humanistarum princeps eo in hodoeporico, quod a profectione ad ipsum Erasmum misit,[23] testatur sese, cum Mosellanis arcibus relictis Rheno secundis ventis navigaret, Bonnam quoque esse admiratum (... "Iam vicinae fulgentia Bonnae / Moenia conspicimus, iam littora prima tenemus") sed nulla interposita mora praetervectum contendisse Coloniam Agrippinensem "claram meritis insignibus urbem." Pluribus versibus urbem Bonnam "praecelebrem nomine" quinque decenniis post dignatus est Bernardus Mollerus in quarto eius operis libro, quod inscribitur *Rhenus et eius descriptio elegans* ... (Coloniae, 1571, 167): "Bonna latus decorat praeclara sinistrum...."

Urbis autem Bonnae solo deinde adaequatae testimonia exhibet inedita (eaque mihi mox in lucem protrahenda) *Historia orbis continuata ad annum 1689*, ubi tribus sub titulis *Bonna oppugnata, Bonna diu obsessa, Bonna exusta* singulis inveniuntur duo tresve versus ex Aeneide Vergiliana deprompti. Posteriore quoque ineunte saeculo secundi libri auctor[24] epigrammatum, quae sunt *pro singulis urbibus Europae*, statuit: "Armigeris est nota (sc. Bonna) magis sub tempore nostro / quam sit pennigeris, scilicet historicis." Denique Latini textus Bonnenses ad nostros usque hos etiam dies traditi pertinent. Nam ubi primum aemula Bonnae modo Berolinensis urbs victrix evasit, anonymus civis consolandae Bonnensis urbis suae causa hoc curavit distichon promulgandum: "Eripiant tibi, Bonna bona, omne decusque charinque: / Non, Ludovice, potes, Musaque sacra, rapi!" Ludovicus quippe designatur idem BEETHOVEN, quo nullum adhuc hominem urbs Bonna protulit clariorem; consentaneum igitur est in summi illius quoque viri honorem hymnum esse compositum hoc a versu exordientem: "O nate blando sub modulamine."[25]

Conclusio

Aliquot igitur iis, quos hic sive incognitos primus sive parum hodie notos communicavi, Latinis urbis Bonnae collustratis fontibus hoc spero maxime cuique esse persuasum, si quis effecisset, ut omnes recentioris Latinitatis lo-

[23] Usus sum editione Lovanii a. 1519° publicata.

[24] Carolus à SKOP (Francofurti ad Viadrum, 1717, 71).

[25] Hoc de hymno certiorem me fecit L. BRICENO JAREGUI S. J.

cos ad Bonnae descriptionem laudemque referendos cogeret in unum volumen, fore aliquando, ut eiusdem urbis post seriora renascentiae tempora exaedificatae elucescerent novae quaedam illustrioresque virtutes.

Appendix

Recentiora studia cum ad singularum tum ad omnium urbium descriptiones laudesque Latinas relata

I. Fundamenta totius eruendae huius rei iacta sunt hoc libro:
Classen, Carl Joachim, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der* Descriptiones *und* Laudes urbium *in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Hildeshemii..., 1980; altera editio eademque aucta postscripto prodiit a. 1986°).

II. Novissima quaeque praebentur in copiosissimo hoc commentario:
Ludwig, Walther, "J. P. Ludwigs Lobrede auf die Reichsstadt Schwäbisch Hall und die Schulrhetorik des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Württembergisch Franken* 74 (1990): 247–94.

III. Quaestiones Bonnenses

1. Opus universam urbis Bonnae comprehendens historiam:
Höroldt, Dietrich et Manfred van Rey (edd.), *Geschichte der Stadt Bonn ... Aus Anlaß der 2000-Jahr-Feier...*, Vol. III: "Bonn als kurkölnische Haupt- und Residenzstadt 1597–1794," Vol. IV: "Von einer französischen Bezirksstadt zur Bundeshauptstadt 1794–1989" (Bonnae, 1989).

2. Latinos textus Bonnenses duabus his tractavi commentationibus:

(a) "*Bonna, Bononia* oder *Borma*? Ein vieldiskutierter Ortsname bei Florus (epit. 2, 30, 26) in den maßgebenden Ausgaben von der Renaissance über Otto Jahn bis zur Gegenwart: Wissenschaftshistorische Untersuchungen zum literarischen Fundament der 2000-Jahrfeier der Stadt Bonn im Jahre 1989," *Otto Jahn (1813–1868) - Ein Geisteswissenschaftler zwischen Klassizismus und Historismus*, edd. W. Calder III et alii (Stutgardiae, 1991), 110–32.

(b) "Neue lateinische Gedichte zum Lobe der Stadt Bonn," *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*, Vol. 39 (1989–92), 529–42.

Ex universitate studiorum Bonnensi

With no Thought of Publication? *Erasmus's* Manifesta mendacia *as an Example of Spontaneous Writing*

ERIKA RUMMEL

In this paper I would like to investigate Erasmus's practice of revising drafts for publication and speculate about one particular case, the *Manifesta Mendacia*. Erasmus's own statements on the subject show a certain ambivalence. On the one hand, he complained on several occasions that he was being cheated of an opportunity to polish his drafts; on the other hand, he said repeatedly that he disliked revising and could not be bothered with it.

Here are some examples illustrating his reluctance to revise:
In a letter of 1535 he told the Portuguese humanist a Goes:

> You are very kind to advise me to polish my works, but your advice is in vain. . . . I am by nature inclined to extemporize and extraordinarily averse to revising. And you know how difficult it is to go against nature.[1]

To the French scholar Christophe de Longueil he had made a similar confession:

> You indicate what my critics find lacking in me ... but when you write that I indulge my vices, believe me, it is not indulgence but ignorance or rather indolence. That's how I am. I cannot overcome my nature. I really do not so much write everything as let it pour out; and revising the text is more troublesome than composing it.[2]

In the *Ciceronianus* he humorously reviewed his own work, again noting his inclination to extemporize. Two characters in the dialogue, Bulephorus and

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[1] *Ep.* 3043:35–38. All references to letters are to number and lines in P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford, 1906–58).

[2] *Ep.* 935:28–34.

Nosoponus, are discussing contemporary writers. "Well then," asks Bulephorus, "what about Erasmus?" "He throws everything off in a hurry," the other replies. "Nothing of his comes to birth, they are all abortive. Occasionally he does write a real book, but he does it 'standing on one leg', and he doesn't have the mental discipline to reread what he has written even once."[3] One might say that such remarks ought to be taken with a grain of salt. When an author tells us that he "dashed" something off on the spur of the moment, that he did not spend much time and effort on a piece, he merely wants to impress us with his natural talent; but this explanation does not fit Erasmus's case. First of all, his contemporaries failed to be impressed, as we have seen. They did not consider it a virtue to publish without taking the time to revise; they criticized Erasmus for his slipshod productions and nicknamed him "Errasmus." There is practical evidence, moreover, of Erasmus's reluctance to revise. There are instances in which Erasmus specifically noted flaws in his composition but did nothing to correct them. In his letter-writing manual, for example, he acknowledges that a passage dealing with argumentation is weak and largely irrelevant, but he lets it stand and says apologetically: "It might still prove useful . . . even if the treatment is inadequate."[4] In the *Apophthegmata* he notes that one of the stories he has picked out of Plutarch does not fit his own definition of "apophthegm." "Whatever you may call it, it certainly can't be called an apophthegm," he observes, but nevertheless retains it.[5] The fact that he did not revise his texts is also observed by P. S. Allen, the editor of Erasmus's correspondence, who says: "It is interesting to compare the rough drafts of Erasmus's letters with those of his correspondents. . . . With Erasmus the lines flow swiftly over the page, true and even, with hardly a word corrected. . . . His work was always done in heat."[6]

Such evidence would lead us to believe that there was next to no difference between texts written by Erasmus on the spur of the moment and for private use and those intended for publication. But Erasmus's comments on the subject are contradictory. Let me now cite some passages in which he complains about being deprived of an opportunity to revise a draft.

In the case of *De Copia*, his style manual, he expressed concern that his draft had fallen into the hands of certain people who all but managed to publish the unrevised text—*rudem materiam*, as he calls it, "raw material . . . which I saw required a great deal of time to polish."[7] In the case of the *Antibarbari* he expressed his displeasure that an unrevised draft was cir-

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[3] *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Leclerc (Leiden, 1703–6), 1:1013E. This edition will be referred to in the following notes as LB.

[4] *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1974), 25:110. This edition will be referred to in the following notes as CWE.

[5] *LB* 5:103E.

[6] P. S. Allen, *Wayfaring Sketches* (Oxford, 1934), 17–20.

[7] *Ep.* 260:59–61.

culating, a text he called crude and jejune.[8] He likewise condemned certain people who were on the point of publishing a draft of his letter-writing manual, which, he said, was in a rudimentary state and consisted of nothing but *naeniae* and *nugae*.[9] But the best illustration of his concern for revision is his polemic with Edward Lee. Lee had sent Erasmus queries concerning his New Testament, and the latter had returned them with hastily scribbled replies. When Lee published this exchange, Erasmus was understandably annoyed. His replies, he said, had been "written while I was occupied with other things, and written in a scrawl I am surprised Lee could read."[10]

> How civil it was to publish them, I leave to other people's judgment. For he could see that I had written them for no one but himself; especially since he had the opportunity in the meantime to embellish his own notes, while publishing my light-weight stuff in its more than extemporaneous form.[11]

It is significant that in the cases quoted Erasmus was not merely protesting what we would call a violation of copyright. Nor was he complaining about an indiscretion, the unauthorized publication of sensitive material. The point of his complaint was that he was being deprived of an opportunity to revise and polish his material. This would indicate that Erasmus did see a difference between casual notes and drafts on the one hand and material submitted for publication on the other, and that he did apply different standards in the latter case and wanted to reshape the original text.

It is against this background of mixed messages that I approach the specific purpose of my inquiry, namely to examine the *Manifesta Mendacia*, one of Erasmus's apologetic writings which remained unpublished during his lifetime,[12] and to speculate about what Erasmus might have changed, had he decided to publish the tract.

Here, in brief, is the context in which the piece was written.[13] In 1524, four Louvain Dominicans collaborated on an invective against Erasmus and published it under the pseudonym "Taxander." The invective was aimed at two of Erasmus's works, *Exomologesis*, a treatise on confession, and *De esu carnium*, a treatise concerning fasting, celibacy, and the veneration of saints,

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[8] *Ep.* 1110:43–44.

[9] *Ep.* 1284:3,14.

[10] *LB* 9:125; cf. 132A, 163B-C.

[11] *Erasmi Opuscula*, ed. W. K. Ferguson (The Hague, 1932), 262:587–91.

[12] The autograph text is in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, Gl. Kgl. Samling 96 fol. I would like to thank Eric Peterson for his cooperation in making the manuscript available to me during the week I attended the IANLS conference in Copenhagen. For the text, as transcribed from a microfilm prior to my visit to Copenhagen, see E. Rummel, "An Unpublished Erasmian Apologia in the Royal Library of Copenhagen," *NAKG* 70 (1990): 210–29.

[13] For a fuller account see E. Rummel, "*Manifesta Mendacia*: Erasmus's Reply to 'Taxander,'" *Renaissance Quarterly* 43–44 (1990): 731–43.

among other topics. The Dominicans linked Erasmus's views with those of Luther and more generally accused him of providing inspiration to the reformers. Erasmus came to know of the invective within a month of its publication and immediately jotted a reply into his notebook under the title *Manifesta Mendacia*. Two months later he had ferreted out the names of the authors hiding behind the pseudonym "Taxander" and tells us that one Vincentius Theoderici had written the bulk of the work. Why Erasmus never published his apologia is an open question, but it may be connected with the fact that he had formally appealed to both the Pope and the Emperor to muzzle his critics in Louvain. A truce was necessarily binding on both parties, and Erasmus, too, was expected to keep the peace and refrain from publishing polemical tracts.

The *Manifesta Mendacia* fills a little more than twelve pages in manuscript. There are few signs of revision; in fact, one is tempted to say that Erasmus wrote the piece and never looked back. There are one or two corrections and some additions of words or phrases, but all look as if they had been made in the course of writing, perhaps when Erasmus reached the end of a sentence or paragraph and paused to think. There are other signs that Erasmus wrote hastily and carelessly: the exceptionally poor handwriting is one; mistakes in the numbering of the paragraphs is another; and there are sentences that do not run. My first impression on beginning to read the text was that I had happened on a very private document, that this was written as a cathartic experience. It came as a surprise, therefore, to read further on: "I ask you, dear reader, where in my words is that insanity of which he accuses me?" Erasmus, then, was addressing the public, and it is legitimate to ask what he might have said differently, had he decided to publish the piece.

In preparing the draft for publication, we would expect an author to make revisions of three kinds: correction of mistakes, structural and organizational improvements, and rephrasing for reasons of style or context. No doubt Erasmus would have discovered and corrected the small errors I already mentioned: the misnumbering of paragraphs and the sentences that do not run.[14]

As for structural changes, one would expect Erasmus to provide an introductory paragraph to put his apologia in context, as he does without fail in his published works. In the *Manifesta Mendacia* Erasmus jumps right *in medias res*. The opening sentence reads: "At the beginning of his charming preface he says that I assert, or cast doubt on what has been decreed by the Church, indeed by Christ, himself."[15] Uninitiated readers would be puz-

[14] For example, *in principio lepidae praefationis dicit me asserere vel in dubium vocare quae sint ab ecclesiae definita* (207 recto). Obviously he could not both "assert" and "call into doubt." Another example: *affirmat hec omnia peccatione cum mea propositione* (209 verso). Instead of *peccatione* we expect a verb, which can be supplied from the text he is refuting here. The verb his critic uses is *pugnare*. That is presumably what Erasmus had in mind, and *peccatione* was a slip of the pen.

[15] For the Latin, which I have smoothed out in my translation, see the first example in the previous note.

zled by this beginning. They would want to know who made these allegations and where the "charming preface" might be found. Even if Erasmus had wanted to suppress the name of his critic, we would expect him to provide some generic background information. In fact, looking at other Erasmian *apologiae*,[16] we would expect him to suppress the name of his critic but provide enough clues for the reader to recognize the man without being told the name. In the *Manifesta Mendacia*, Erasmus informs us only that the critic attacked his *Exomologesis*, but never once mentions the title of the publication which he is answering or the name of his adversary. As a result his remarks are occasionally cryptic, as in this example: "Perhaps it would seem a negligible lie to say that I call the Carmelite an impudent showman and that I say the same thing about Latomus and Vincentius" (208 recto). Would the general reader have guessed that the "Carmelite" Erasmus was aiming at was Nicolaas Baechem, a member of the Louvain faculty of theology? Latomus (Jacques Masson) was a published author and might have been recognized. But who was Vincentius? Even if readers had heard of Vincentius Theoderici, another member of the Louvain faculty of theology, the sentence certainly does not make clear that he is the principal author of the invective Erasmus is answering here. Is it possible that Erasmus himself, at the time of writing, was unsure who was hiding under the pseudonym "Taxander?"[17] In any case, the sentence calls for clarification.

What stylistic revisions might Erasmus have made? Let us first consider the vocabulary. There are a number of non-classical words[18] in the text, for example, *subversor* and *violator* used as nouns, *cultura divorum* instead of *cultus divorum*, *excors* modifying an abstract noun, etc.[19] In his apologetic writings, Erasmus showed considerable concern for classical vocabulary and repeatedly criticized and even ridiculed his adversaries for their medieval usage, but as we know from Douglas Thomson's study of Erasmus's style,[20] he was no stickler for classical usage, nor did he ever advocate pure Ciceronianism. Thus some of the non-classical terms now found in the manuscript might have been retained in a published text.

What about sentence structure and rhetorical devices? Here I would like to compare the *Manifesta Mendacia* with Ep. 843, a brief apologia published in 1518, which shares some general structural and stylistic characteristics with the *Manifesta Mendacia*. It, too, is a point-by-point refutation in numbered paragraphs and written in the same breathless journalistic style as the

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[16] Cf., for example, *LB* 9:434C, 433D.

[17] If so, this would give us a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the text, for in *Ep.* 1581 of 15 June 1525 he specifically mentions Vincentius as the chief author.

[18] I use the term "non-classical" loosely; Erasmus would have said "terms not found in *probi autores*." Cf. my article "*Probati autores* as Models of the Biblical Translator," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis* (Binghamton, 1991), 123–27.

[19] 210 verso, 213 recto, 211 recto, 213 recto.

[20] D. F. Thomson, "The Latinity of Erasmus," in *Erasmus*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1970).

apologetic tract. One common feature that immediately attracts the reader's attention is the uniform opening of the paragraphs with a verb of communication (*ait, negat,... inquit ...*) to introduce a brief quotation on which the rest of the paragraph is focused.[21] Another technique often used in the *Manifesta Mendacia* is opening a paragraph with a brief negative characterization of the adversary's view, obviously designed to prejudice the reader in Erasmus's favor. This occurs for example in a cluster of paragraphs numbered 4–9 in the manuscript, each of which (with the exception of no. 6) begins with a negative characterization: *Verum his etiam impudentius est...; Falsissimum...; Fortasse leve mendacium...; Aeque falsum...; Sed insigniter impudens....* We find the same device used in Ep. 843, where we encounter in initial phrases the adjectives *stultissime, ridiculum, impudentissimum*, etc.[22] An old rhetorical stand-by employed by Erasmus in both the *Manifesta Mendacia* and Ep. 843 is the heaping up of questions.[23] A further rhetorical device, characteristic of Erasmian apologiae and used here as well, is implicit dialogue.[24] Erasmus does not use dialogue form, but his sentences are so constructed that they could be resolved into a dalogue between the protagonists. Here are some examples: *At debebam profiteri necessariam confessionem—iam id alibi professus eram; Sed anxiam recensionem noto—anxium autem dicitur quod est immodicae sollicitudinis; Sed addere debui 'sicut ethnici'—et hoc addo tum in adnotationibus, tum in libello de modo orandi.*[25] In each case the first phrase represents the voice of the critic; the second phrase the voice of Erasmus answering the critic's objection. Since these rhetorical structures and patterns are found in Erasmus's published work as well as in the unpublished *Manifesta Mendacia*, we may assume that they would remain largely unchanged.

I have based my arguments so far on a comparison between the *Manifesta Mendacia* and Ep. 843. An equally interesting comparison can be made between the *Manifesta Mendacia* and Ep. 1582 of July 1525. In this letter, addressed to the faculty of theology at Louvain, Erasmus complains about Vincentius' invective. The letter is a synopsis of the *Manifesta Mendacia*; in other words, it provides an indication of how he might have rephrased his apologia for public reading. We find, for example, that he avoids the

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[21] Compare 211 recto, where four out of five consecutive paragraphs begin with *ait* and *Ep.* 843, where three of eight consecutive paragraphs (numbered 70–78 in Allen's edition) begin with *negat*. Paragraphs in the *Manifesta Mendacia* frequently begin with ... *inquit* ... (for example those numbered 19, 28, 49); similarly in *Ep.* 843 in the paragraphs numbered 47–52 all except no. 50 begin in this fashion.

[22] Cf. the paragraphs numbered 33, 39, 50, 54, 58 in Allen's edition.

[23] For example, in the *Manifesta Mendacia* in the paragraphs numbered 6, 61, 63 in the manuscript; in *Ep.* 843 in the paragraphs numbered 2, 17 in Allen's edition.

[24] A feature pointed out by Cornelis Augustijn, "Le dialogue Erasme-Luther dans l'*Hyperaspistes* II," in *Actes du Colloque International Erasme*, ed. J. Chomarat et al. (Geneva, 1990), 171–84.

[25] 207 recto, 209 recto, 211 verso.

post-classical *cultura divorum* and uses instead the classical *cultus*.[26] Rather surprisingly, some of his formulations in the letter are sharper than in the manuscript. Thus he writes in the apologia: "He says: 'Are we all to follow Erasmus's example and adore Luther?' Do I adore Luther? I, who disagree with his teaching in published books?" The same sentiment is expressed in the letter in the words: "He says I want adoration for Luther alone—I, who openly wage war on him."[27] As is to be expected, Erasmus clarifies the obscure passage mentioned above, identifying the "Carmelite" as Nicolaas Baechem and Vincentius Theoderici as the pseudonymous author of the invective.[28]

Interestingly there are also verbal parallels between the *Manifesta Mendacia*, which Erasmus wrote in 1525, and the *Apologia contra monachos Hispanos*, published in 1528. In the manuscript he writes that he cannot say whether Christ has instituted confession in the form practiced in his day, but will do so as soon as he has heard *certam ecclesiae vocem*. He does, however, practice confession himself and acknowledges that it is *necessariam ac salutarem*.[29] This is echoed in his reply to the Spanish monks. "I have frequently termed confession *salutiferam ac necessariam*," he says. Although he had his doubts that confession was instituted by Christ, he was ready to accept *certam ecclesiae Catholicae sententiam*. In the meantime, he was observing the practice of confession.[30] Speaking of the "anxious" approach taken by some people to confession, he clarifies: *anxium autem dicitur quod est immodicae sollicitudinis*. He uses the same formulation in the *Apologia contra monachos*.[31] Such parallels suggest that certain spontaneous phrases became fixed in Erasmus's mind and would therefore have made the transition from draft to published work more or less intact.

Finally, the question arises whether Erasmus would have toned down some of his statements or used more guarded terms. This seems unlikely since the whole apologia is designed to demonstrate the orthodoxy of his writings and his beliefs and he therefore steers away from radical formulations. Nor are there intemperate remarks that might have needed excising. The critics cited by name—Edward Lee, Jacques Masson, and the Spanish scholar Diego López Zúñiga—are referred to in neutral terms. The negative adjectives used to characterize Vincentius's arguments are no more provocative than those found in Erasmus's published works, as we have seen. In

[26] *Ep.* 1582:8–9.

[27] 211 recto in the manuscript; *Ep.* 1582:10–11.

[28] *Ep.* 1582:1–2, 28–30 (on Vincentius's authorship); 25, 41–42 (on the Carmelite N. Baechem Egmondanus).

[29] 207 recto, 208 recto.

[30] *LB* 9:1063F, 1062F.

[31] 209 recto in the manuscript; cf. *LB* 9:1063D: *anxietas est immodica sollicitudo.*

fact, the absence of abuse in his writings is remarkable in an age when pamphleteers showed little restraint.

What conclusions, then, can we draw from our examination concerning possible revisions of the manuscript? We may assume that Erasmus would have corrected mistakes such as sentences that do not run or errors in the numbering of the paragraphs. He would likely have rewritten the initial paragraph and clarified otherwise obscure references. Some non-classical words might have been replaced by classical terms. Rhetorical devices are fully developed in the draft; that is, they were spontaneous and had become second nature to Erasmus. No improvement was needed in that area. On the whole, therefore, revisions would have been light, and our findings suggest that Erasmus's natural eloquence and rhetorical skills amply compensated for his self-confessed reluctance to revise.

Toronto, Canada

Erasmus scribendus: The Three Copenhagen Codices of Erasmus[1]

R. J. SCHOECK

The three manuscripts are as follows: Gl. Kgl. Samling 95 fol., Gl. Kgl. Saml. 96 fol., and Thottske Saml. 73 fol. All three are very nearly entirely in Erasmus's own hand, and all three are of remarkable interest for their contents as well as for the light they can throw on Erasmus's compositional methods. These three volumes have a direct and unique importance in Erasmus scholarship: they tell us with unimpeachable authority of the circumstances of Erasmus's working papers at the time of his death in Basel, and—still more—they speak to his methods of composition. For the period before 1600 it is a rare privilege to see a scholar at work in the way and with the detail that we are enabled to view Erasmus at work in his old age. We are rarely privileged to view the text being written, and the manuscripts in Copenhagen merit close study. Let us first take them individually.

Gl. Kgl. Saml. 95 fol. This is indeed a stout folio, and it came to the Royal Library between 1663 and 1670 during the librarianship of Peder Schumacher, during the reign of King Frederick III (1648–1671). It contains—as well as a few other things—draft texts of the first book of *Ecclesiastes* (1535), of *De Praeparatione ad mortem* (1536), of 488 *Adagia*, and of 52 letters. In volume three of his magisterial edition of Erasmus's letters, P. S. Allen has studied the texts of the letters and has also put the entire codex under the glass of a penetrating study of its genesis and contents.[2]

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[1] I am indebted far more than my individual notes may indicate to the close study of the three codices made by Dr. Cornelis Reedijk, published in *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, ed. S. van der Woude (Amsterdam, 1968), 327–49. In the autumn of 1986 I was able to examine the manuscripts myself, and I thank the Chief Librarian of the Royal Library and his most courteous staff for this privilege. The MSS are more briefly described by Paul O. Kristeller in *Iter Italicum*.

[2] P. S. Allen, *Erasmi Epistolae* (Oxford, 1913), 3:630–34.

The binding is apparently seventeenth century, and on the spine it bears a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century label that describes the contents. Inside the upper cover is pasted a damaged copy of the large Holbein woodcut (known as "Erasmus in eim Ghüs"), presumed to have been intended as a frontispiece in the Basel 1540 edition of the *Opera omnia*. Together with a roundel, this sheet in the G. K. S. folio, Reedijk concludes, "left the press after the copy of *Ecclesiastes* which is in the Rotterdam City Library." Reedijk offers a description that is far more detailed than I can hope to present here.[3] M. M. Phillips has discussed the manuscript for the light that it throws on Erasmus's method of work on the final stages of the *Adages*.[4]

Apart from the letters, which date from 1527 to 1536, the contents of G. K. S. 95 fol., as Allen and Reedijk have made clear, originate from the years 1528–29 to 1536. But what is especially interesting is that it appears to be the case that no part of the manuscript (except for one letter) was ever used for printing:[5] the respective printed editions of the works in this manuscript volume were all based on subsequent versions.

There are short annotations in the hand of a secretary, whom Reedijk has identified as Gilbertus Cognatus, Erasmus's secretary from c. 1530 to the autumn of 1535.[6]

Gl. Kgl. Saml. 96 fol. Here there are strong indications—relationship of the texts contained, physical aspects, the manner in which they have been assembled—"to suggest that they have at least been together for a considerable part of their existence" (Reedijk, 335).

The manuscript is an autograph throughout, mostly in a hurried style at best and often degenerating into scrawls that are nearly indecipherable. There are, however, additions in a more careful hand. An interesting feature is the number of reference marks drawn by Erasmus himself that are often whimsical and amusing: flowers, dice, caricatures, and the like (Reedijk, 336). The contents are fully described by Reedijk (337–39). *Hyperaspistes*, *Diuinationes* and *Manifesta mendacia* are contained in this manuscript.[7]

Thottske Saml. 73 Fol. This codex still has a sixteenth-century binding, and inside the front cover there are a few lines which Reedijk has identified as written by Nicholas Episcopius (c. 1501–1564), one of the three executors of Erasmus's will.[8] Again the contents are carefully described in detail by

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[3] Reedijk, 331ff. Reedijk also offers several possible lines of interpretation.

[4] M. M. Phillips, *The 'Adages' of Erasmus* (Cambridge, 1964), 148–52.

[5] Phillips, 150; and Reedijk, 346.

[6] Reedijk, 334; see also *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register* . . . , ed. P. Bietenholz (Toronto, 1985–87), 1:350–52.

[7] This last is the draft for an unidentified apologetic work, now discussed by Dr. Erika Rummel in her paper.

[8] On Episcopius as an executor, see Allen 9:364, and *Contemporaries* 1:438. The wills of

Reedijk (340–45). Beginning with a copy of Erasmus's last will, the volume contains notes on Hilary, parts of the Paraphrases, part of the colloquy "Convivium Religiosum," other letters and fragments, of various periods. Again, the MS versions "all precede the *editiones principes*, but these must all have been based on subsequent versions, probably fair copies taken from our MS texts by a secretary, in which Erasmus must have made his final correction" (346).

What now can be said of the provenance of the three codices? Allen had thought that the items in G. K. S. 95 fol. were "brought together almost haphazard by someone desirous of gathering and yet hardly heeding what he gathered" (Allen 3:632). But the Thott codex was demonstrably in the possession of Episcopius: "For there can be little doubt that it was he who, after Erasmus' death, kept for himself and his wife part of Erasmus's drafts and, not heeding their disorder, had them solidly and rather expensively bound together with his own copy of the last will. Can the other two volumes have belonged to Bonifacius Amerbach and Hieronymus Froben, the other executors of the last will? Possibly. . . ." (Reedijk, 348).

But the later history of the three volumes—from 1536 until their appearance in the Royal Library of Copenhagen—rests a mystery, Reedijk concludes. Two volumes seem to have arrived in Copenhagen at about the same time (between 1663 and 1670); perhaps these two (possibly once in the possession of Amerbach and Froben) surfaced in the European bookmarkets at about the same time. The Thott codex came to the Royal Library after the count's death in 1785; perhaps that had come on the market after the other two. That they came together to Denmark is yet another possibility.

To these remarks (which owe so much to Allen and Reedijk) one can add a few reflections. As can be seen from the illustrations in Reedijk's article and in Phillip's book, the difficulty of the hand can hardly be exaggerated. Adjectives like *fluid* and *hurried* do not fully evaluate the difficulties:

> In many places Erasmus's writing degenerates into strongly horizontal scrawls so that sometimes only the ascenders and descenders offer a clue for deciphering. (Reedijk, 335)

Erasmus counted on the skill of his secretaries in deciphering his drafts; but some of the scripts may well have been for his eyes only. The earlier hand of Erasmus was quite attractive—see MS. Gouda 1323 (Epistle 27A of 1489), probably in Erasmus's hand, and reproduced in Allen 1:117—and one might well believe that Erasmus had been a copyist in the monastery at Steyn. Even earlier, during Erasmus's schooling at the hands of masters who were Brethren of the Common Life, he would surely have learned a good hand; for the Brethren, as Obbema has argued, were interested in the developments of script. But certainly at Steyn under the influence of the Windeshei-

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Erasmus are discussed in *Erasmus of Europe*, vol. 2—*The Prince of Humanists*, Appendix D.

mers, who stressed work as part of their spiritual development, and where the dominant work was the copying of the manuscripts—notably of Bibles. We have the example of Thomas à Kempis, who is known to have copied at least two 10-volume Bibles, plus others, many others. Given a young Erasmus who was trained in copying manuscripts (a point to which I shall return), what we find in the Copenhagen codices, I would put it, is not so much a degeneration of handwriting as the evolving of a rapid script that he and his secretaries could read; fair copies would then be made for the printer.[9]

Erasmus as scriptor. In classical Latin a *scriptor* was a scribe or secretary, as well as an author or writer. Erasmus had been a secretary, we know: secretary to the bishop of Cambrai for three years, where a fine hand would have been expected.[10] Before that, it is reasonable to conclude, he had been a scribe in the monastery, for the Augustinian house at Steyn where Erasmus had been a monk for about seven years was a house of the Augustinian canons regular and had strong ties with the Windesheim community of canons. It is difficult to imagine that during these years Erasmus—too frail for manual labor—would not have been trained to work with books and to copy manuscripts, for this was their communal dedication. As a young man, surely, Erasmus possessed a fine hand.

An aspect of the Copenhagen manuscripts on which I am not competent to judge is Erasmus's interest in and proficiency at drawing, for one finds flowers, and other designs. We recall that Erasmus was interested in art when he was at Steyn; and that at Cambrai and Bruges at the end of the fifteenth century there was a flowering of Burgundian art: he would have encountered much artistic activity. In this context his commissioning of the double portrait of himself and Peter Gilles by Quentin Metsys in 1516–1517 is notable.

One does not have to feel apologetic in feeling strong emotion in a first examining of these codices.[11]

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[9] This paragraph draws from the inaugural lecture of P. J. Obbema at Nijmegen, and also from the chapter in *Erasmus Grandescens* (1988), 49–88, dealing with monastic life at Steyn.

[10] See *Erasmus of Europe,* vol. 1—*The Making of a Humanist,* ch. 7.

[11] "Wo Enthusiasmus fehlt, ist nichts zu machen," Boeck observed in a somewhat different context (E. Boeckh, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften,* ed. E. Bratuscheck [1886], 184). But despite the difference in contexts the observation stands: without the enthusiasm, something would be lacking and there would not be the assistance of the flash of intuitive feeling which is at the heart of most, if not all, textual emendation and even of much interpretation. (See E. J. Kenney, *Classical Text,* 147, on this general point.) If one does not feel a flash of enthusiasm, there is no point to being a textual scholar—and to be a textual scholar is at the heart of the classical tradition from Poliziano to Erasmus, and beyond.

Reflections

There are three codices, and there are at least three contexts behind them; and they flow together in the assembling of the codices and in their still mysterious movement from Basel to Copenhagen. (It must be remarked that Allen seems to have been familiar with only one, G. K. S. 95 fol., which in 1907 was put on deposit for him to examine in England for an extended period.)

There is what might be called the archeology of the study of MSS: the making of the text, which includes the scribe at work and his tools, the paper or parchment on which he worked, and the working conditions; these factors varied greatly during Erasmus's earlier years, but at Freiburg they remained fairly constant.[12] Codicology then examines the procedures of gathering and binding. Some eighty years after Gutenberg these MSS were "made," preserved, and gathered together.[13] There is an appropriateness in their coming together in Copenhagen—even though later—for in sixteenth-century Denmark many parish priests had Erasmus in their own (or parish) libraries.[14]

Even prior to our turning to the archeology of the manuscripts, there is their value for understanding Erasmus at work. Schooled in the manuscript age, Erasmus's schooling emphasized the oral; in that age most books (MS books) were possessed only by the teacher. For the implications of a manuscript culture we can draw upon H. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print*, now further developed by Lefevre and Martin, *L'Apparition du Livre*. So schooled, Erasmus became a master of the printed book: a *text-master*.[15]

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[12] Erasmus's life at Freiburg from 1529 to 1535, and the work of his secretaries, is discussed in chapter 42 of *The Prince of Humanists*.

[13] By virtue of two men's serving as executors for, Erasmus, the Copenhagen MSS connect Beatus Rhenanus and Boniface Amerbach—Sélestat and Basle—two men united in their devotion to their friend of many years, Erasmus of Rotterdam, whom the one served as editor and the other as publisher, but both as friend. A third from Basle was Nicholas Episcopius (1501–1564), who corresponded with Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus and married into the Froben family (see *Contemporaries*).

[14] Prof. Erik Dal has kindly called my attention to the *Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie*, ved. Holger Fr. Rørdam (Copenhagen, 1874–77), which testifies to the omnipresence of Erasmus: the works of Erasmus that recur in the libraries of the clergy are the *Novum Testamentum, Biblia Graeca cum Annotationibus Erasmi*, the *Paraphrases*, the *Enchiridion*, the *Methodus Theologiae, Expositio Erasmi in precationem dominicam, Modus confidendi, Compendeium theol. Erasmi, De immensa Dei misericordia*, and occasionally the *Colloquia*. Did this reception have anything to do with a Danish collecting of Erasmus manuscripts (very likely on the continent?) Hard to say—one would have to look as well to non-religious collections. But it is clear that Erasmus was well-known in Denmark, and his works were obviously put to use. Danish scholars abroad would have had these native interests reinforced, and the acquisition of codices like these three (perhaps all three bought on the open market in the great book-selling centers of the Low Countries) would have been an exciting event.

[15] The term does not appear in the *O. E. D.*, but it was used by Waterhouse in the seventeenth century, as I have noted in *N&Q*.

Studying only G. K. S. 95 fol., the late Margaret Mann Phillips emphasizes how a close examination can give us some idea of Erasmus at work on the final stages of the *Adagia*. What we have in G. K. S. 95 fol. does not represent the full text of the 1533 *Adages*, for Erasmus sketched the new adages to be published in 1533, often providing only

> the first part of the comment, consisting of a factual description of the proverb and its pedigree in reference and quotation. At a later stage—probably when preparing a more carefully written copy for the printers—Erasmus added more detailed references, and sometimes a personal opinion or a contemporary use or extension of the proverb. . . .[16]

We have in these working-papers of the prince of humanists a witness to his working—sometimes furiously—to keep up the copy-flow to the printer. He had secretaries to assist him, to be sure, and at times he worked by dictation; but all was not dictation. There is the actual hand of Erasmus in these pages, and it can be seen that he worked at several stages.

With contemporary interest in reception-theory, many will want to know about audience, and about Erasmus's consciousness of his audience. The audience of Erasmus was both scholarly and popular, both lay and cleric—to the extent that Latin can be said to have been popular and there was a mounting tide of translations. The scholarly side is easy to identify: there were the clerics in universities and monasteries, as well as many a bishop and parish priest. There were university students also, some of whom wrote Erasmus themselves. And there were the courtiers—again, there were clerics as well as laity in the retinues of the European courts—and for them the newest Erasmus book was coffee-table stuff, and his latest Colloquy or Adage or letter was cocktail-party conversation. Among his readers were learned ladies: even while still in the monastery Erasmus knew a number of Dutch ladies of some learning, as his early letters show; and there were merchants and bankers, lawyers and a customs official. Lawyers collected books more than any other lay group in the sixteenth century, and they read Erasmus with great interest: on the sweetness of war (for those who do not fight), and on equity (where Erasmus was a seminal influence).[17] They all read him, and Erasmus had a fine sense of their waiting for his next book, to the extent that in one of his prefaces he wrote: "So you already have a copy of an earlier edition? But wouldn't you rather buy a copy of

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[16] Phillips, *The 'Adages,'* 150. To the studies of Allen and Phillips must be added the indication that an annotated copy of the 1523 *Adagia* appeared at auction in November 1990 (Sotheby's). This copy has yet to be studied in full; but it is clearly of major importance for the scholarly study of the *Adagia*—and Erasmus's habits of work and composition.

[17] Erasmus was a major influence in the Basle school of jurisprudence: see R. J. Schoeck, "Humanism and Jurisprudence," in *Renaissance Humanism*, ed. A. Rabil, Jr. (Philadelphia, 1988), 3:310–26.

this new one than miss out on what is added, or have to copy the new into your old copy?"

Conclusion

There is no excitement for the scholar that is comparable to that of viewing, in fact of holding in his hand, the veritable working-script of the author whose texts he is studying. For us today—I speak for all students of the humanities and all interested in the Renaissance, but *a fortiori* and at this moment for all those precious few who love Neo-Latin thought and letters, so much of which is dominated by the figure and model of Erasmus—these manuscripts have a unique value. There is the familiar reality, the *vraisemblance*, of Erasmus at work as we have so often looked at the picturing by Metsys, Holbein and Dürer, where we can perceive the total dedication of the life of the mind. That is there, to be sure; but here we also have the reality of the text, of that fascinating process by which the work is transformed into the text.[18] With that actuality comes a special kind of authority.

Even so, we cannot compare the authority or authenticity of Erasmus's writings generally with those, let us say, of a medieval master of theology, for the role of that medieval writer and teacher was encapsulated in a well-understood university system of reading and lecturing to which the text contributed but from which it also derived its unique authority.[19] Functioning altogether outside the university system of his day, the writings of Erasmus could not be endowed with like authority: when he controverted with the theologians of the universities of Paris and Louvain *they* had that kind of special authority which he did not have. He did not, and not being a university master (after he left Cambridge) he could not have such institutionalized authority. But what Erasmus had created, virtually *ex nihilo*—out of nothing except the new energies and excitement of the printing presses, and with nothing except the growing personal authority he had created

[18] See "From Work to Text," in *Intertextuality and Renaissance Texts* (Bamberg, 1988), where I argue from Work to Text: "from the execution by the artist of his design to that which realizes the design and transmits it to a reader" (28).

[19] The medieval sense of authority of which I speak was laid down by Evrard of Bethune in the thirteenth century: "Auctor ab augendo nomen trahit. . . ." See M.-D. Chenu, *Toward Understanding St. Thomas* (Chicago, 1964), 129. *Auctoritas* was conceived as "that quality in a person by virtue of which he was thought worthy of credit or credence," and it came to be transposed from the person to the writing, and by metonymy "the text itself was directly called an *auctoritas*" (131). Anyone who had been a student of the universities of Europe before 1520 was familiar with this sense of authority. With printing even the documentation changed: now universal footnotes were possible and everywhere accessible, and this contributed to a shift in the sense of auctoritas.

through his own creative endeavors and the force of his flood of books—was the *cachet* of Erasmus.[20]

Yet he had loyal secretaries like Cousin—Gilbert Cousin of Nozeroy, who remembered Erasmus "with glowing veneration" (Epistles 3068, 3080)—and devoted disciples like Beatus Rhenanus, who was one of his literary executors; and while they could not endow the writings of Erasmus with the authority of the schools (and the personal authority of Erasmus was being challenged by both Reformation and Counter-Reformation) they could insure the preservation of those manuscripts which were left on his desk at the time of his death. One must surely consider, at least in part, the division of the desk-papers into three codices in the light of this attitude towards the writer and his work. The executors did not want his papers to be scattered, like the thin leaves of the Sibyl (Dante, *Para.* 23, 65–66). And let us bear in mind also that Erasmus himself did not live to see the *Opera omnia* he wished for made into "one volume bound by love":[21] that task was left to Beatus Rhenanus and others, who worked from the published texts primarily, though there was some consultation of notes left by Erasmus.

We readers of Erasmus today are doubly lucky. We have the one line of Erasmian heritage, the *Opera omnia* of 1540 and the Leiden edition of 1703–1706 by Leclerc, and now the twentieth-century editions of the Latin text (*ASD*) proceeding in Amsterdam, and of the Collected Works of Erasmus in English (*CWE*), the Toronto edition, proceeding in parallel, as it were. But we also have this unique bequeathal of the Copenhagen codices that affords us an intimate and privileged view of *Erasmus scribendus*.

Lawrence, Kansas

[20] *Cachet* is here used not so much in the older diplomatic sense of a seal on a letter or document (though that sense was not lost in the sixteenth century); rather, in the sense of a quality, or mark, of distinction or authenticity. In this sense the formal *cursus* of chancellory correspondence carried its cachet of authenticity.

[21] See Cornelis Reedijk, " 'Tandem Bona Causa Triumphat': Zur Geschichte des Gesamtwerkes des Erasmus von Rotterdam," *Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel* 16 (Basel, 1980).

Erasmus in der höheren Schule

FRANZ WACHINGER

Um mit dem Titel des Referates keine Mißverständnisse aufkommen zu lassen, ist eine Präzisierung bzw. Einschränkung nötig:

1. Keinesfalls sehe ich die Schriften des Erasmus als Möglichkeit einer Anfangslektüre.[1] Ich glaube nicht an das Schlagwort "Caesar oder Erasmus,"[2] da ich diese Dinge als Schulpraktiker betrachte und auf Grund meiner langjährigen Erfahrung auf diesem Gebiet eine solche Alternative aus zwei Gründen nicht als glücklich empfinden kann:

Zum einen, weil die Anfangslektüre, wenigstens, was die Verhältnisse in Bayern betrifft, zwangsläufig eine klassische Lektüre ist, da zunächst ein Autor gelesen werden muß, auf den die Regelgrammatik zutrifft, Erasmus aber bei aller Orientierung an der Antike doch gerade als seine Eigenart und seinen Vorteil die ganze ihm bekannte antike Literatur miteinbezieht und zudem ein freieres Latein bietet. Das würde m. E. einen Anfänger, der mit Regeln beginnen muß, verunsichern.

Zum anderen, weil die Gedanken und Intentionen des Erasmus für Zehnjährige, die mit Latein als 1. Fremdsprache beginnen, und auch für Dreizehnjährige, die Latein als 2. Fremdsprache haben, noch zu früh sind. Es ist schon schlimm genug, daß Caesar "mißbraucht" wird und m. E. auch werden muß.[3] Erasmus sollte dieses Schicksal nicht teilen.

Erasmus gehört wegen seiner freieren Latinität und auf Grund seiner wichtigen Gedanken in die Oberstufe, wäre also frühestens in der 10.

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[1] Evtl. mit Ausnahme der "Familiarium colloquiorum formulae"; s. Lore Wirth-Poelchau, "Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten im heutigen Lateinunterricht," *Altsprachlicher Unterricht* 29 (1986): 75–82.

[2] Manfred Fuhrmann, "Caesar oder Erasmus," *Gymnasium* 81 (1974): 394–407.

[3] Nach einem Wort von Karl Bayer müßte man Caesar als Autor für die Anfangslektüre erfinden, wenn es ihn nicht gäbe. —Für Moralisten könnte die Überlegung tröstlich sein, daß Caesar so vielleicht viel von dem abbüßen kann, was er zu Lebzeiten als Politiker getan hat.

Klasse einzusetzen, am besten in der 11. bis 13. Klasse, also bei Schülern, die 16 bis 18 Jahre alt sind.

2. Keineswegs, so meine ich wie Frings,[4] sollte aber Erasmus an Stelle der antiken Schrifsteller gelesen werden, also sie verdrängen. Man würde dadurch der antiken Literatur die Basis, ohne die eine Rezeption nicht möglich war, entziehen. Er sollte aber seinen Platz im Kanon der lateinischen Schriftsteller neben den antiken Schriftstellern haben als wichtigster Vertreter des Renaissance-Humanismus, nicht nur als Ergänzung, als sog. Additum, sondern als gleichberechtigter Autor, gleichsam als "collega postumus."

Ich bin davon überzeugt, daß die Formel "Lateinische Literatur, nicht nur römische Literatur," "Latinität statt Römertum," heißen sollte, wie es Manfred Fuhrmann und Heinrich Krefeld[5] schon vor vielen Jahren formulierten, also *Latinitas statt Romanitas*,—was übrigens ganz im Sinne des Erasmus wäre, der die moderne Beschränkung auf die sog. Klassik nicht verstanden hätte. Ein wichtiger Punkt, auf den hingewiesen zu haben, das Verdienst von Hermann Wiegand ist, betrifft das Problem der Sequenzierung. Es ist wenig sinnvoll, alle möglichen Vorschläge für die Anfangslektüre zu machen, wenn man nicht in Rechnung stellt, wie es weitergehen soll. Schließlich sollte die erste Lektüre die folgenden Schriftsteller vorbereiten. Und Caesar ist nun einmal unter den mir bekannten bis jetzt vorgeschlagenen Möglichkeiten die beste Vorbereitung für Cicero, Sallust et sequentes.

Warum aber Erasmus in Gymnasium?[6]

1. Sein literarischer Wert

Latein ist nicht auf die Antike beschränkt, sondern erlebt einen zweiten Hönepunkt im Mittelalter und einen dritten im sog. Renaissance-Humanismus. Damals wurden Werke geschrieben, die sich nach Form und Inhalt mit den Werken der Romanitas messen können. Es sind dies in den besten Ergebnissen Werke, die nicht nur ein Produkt der "imitatio," sondern der erfolgreichen "aemulatio" darstellen. Erasmus ist formal und inhaltlich einer der wichtigsten, wenn nicht der wichtigste Schriftsteller dieser Epoche. Er ist ein Musterbeispiel für geglückte Rezeption der Antike, aus der

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[4] Udo Frings, "Neulateinische Literatur im Lateinunterricht," *Altsprachlicher Unterricht* 27 (1984): 5.

[5] Manfred Fuhrmann in *Wie klassisch ist die Antike? Eine Disputation zwischen Manfred Fuhrmann und Hermann Tränkle über die gegenwärtige Lage der Klassischen Philologie* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1970); Heinrich Krefeld, *Impulse für die lat. Lektüre* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), 6; s. auch Peter L. Schmidt, "Die Humanistenzeit in der Schullektüre am Beispiel von Petrarca," *Gymnasium* 88 (1981): 358.

[6] Ich habe darüber bereits in Kurzform referiert: "Erasmus v. Rotterdam und der Curriculare Lehrplan für Latein in der Kollegstufe," *Anregung* 29 (1983): 44–46.

eine Neuschöpfung entstehen kann.[7] Er hat meisterhafte Werke geschrieben, die zur sog. Weltliteratur zu zählen sind, wenn dies auch in der letzten Zeit nicht unbedingt allgemein so empfunden wurde. Die Jugend hat ein Recht darauf, diese Meisterwerke in der Originalsprache kennen zu lernen. Schon deshalb muß Erasmus einen Platz in der Schule haben.

2. Wichtiger Inhalt

Die Werke des Erasmus bieten auch einen bedeutenden Inhalt. Er ist eine wichtige Quelle und Dokumentation für seine Zeit, die Zeit des gewaltigen Umbruchs vom Mittelalter in die sog. Neuzeit. Schließlich ist im 16. Jahrhundert fast alles, was die Menschen bewegte, in lat. Sprache geschrieben worden. Und Erasmus setzt sich mit allen Ideen und Streitfragen in Politik, Kultur, Theologie—zugegeben weniger mit den gesellschaftlichen Fragen—auseinander. Da damals das Weltverständnis der Neuzeit, also unser Weltverständnis mit der zentralen Stellung des Individuums und seiner rational bedingten Leistung im Diesseits, der beginnenden Pluralität nicht nur in religiöser Hinsicht, in den wesentlichen Zügen begründet wurde, kann ein gründlicher Einstieg in diese Probleme nur über ihn und seine Schriftstellerkollegen erfolgen—auch für die Schüler in der höheren Schule. Die Werke des Erasmus haben also eine exemplarischen Eigenwert als Zeitdokumente, sie sind epochenspezifisch wichtig. Es ist m. E. ein Nachteil der heutigen deutschen höheren Schule, daß sie in den Lehrplänen versucht, multa, nicht multum zu bieten, als zwar sehr viel an Wissen und Einzelheiten vermittelt, aber damit auch nicht mehr am Exemplarischen gründlich arbeiten kann. Die Renaissance ist eine der Epochen, die exemplarisch sind und unbedingt genauer betrachtet werden sollten. Hier gibt es z. B. die reale Chance, durch die nun als wichtig erkannte Koordination verschiedener Fächer[8] wie Latein, Deutsch, Geschichte, Religion und Kunst eine prägende Epoche in ihrer Eigenart zu vermitteln.

3. Appellwert

Für einen Schulmann wie mich erschöpft sich aber damit noch lange nicht der Wert der Erasmischen Werke für die Schule. Sein "Appellwert," wie der moderne Ausdruck heißt,[9] ist vielfältig zu belegen.

a) Erasmus war ein überzeugter Pädagoge.[10] Er strebte stets danach, die

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[7] Jürgen Blusch, "Humanistiche Lektüre im altsprachlichen Unterricht am Beispiel der Laus Stultitiae des Erasmus," *Anregung* 31 (1985): 293.

[8] Vgl. "den neuen Lehrplan für das bayerische Gymnasium," *Amtsblatt*, Sondernummer 3 (München 5. Sept. 1990).

[9] Joachim Gruber, *Europäische Literatur in lateinischer Sprache* (Bamberg, 1987; = Auxilia 16), 5f., A. 1.

[10] Vgl. Anton J. Gail, *Erasmus* (Reinbek, 1974; = rororo-Bildmonographie 214, 118–24).

jungen Leute, ja alle Zeitgenossen zu erziehen. *Civilitas* und *humanitas* sind sein Ziel. In seiner "Querela pacis"[11] schreibt er:

> Insita sunt communiter disciplinarum ac virtutum semina, ingenium mite placidumque et ad mutuam benevolentiam propensum, ut per se iuvet amari et iucundum sit de aliis vel gratis bene mereri, nisi quis pravis cupiditatibus ceu Circes pharmacis corruptus ex homine degenerarit in beluam.

In der "Declamatio de pueris instituendis" schreibt er: "homines, mihi crede, non nascuntur, sed finguutur" Aber Erasmus erzieht nicht mit dem erhobenen Zeigefinger des Oberlehrers, was ja in den seltensten Fällen Erfolg verspricht, sondern als wahrer Vertreter der antiken "humanitas," deren Kennzeichen es ist, wie Friedrich Klingner[12] hervorhob, lächelnd und mit Nachsicht darauf hinzuweisen, daß wir alle Menschen mit Fehlern sind.

Da Erasmus als hochbegabter Pädagoge geschrieben hat, wirkt er auch heute noch als solcher; das sollte man in der Schule nützen.

b) Erasmus sah die Chance zu einer "res publica literaria" in Europa[13] und hat damit den *Europagedanken* in einer geistigen Weise vorausgenommen. Er will Weltbürger sein, und hat deshalb kein Verständnis für engen Nationalismus; möglichst viele wollte er in ganz Europa mit seinen Schriften erreichen.

In seinen Schriften wird dem Schüler klar gemacht, daß die Antike die Grundlage dieses geistigen Europa ist, daß Latein Europa kontinuierlich vom Altertum über das Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit geprägt hat.

c) Weiter forderte Erasmus die *Rückkehr zu einem einfachen, überzeugenden Christentum*,[14] das nicht eingeschränkt ist durch Konfessionen oder die sog. Amtskirche, die sich mitunter hinderlich erweisen kann. Deshalb erhebt sich Erasmus gegen das versteckte Heidentum, den Aberglauben, die übermäßige Heiligenverehrung. Gott ist für ihn der gütige Vater, der gnädige, nicht der rächende, strafende Gott. In diesem Punkt trifft er sich mit Luther.

d) Für das Allerwichtigste aber halte ich persönlich den *Friedenswillen, den Toleranzgedanken des Erasmus*, seine Stellungnahme gegen jeden einseitigen Fanatismus, oder wie Waszink es audrückte, seinen "Anstand, seine Verträglichkeit."[15] Er wollte den Ausgleich zwischen den Konfessionen. Er vertrat eine ökumenische Haltung, die gerade heute wieder diskutiert wird. Nach Kolakowski[16] geht zumindest unbewußt diese Bestrebung auf Eras-

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[11] Abgedruckt in *Erasmus von Rotterdam, Ausgewählte Schriften*, hrsg. v. Werner Welzig (Stuttgart, 1968), 5:366.

[12] Friedrich Klingner, *Humanität und humanitas*, zuerst, 1947, abgedruckt in *Römische Geisteswelt*, ab 3. (Auflage, 1956).

[13] August Buck, *Erasmus und Europa* (Wiesbaden, 1988).

[14] Vgl. Cornelis Augustijn, *Erasmus von Rotterdam* (München, 1986), 170.

[15] J. H. Waszink, "Die Bedeutung des Erasmus für die klassische Bildung," *Gymnasium* 84 (1977): 198.

[16] Leszek Kolakowski, "Erasmus und sein Gott," in *Geist und Ungeist christlicher Traditionen* (Stuttgart, 1978; = Urban TB, T—Reihe 638), 45.

mus zurück, der neben dem Katholizismus und Luthers Kirche eine dritte Kraft sein wollte, mit seinem Glauben an das Gute im Menschen und die Gnade Gottes.

Sein Friedenswille erstreckt sich jedoch über den religiösen Bereich hinaus auf den politischen. Das hat ihm Anfeindungen zu seiner Zeit und bis heute eingetragen, weil man ihn nicht verstand oder verstehen wollte. Diese Friedensbereitschaft aber ist zu allen Zeiten vonnöten, heute vielleicht ganz besonders. Toleranz ist nicht nur, meine ich, eine "kleine Tugend," wie Fetscher[17] sie nennt, sondern eine der wichtigsten überhaupt. Wenn sich, wie der Didaktiker Friedrich Maier betonte,[18] bei der Jugend heute wieder eine Sehnsucht nach Maßstäben und Werten feststellen läßt, wenn zum anderen unter den virtutes der Toleranzgedanke in der Antike weitgehend fehlt, dann muß Erasmus in der Schule gelesen werden. Wer sonst?

Ich möchte noch einige Punkte mehr affektiver Natur anschliessen, die Erasmus für die Schule als gut geeignet ausweisen. Mit seinem Witz und Charme und optimistischen Schwung[19] bietet Erasmus eine relativ kurzweilige Lektüre. Er wird von den Schülern der Oberstufe nach meinen Erfahrungen gerne gelesen, lieber als andere Schriftsteller, vielleicht mit Ausnahme von Catull. Und ist das nicht für den Lateinunterricht ein Vorteil, der nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden kann? Eine solche Lektüre wünschen sich doch alle Lehrer, die Latein vermitteln wollen.

Erasmus hat auch nicht nur Theorien über Frieden und Toleranz entwickelt, er hat danach gelebt. Seine doctrina und vita, Leben und Theorie decken sich in glücklicher Weise. Gerade das wirkt auf die Jugend überzeugend; man denke nur an die Schwierigkeiten, die sich ergeben, wenn man Theorie und Leben eines Sallust auf einen Nenner bringen will.

Man kann durch die Lektüre des Erasmus v. a. zeigen, daß gerade das, was bis heute oft als Schwäche des Erasmus ausgelegt wird, nämlich daß er sich nicht für eine Partei entschied, seine Stärke ist.[20] Zu Recht hieß sein Wahlspruch: "Concedo nulli." Einen ganz anders gearteten weiteren Punkt möchte ich zum Abschluß dieser Überlegungen bringen, weshalb m. E. Erasmus für die Schule wichtig sein kann,: Wie allgemein bekannt ist, gibt es seit einigen Jahren die, v. a. von dem Münchner Latinisten Wilfried Stroh in selbstloser Weise propagierte Bestrebung, Latein nicht als tote Literatursprache zu betrachten, sondern durch Sprechen wieder zum Leben zum erwecken.[21] Viele, die Wilfried Stroh gehört haben, sind, wie ich, davon überzeugt worden, daß Latein seine "dulcedo" und damit seine

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[17] Iring Fetscher, "Toleranz—Notwendige Erinnerung an eine 'Kleine Tugend,'" *Universitas* 7 (1991): 616–27.

[18] Friedrich Maier, "Sprach—und kulturhistorische Fächer ohne Zukunftschance?," *Anregung* 28 (1982): 143–64.

[19] Vgl. U. Frings, (A. 4), 12.

[20] s. J. Blusch, (A. 7), 308.

[21] Von mancher Seite allerdings mit einiger Skepsis aufgenommen, vgl. z. B. J. Gruber, (A. 3), 103, A. 284.

"dignitas" erst wieder voll erhält, wenn es auch gesprochen wird. Wenn man aber davon überzeugt ist, muß man natürlich auch in der Schule Latein sprechen;[22] und dann ist gerade Erasmus mit seinen Schülergesprächen eines der möglichen Vorbilder, weil deren ursprüngliche Absicht es war, das Sprechen der Lateinischen Sprache einzuüben.

Welche Texte des Erasmus eignen sich nun aber besonders für die Schule? Es gibt viele, die als Beispiele für das Angeführte gelten können, etwa Partien aus dem "Encomion Morias," den Briefen,[23] Abschnitte aus der "Querela Pacis" und der "Institutio principis Christiani."

Vorschläge für die Schullektüre sind z. B. für das "Encomion Morias" bereits gemacht und vorgestellt worden. Blusch[24] hat das Werk für die Schule hervorragend analysiert und im Anschluß an frühere Forschungen die drei Teile und Ebenen der "Stultitia" herausgestellt: der erste Teil wende sich gegen die übertriebene Idealvorstellung der Stoa von dem Sapiens und spreche für den echten Menschen, der nicht nur von der ratio gelenkt werde. Teil 2 wende sich gegen den Ungeist der Zeit, gegen verkommene Theologen und andere Stände. Teil 3 zeige die "Torheit" des christlichen Glaubens, das Ideal des Erasmus, die "docta pietas."

Das läßt sich in jeder Hinsicht für die Schule gut nutzen, gerade als Kontrast zur Behandlung der stoischen Philosophie, als Beleg der echten Humanitas des Erasmus und seines überzeugten Christentums. Aber man wird in der Schule, jedenfalls bei den jetzigen Lehrplänen, nicht die Schrift als ganzes lesen können. Die Vorstellungen von Blusch, der sich an einem Vorschlag von Fuhrmann (2/3 antike Texte, 1/3 wirkungsgeschichtliche Texte) orientiert,[25] sind utopisch.

Wenn man die Lehrpläne betrachtet, so ist momentan wenig Platz für die Wirkungsgeschichte, meist nur in der Form des Additums, vorgesehen.[26] Und ein Additum wird meist auch wirklich eben als Additum behandelt: Es wird nur dann herangezogen, wenn noch Zeit ist, oder ganz übergangen. Daran wird sich auch durch Revisionen der Lehrpläne wenig ändern. Das wird hoffentlich anders werden; sicher aber ist eine Änderung nicht in so optimistischer Weise, wie Fuhrmann dies wünscht, zu erwarten. Vielleicht bietet die oben angesprochene Koordination der Fächer eine echte Chance.[27]

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[22] Nebenbei bemerkt hätte dies auch den Vorteil, den moderne Sprachen nützen, daß sich bestimmte Wendungen automatisch einprägen. Zu einzelnen Aspekten s. Andreas Fritsch, *Lateinsprechen im Unterricht*, (Bamberg, 1990; = Auxilia 22).

[23] Ich habe für meine geplante ratio—Schulausgabe humanistischer Literatur die Aufnahme einiger Briefe vorgesehen, darunter den Brief an den Abt Anton von Bergen über den Wahnsinn des Krieges.

[24] s. J. Blusch (A. 7), 287–311.

[25] s. J. Blusch, (A. 7), 289.

[26] Als Beispiel für den geringen Stellenwert, der Erasmus zugebilligt wird, können die bayer. Lehrpläne dienen. Seine Schriften erscheinen bestenfalls als Alternative oder Additum.

[27] Man kann Schüler auch auf einem weiteren Wege mit hum. Texten konfrontieren,

Andererseits habe ich selbst immer durch Einsparungen bei der Lektüre antiker Schriftsteller Zeit und Raum für Erasmus gefunden. Lehrpläne kommen und gehen, sie ändern sich auch dann und wann, wie die Erfahrung zeigt, sind also keine ewigen Gesetze. Ich meine, jeder Lehrer sollte den Mut haben, neben der Berücksichtigung des Lehrplans das zu lesen, wovon er Innersten überzeugt ist. Dann ist auch der pädagogische Erfolg gegeben, und für Latein insgesamt ist etwas getan worden. Da dies aber in der Regel nur ein Lehrer mit langjähriger Erfahrung wagen wird, ist wünschenswert, daß Erasmus und andere Humanisten fest im Lehrplan installiert werden.

Man kann jedenfalls in der höheren Schule auf der Oberstufe nur eine Auswahl lesen, aber man sollte m. E. das jeweilige Werk, wie das Encomion als Ganzschrift vorstellen durch Schülerreferate oder Zusammenfassung von Seiten des Lehrers. Es muß den Schülern klar werden, daß es sich hier um ein Stück der wichtigsten Literatur überhaupt handelt.

Einzelne Teile sind gut besonders geeignet, die oben angesprochene "humanitas" des Erasmus zu verdeutlichen, v. a. die Passage über die grammatici,[28] also damals die Lehrer an Hochschule und Schule, kurz die Philologen. Sie sind, so sagt die Dame Stultitia, in einer ganz erbärmlichen Lage, aber durch ihr, der Stultitia Verdienst halten sie sich für die wichtigsten Leute: "meo beneficio fit, ut sibi primi mortalium esse videantur." Es werden dann die Schwächen dieser Berufgruppe aufgezählt, ihre übertriebene Eitelkeit, wenn sie z. B. ein seltenes Wort gefunden haben, oder sich für eine Reinkarnation antiker Dichter halten. Wie entrüsten sie sich, wenn sie einen Kollegen bei einem Lapsus ertappt haben! "At nihil omnium suavius, quam cum ipsi inter sese mutua talione laudant ac mirantur vicissimque scabunt. . . ." Mit liebevollem Spott zeigt Erasmus, der bedeutendste Philologe seiner Zeit, die Schwächen seines eigenen Berufsstandes. "Vom sanften Wahnsinn der Philologen" hat Gerhard Fink[29] kongenial dieses Kapitel überschrieben.

Gut geeignet, um die Friedensliebe des Erasmus zu zeigen, ist natürlich die "Querela Pacis." Hier liegt eine unterrichtliche Aufbereitung schon aus dem Jahr 1971 von Oppel[30] vor. Er hat gezeigt, daß Erasmus trotz der Ergebnisse der modernen Verhaltensforschung als "Friedenswilliger" auch heute noch einen wichtigen Beitrag zu leisten hat. Aber auch hier gilt, was oben gesagt wurde, das Prinzip der Auswahl, auch deshalb, weil im Gegen-

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durch die Facharbeit auf diesem Gebiete. Ich praktiziere dies seit vielen Jahren. Vgl. auch J. Gruber, (A. 9), 104, A. 293.

[28] C.49; abgedruckt bei W. Welzig (Stuttgart, 1955), 2:116–20.

[29] *Sal et acetum* (Donauwörth, 1981), 109.

[30] Eberhard Oppel, "Pazifismus und Friedensicherung. Gedanken zur Lektüre der 'Querela Pacis' des Erasmus v. R. in einer 11. Klasse eines hum. Gymn.," *Anregung* 17 (1971): 20–26.

satz zum Encomium weitgehend die sonst für Erasmus kennzeichnende Leichtigkeit, der Witz und Charme fehlt.

Beim Thema Staatsphilosophie, besonders zum Teilaspekt "bellum iustum" kann als Kontrast einserseit zu Ciceros "de re publica," andererseits zu Macchiavelli's "Il principe" und zur "Utopia" das Thomas Morus die "Institutio Principis Christiani" als Beispiel einer christlich fundierten Staatsvorstellung herangezogen werden.[31] Ganz besonders für die Schule geeignet sind nach meiner Erfahrung einige "Colloquia familiaria." Denn bei diesem Genos handelt es sich um relativ kurze, überschaubare Stücke, die man ganz lesen kann. Hier vereinen sich zudem der Witz und Charme des Erasmus mit lebendig geschilderten Situationen, und seine zeitkritischen und auf Toleranz gerichteten Tendenzen treten klar zu Tage.[32]

Ich habe neben den "Diversoria" und der "Confessio militis" gute Erfahrungen gemacht mit dem "Naufragium."[33]

In diesem Colloquium wird von einer Extremsituation erzählt: Ein Schiff ist in schwere Seenot geraten. Erasmus schildert plastisch und eindrucksvoll die Reaktion der Passagiere in einem Zwiegespräch mit kommentierenden Passagen. Er versteht es, trotz der Tragik die Schilderung mit witzigem Charme zu durchziehen. Deutlich wird erbärmliches, falsches Verhalten richtigem, mutigem Verhalten gegenübergestellt.

In ihrer Verzweiflung greifen einige Passagiere zu magischen Sprüchen, fallen also ins Heidentum zurück, andere rufen die Heiligen an. Aber auch sie erweisen sich als Heiden, da sie mit den Heiligen nach dem Muster der Formel "do, ut des" auf Vertragsbasis verhandeln wollen. Warum wandte man sich nicht an Gott—Vater selbst? Beeindruckend legt Erasmus in wenigen Zeilen das für seine Theologie bezeichnende Gottesbild vor: "Nullus est pater tam iratus filio, quin, si videat eum periclitantem in torrente aut lacu, capillis arreptum eiciat in ripam."

Im "Naufragium" sind also deutlich voneinander abgesetzt echte Frömmigkeit, Gottvertrauen von leeren äußeren Formen und Aberglauben.[34]

Abschließend möchte ich noch näher auf die zum Teil bereits angedeuteten Schwierigkeiten eingehen, die sich heute der Lektüre von Erasmustexten und damit aller Humanistentexten auf der Schule entgegenstellen, und Gedanken zur Abhilfe vorbringen.

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[31] C. XI; W. Welzig (Stuttgart, 1968), 5:339; Daß Erasmus kein bedingungsloser Pazifist um jeden Preis war, zeigt u. a. folgender Satz: "Bonus Princeps numquam omnino bellum suscipiet, nisi cum tentatis omnibus nulla ratione vitari possit."

[32] Vielleicht hat Blusch mit seiner Vermutung Recht, Erasmus liege mehr die kleinere Form (A. 7), 294.

[33] "Diversoria" und "Naufragium" werden in die geplante Schulausgabe aufgenommen. Ein Vorabruck eines Teiles des "Naufragium" mit Sublinearkommentar lag den Zuhörern vor.

[34] Vgl. Elsbeth Gutmann, *Die Colloquia des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Basel und Stuttgart, 1968), 40f.

1. Die Hauptschwierigkeit liegt sicher in dem bis jetzt hartnäckig von vielen verteidigten Grundsatz "Romanitas, nicht Latinitas." Gerade deshalb dürften humanistische Schriftsteller so wenig Berücksichtigung in den Lehrplänen finden.
2. Da dem so ist, fehlen auch weitgehend Schulausgaben. Eine bemerkenswerte Ausnahme stellen die Ausgaben von Martius dar.[35]
3. Es existieren Vorurteile gegen die Humanisten, die leider unreflektiert tradiert werden: Es handle sich nur um ein den klassischen Schriftstellern nachgemachtes Latein, ein Latein zweiter, wenn nicht dritter Wahl, um Centonenliteratur.

Wenn hier Abhilfe geschaffen werden soll, so müssen aus meiner Sicht folgende Voraussetzungen erfüllt werden:

1. Die Literatur des Renaissance-Humanismus muß an den Universitäten in das Studium der Klassischen Philologie integriert werden. Nur die Universität kann mit den obengenannten Vorurteilen aufräumen. Wenn die Lehrer auf diesem Gebiet ausgebildet sind, werden sie es auch in der Schule behandeln, aber nur dann.
2. Die Texte müssen ediert und kommentiert werden. Textausgaben speziell für die Schule müssen von der Universität in Zusammenarbeit mit Lehrern, die die Schulpraxis kennen, erarbeitet werden. Mit anderen Worten, Hochschule und Schule sind auf diesem Gebiet aufeinander angewiesen.

Damit sind aber auch die Schwierigkeiten angedeutet, die entgegenstehen, wenn man heute eine Textausgabe von Humanistentexten für die Schule entwirft:

Die Texte sind meist noch nicht ediert, oder unzureichend philologisch recherchiert. Bei Erasmus sind die Voraussetzungen noch am besten, weil hier ja die neue Amsterdamer Ausgabe[36] vorliegt. Kommentare fehlen in den meisten Fällen. Es fehlen auch Konkordanzen; sie wären vor allem wichtig für alle, die mit einem noch unbehandelten Text arbeiten. Es fehlen ebenfalls Spezialwörterbücher; sie sind nicht überflüssig; denn die weit verbreitete Meinung, die Humanisten hätten absolut klassisch geschrieben, ist unrichtig; sie bemühen sich darum, ja, aber sie sind mittelalterlich gebildet und viele mittelalterliche Wendungen und Wörter fließen ein. Es fehlen weitgehend Schulausgaben. Bei der Arbeit an meiner Schulausgabe von Humanistentexten habe ich die Überzeugung gewonnen, daß ein relativ umfangreicher Sublinearkommentar, der für flüssiges Lesen viele Anmerkungen bietet, nötig ist. Gerade die Eigenart des Erasmus, Raritäten, also

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[35] Heinz Martius, *Erasmus von Rotterdam und seine Welt* (Bamberg, 1969; = Aus dem Schatze des Altertums, B. 30). Ders: *Humanisten der Renaissancezeit* (Bamberg, 1970; = Aus dem Schatze des Altertums, B. 31).

[36] *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam, 1969).

seltene Wörter zu verwenden,[37] einfach ein Beleg für seine enorme Belesenheit, macht dies nötig. Außerdem muß zusätzlich ein Sachkommentar geboten werden, der grundsätzliche Informationen gibt.

Damit bin ich am Ende meiner Ausführungen angelangt, die nicht Ausführungen eines Universitätsangehörigen, sondern eines Schulmannes sind, der die Humanisten und v. a. Erasmus sehr schätzt und überzeugt ist, daß sie aus vielen Gründen für die Schule wichtig sind. Ich habe die Hoffnung, daß dann, wenn die oben angeführten Vorarbeiten erfüllt sind, die Humanisten und v. a. Erasmus ihren ihnen zustehenden Platz, oder vorerst wenigstens ein bescheidenes Plätzchen in der Schule bekommen werden. Adhuc sperandum est. Sancte Erasme, ora pro nobis.[38]

Summarium

Erasmi Roterodami scripta scholae sunt magni momenti multis de causis: Primum, quod Erasmi scripta numeranda sunt in litteris orbis terrarum praeclaris. Deinde, quod ea opera documenta sunt litterarum temporum renascentium, quibus medio aevo deficiente nova aetas est orta. Denique, quod Erasmus educat legentes iucunditate atque lepore ad civilitatem atque humanitatem, ad veram et sinceram Christianitatem, imprimis ad pacem, quae omnium nostrum refert. Nec praetermittendum est, quod Erasmi scriptis ducimur ad linguam Latinam dicendam, ad linguam Latinam vivam. Erasmi igitur scripta legenda sunt in schola, sed non ab parvis puellis vel pueris, sed ab adulescentibus. Neque sit Erasmus ponendus loco scriptorum antiquitatis, sed eis adiciendus ut "collega postumus." Sed, nisi Universitas Erasmo et litteris aetatis litterarum renascentium dederit locum, in scholis habebit ne loculum quidem.

München

[37] s. J. Blusch, (A. 7), 302–7.

[38] Nach Erasmus, Convivium religiosum 709f.: ". . . vix mihi tempero, quin dicam: Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis!"

Seminar: Didaktik der neulateinischen Literatur an Schule und Hochschule

HERMANN WIEGAND

Einführung.

In dem Seminar sollte es darum gehen, die Voraussetzungen und Bedingungen einer Lektüre neulateinischer Literatur an Schule und Hochschule zu erörtern, eine Bestandsaufnahme des bereits Geleisteten vorzunehmen und Perspektiven künftiger Arbeit aufzuzeigen. Dementsprechend war das Seminar dreiteilig angelegt. Das Einleitungsreferat des Organisators—es wird unten in stark verkürzter Form geboten—erörterte die Voraussetzungen und Möglichkeiten der Einbindung neulateinischer Texte in die Curricula des Schul- und Hochschulunterrichts. Herr Wiegand hob wesentlich darauf ab, daß die Ausbildungsvoraussetzungen der Lehrer an höheren Schulen durch einführendende Seminare und die Bereitstellung eines neulateinischen Readers verbessert werden müßten und schlug einige Texte und Sequenzen für ein solches Lesebuch vor. Der Einbindung neulateinischer Lektüren in die Curricula sollte seiner Meinung nach mehr Aufmerksamkeit als bisher geschenkt werden, die interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit mit Nachbarfächern erweise sich als unerläßlich.

In einem zweiten Referat erörterte Franz Wachinger (München) den Einsatz der *Colloquia* des Erasmus von Rotterdam im Unterricht der Oberstufe der höheren Schule. Ihm kam vor allem darauf an, den hohen "Appellwert" der Auffassungen des Erasmus für heutige Schüler herauszustellen, so vor allem seine Toleranz und Friedensliebe. Herr Wachinger bereitet eine kommentierte Schulausgabe von ausgewählten Humanistentexten vor, deren Prinzipien er den Teilnehmern des Seminars anhand ausgewählter Beispiele vorführte. Beide Referenten stimmten darin überein, daß die etwa von Manfred Fuhrmann geforderte Ersetzung der Caesar—durch eine Erasmuslektüre nicht zu realisieren sei, da die beiden Texte bzw. Textcorpora

ganz unterschiedliche sprachliche Anforderungen stellten. Das Referat von Herrn Wachinger wird ebenfalls in verkürzter Form geboten.

Der dritte Teil des Seminars war der Modellinterpretation eines Briefes von Erasmus von Rotterdam an Ulrich von Hutten gewidmet, in dem Erasmus ein Porträt des englischen Humanisten Thomas Morus entwirft (Allen, *Opus Epistolarum* Nr. 999). Herr Wiegand versteht diesen Text—gestützt auf eigene Aussagen des Erasmus—als Idealbild humanistischer Selbstauffassung, das gut geeignet sei, in die Gedankenwelt des nordeuropäischen Humanismus (u. a. Humanistenfreundschaft, *bonae litterae*, Freude an Curiosa u. a.) einzuführen. Der Text dieser Interpretation wird an anderer Stelle veröffentlicht werden.

Didaktik der Neulateinischen Literatur an Schule und Hochschule

HERMANN WIEGAND

Im Jahr 1834 veröffentlichte der Hallesche Gymnasiallehrer Moritz Seyffert eine *Palaestra Musarum*, eine Einführung in die lateinische Dichtung. In einem Begleitband bot er zusammen mit Theodor Echtermeyer eine *Anthologie aus neueren lateinischen Dichtern*, deren erster Teil für "untere Gymnasialklassen" bestimmt war. Ein Index gibt Aufschluß über die insgesamt 139 ausgezogenen Autoren, mit denen sich 12- bis 14jährige Schüler beschäftigen sollten. Aufgenommen sind v. a. Stücke von deutschen, niederländischen und italienischen Autoren des 15.–19. Jahrhunderts.[1]

Beide Herausgeber waren bereits ein Jahr zuvor als Übersetzer von Gedichten Goethes und Schillers ins Lateinische hervorgetreten.[2] Dabei waren sie sich bewußt, etwas nicht mehr Unangefochtenes zu tun. Hatte der Lateinunterricht des 18. Jahrhunderts neulateinische Autoren unter der Prämisse von *imitatio* und *aemulatio* noch ohne weiteres als lektürewürdig eingeschlossen, war seit der Hypostasierung der Dichtung in den Nationalsprachen seit der Romantik und vollends seit dem Historismus der Rückgang des Interesses für die neulateinische Literatur zumindest im Schulunterricht kaum mehr aufzuhalten. Sie mußte sich das Urteil gefallen lassen, "Formelkram einer unwissenschaftlichen, überwundenen Schulperiode"[3] zu sein.

So ist bis in unser Jahrhundert recht wenig für eine Berücksichtigung der neulateinischen Literatur im Gymnasialunterricht getan worden.[4] Auf eine

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[1] Theodor Echtermeyer und Moritz Seyffert, *Anthologie aus neueren Lateinischen Dichtern*, 2 Teile (Halle, 1834/35).

[2] Theodorus Echtermeyer et Mauritius Seyffert, *Carmina aliquot Goethii et Schilleri Latine reddita, additae sunt ex Latinis poetis recentioribus eclogae* (Halis Saxonum, 1833).

[3] Vgl. Alexander Baumgartner, *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker.* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900), 664, wo gegen eine solche Auffassung polemisiert wird.

[4] Vgl. etwa Mauriz Schuster, *Altertum und deutsche Kultur* (Wien, 1926), 489.

neue Grundlage wurde die Diskussion zumindest in Deutschland Ende der sechziger Jahre durch den Konstanzer Latinisten Manfred Fuhrmann gestellt.[5] Gegenüber der älteren Philologie, die auf die Klassizität der antiken Texte abhob und die die enge Verbindung zwischen den beiden Teildisziplinen Gräzistik und Latinistik nicht angetastet wissen wollte, schlug er eine Ausweitung der Gegenstandsbereiche beider Philologien auf jeweilige mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Texte vor—ein Ansatz in der Tat, der die institutionellen Verankerungen der betroffenen Disziplinen ebenso grundlegend verändert haben würde wie das Corpus der zu behandelnden Autoren und die Ausbildung der uns interessierenden Lehramtsstudenten.

Sein Konzept einer Latinistik als Disziplin der Gesamtliteratur lateinischer Sprache fand—wie nicht anders zu erwarten—auch in der Didaktik Resonanz. Er selbst eröffnete eine Polemik gegen den seit dem 19. Jahrhundert festgefahrenen Kanon der Schulautoren mit einem Aufsatz, der den programmatisch-provokanten Titel trug: "Cäsar oder Erasmus. Überlegungen zur lateinischen Anfangslektüre."[6]

Fuhrmann griff dabei Überlegungen auf, die bereits 1968 Walther Ludwig zu den lat. Schulautoren angestellt hatte.[7] Seine Kritik an Cäsar als Anfangslektüre orientierte sich an der geringen Attraktivität und der mangelnden Altersgemäßheit des Autors wie fast der gesamten Literatur der Antike für 13–14jährige Schüler. Die daraus resultierende Forderung, solche Autoren aus dem Gesamtbereich der Latinität zu lesen, die schülergerecht die Inhalte des antiken Kosmos darböten, ließ Fuhrmann auf die "kleinen Gattungen" aus mittel—und neulateinischer Literatur rekurrieren.[8]

Der Vorschlag, etwa lateinische Schülergespräche als Erstlektüre zu verwenden, den später die auch als Praktikerin erfahrene Lore Wirth-Poelchau aufgegriffen und in einer eigenen Unterrichtsreihe ausführlich dargelegt und gut dokumentiert hat,[9] ist kritisiert worden, weil er übersehe, daß diese *Colloquia* der Ursprungsintention nach nicht etwa als Einführung in die lateinische Originalliteratur gedacht gewesen seien, sondern um die im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert auf vielen Ebenen noch erforderte aktive Beherrschung des Lateinischen als Verkehrssprache einzuüben. Dieses Argument kann sich auf zeitgenössische Äußerungen stützen, die ein Problem reflektie-

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[5] Zuerst: Manfred Fuhrmann, *Die Antike und ihre Vermittler* (Konstanz, 1969; = Konstanzer Universitätsreden 9), 29ff.

[6] Manfred Fuhrmann, "Cäsar oder Erasmus. Überlegungen zur lateinischen Anfangslektüre," *Gymnasium* 81 (1974): 394–407.

[7] Walther Ludwig, "Die lateinischen Schulautoren," *Mitteilungsblatt des deutschen Altphilologenverbandes* 12 (1968): 1–12.

[8] Manfred Fuhrmann und Joachim Klowski, *Ohrfeigen gegen Barzahlung und viele andere Geschichten* (Stuttgart, 1978); eine bunte Sammlung mit Texten u. a. von Gellius, Petrus Alfonsi, Caesarius von Heisterbach, Heinrich Bebel und Erasmus.

[9] Lore Wirth-Poelchau, "Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten im heutigen Lateinunterricht," *Der Altsprachliche Unterricht* 29, 1 (1986): 75–88.

ren, welches in der modernen Debatte der oft kaum über schulpraktische Erfahrungen verfügenden Theoretiker nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt: die Sequenzierung bzw. Einbettung der Texte in den lateinischen Lektürekanon.

In einer 1710 von dem Amsterdamer Gymnasiarchen Jan Theodor Schalbruch im amtlichen Auftrag der Staaten Hollands und Westfrieslands herausgegebenen Auswahlausgabe der *Colloquia* Marturin Cordiers und des Erasmus äußert sich der Herausgeber in der Vorrede an die *praeceptores* über die Abfolge der zu lesenden Stücke:

> Neque tamen iis immorandum diutius, sed mox à Corderio, utcunque percepto, ad Desiderii Erasmi selecta colloquia, ut pueritiae accommoda, & ad varias in omni rerum genere loquendi formulas, verborumque ac sententiarum copiam, cujus & hîc breve compendium traditur, transeundum duximus: Ut ita demum ad Terentium, insignem Romanae linguae loquutorem, & manibus adolescentiae usque terendum, manu duceretur.[10]

Schalbruch war sich wohl bewußt, daß eine Sequenz, die *Colloquia* zum Ausgang nimmt, zwar ohne weiteres zu Terenz führt, dessen Latein ja wesentlich auch colloquiale Züge trägt, kaum aber zu Autoren wie Cicero oder Seneca. Wer also für Erasmus als erste Lektüre anstelle etwa von Caesar plädiert, sollte in Rechnung stellen, welche Folgen sich daraus für den weiteren Lektürekanon ergeben. Einen Ersatz für Caesar, der wesentlich auch zur Einübung komplexerer syntaktischer Strukturen gelesen wird, können Colloquia nicht bieten.[11]

Wenn zu konstatieren war, daß man sich bei Vorschlägen wie denen der *Colloquia* des Erasmus zu wenig Rechenschaft über die Einbettung der vorgeschlagenen Lektüre in Lektürefolgen und Curricula gegeben hat, scheint dieses Dilemma überhaupt symptomatisch für Versuche, neulateinische Texte für den Lateinunterricht aufzubereiten. Dafür ist die einzige mir bekannt gewordene, v. a. bibliographisch und in Einzelvorschlägen durchaus nützliche, handbuchartige Behandlung des Gegenstandes ein guter Beleg: die insgesamt 15 Seiten, die Joachim Gruber in seinem für die Hand des Gymnasiallehrers bestimmten Buch *Europäische Literatur in lateinischer Sprache* humanistischen, barocken und modernen Autoren lateinischer Sprache widmet (gegenüber immerhin ca 90 Seiten für Spätantike und Mittelalter),[12] präsentieren sich als chronologischer Autorenkatalog, in dem etwa Willibald Pirckheimer sechs Zeilen und Jakob Balde zehn Zeilen eingeräumt werden,

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[10] *Colloquiorum Marturini Corderii centuria una cum Erasmi Roterodami Colloquiis selectis* (Amstelaedami, 1710): A 2ª.

[11] Vgl. auch den Beitrag Franz Wachingers in diesem Band.

[12] Joachim Gruber, *Europäische Literatur in lateinischer Sprache* (Bamberg, 1987; = Auxilia 16), 95–109.

ohne daß eigentlich jeweils deutlich würde, warum man Texte bzw. Gedichte beider Autoren im Lateinunterricht lesen sollte. So kommt auch die das ganze Kapitel einleitende "Didaktische Begründung" über Allgemeinplätze wie den, die Literatur des Humanismus sei vielfach für die Schule geschrieben und deshalb für diese auch besonders geeignet, kaum hinaus. Mit demselben Argument war sie 150 Jahre zuvor aus dem Unterricht verbannt worden.

Die skizzierte relative Ratlosigkeit einer über anreihend-katalogisierende Lektüreempfehlungen wenig hinausgehenden Begründung des Sinns der schulischen Lektüre humanistisch-neulateinischer Texte spiegelt exakt die eher verlegene Behandlung des Sujets in den amtlichen Curricula für den Gymnasialunterricht. Wer etwa die Lehrpläne der deutschen Bundesländer für das Fach Latein mustert, wird kaum konkrete inhaltliche oder gar methodische Hinweise hierzu finden, von detaillierten Autoren—oder Sachthemen—Nennungen ganz zu schweigen.[13]

Dieser Zustand ist jedoch den Curriculum-Gestaltern, in der Regel Leuten mit Unterrichtserfahrung, nur bedingt anzulasten. Sie werden von der Fachwissenschaft bzw. der Fachdidaktik, soweit man für die Neolatinistik überhaupt davon sprechen kann, weitgehend alleingelassen.

Immer wieder zu lesendes Argument neben dem schon genannten, man habe es mit bloßen Imitationen zu tun, ist der Verweis auf die für eine Lektüre solcher Texte aufzuwendende Zeit, oft noch verschärft durch die Bemerkung, die Lektüre mittel- oder neulateinischer Texte verlange eine eigene, lange Einführungszeit, um die jeweiligen kulturellen und geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen klären zu können.[14]

Aus dem Gesagten ergeben sich aus meiner Sicht nun einige Folgerungen für die künftige Arbeit, die ich thesenhaft vortragen möchte.

1. Besonders wichtig erscheint mir, daß nur solche Texte zur Lektüre vorgeschlagen und bearbeitet werden, die über den doch wohl selbstverständlichen "AppellWert" hinaus einen spezifischen, epochebezogenen Aussagewert haben, d. h. nicht nur das Weiterwirken der Antike zeigen, sondern Wesentliches über Vorstellungen und Haltungen der eigenen Zeit, also etwa der Renaissance oder des Barock, aussagen. Das oft gebrauchte und ohne Zweifel wichtige Argument, mit neulateinischen Texten lasse sich die Prägung der europäischen Kultur durch die Latinität am deutlichsten demonstrieren, beeindruckt nach meinen Erfahrungen dann nicht allzu sehr, wenn nicht zugleich ein neuer, in der antiken Literatur nicht zu findender Zug deutlich wird.

2. Das eben Gesagte legt eine engere Zussammenarbeit mit Nachbardis-

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[13] Vgl. etwa *Bildungsplan für das Gymnasium Baden Württemberg. Kultus und Unterricht* 8/1984: 682–703, passim.

[14] Kritisch äußerte sich z. B. wiederholt Carl Joachim Classen, der an sich kein Gegner der neulateinischen Literatur ist.

ziplinen wie Geschichte, Nationalphilologien, Religions- und Philosophieunterricht nahe. Vom Selbstverständnis der Humanisten her kann es dabei kaum schwerfallen, die Bedeutung der Antikerezeption im Medium der lateinischen Sprache zu exemplifizieren. Ich denke an die Einleitung zu Lorenzo Vallas *Elegantiae Linguae Latinae*, die den kulturellen Führungsanspruch des italienischen Humanismus aus dem *magnum Latini sermonis sacramentum* herleitet.[15] Hier wird man leicht die jeweiligen nationalen Antworten ausschließen können, die wie etwa die Ingolstadter Programmrede des Konrad Celtis[16] diesem Führungsanspruch mit dem eigenen deutschen bei voller Anerkennung der *Latinitas* begegnen.

Der Text Vallas kann darüber hinaus zum Ausgangspunkt einer Unterrichtsreihe genommen werden, die die Funktion der Sprache im Denken des Humanismus zum Gegenstand hat. Die in ihm sichtbare *Religion der Philologie* (Toffanin) unterstreicht die Bedeutung der Sprache als eigentliches Charakteristikum der *humanitas*. An ihn läßt sich gut die Lektüre des berühmten Briefes Poggios an Guarino Veronese vom Dezember 1417 anschließen, in dem er von seinem "Ausflug" zum Kloster St. Gallen berichtet.[17]

Ein Ausschnitt aus der Rede, die Philipp Melanchthon 1526[18] zur Einweihung des Ägidiengymnasiums in Nürnberg gehalten hat, könnte eine solche auf etwa 15 Unterrichtsstunden zu veranschlagende Reihe beschließen. Der *praeceptor Germaniae* entwirft in ihr das Programm einer städtischen Gesellschaft, deren Fundamente nur auf gründlicher humanistischer *eruditio* beruhen könne. Der Text spiegelt die Sorge von Luthers engstem Mitarbeiter, die religiösen und sozialen Erschütterungen von Reformation und Bauernkrieg könnten zu einer geistigen Verarmung führen, weil die *studia humanitatis* nicht mehr geachtet würden.

Es versteht sich fast von selbst, daß eine Unterrichtsreihe wie die skizzierte nur in enger Zusammenarbeit mit dem Geschichts-, Religions- und Philosophieunterricht zu realisieren ist. Ihr didaktischer Ort ist die Behandlung des Renaissance-Humanismus als Achsenzeit der Moderne, die in den deutschen Gymnasien in der elften Klasse Unterrichtsgegenstand im Fach Geschichte ist. Dabei kann anhand der skizzierten Texte die zentrale Rolle des Renaissance-Humanismus für die Genese der Gegenwart thematisiert werden.

Voraussetzung für ein solches Unternehmen ist, daß die Lehrkräfte von

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[15] Leicht zugänglich etwa bei Eugenio Garin (Hg.), *Prosatori Latini del Quattrocento* (Torino, 1977): 594–631 mit italienischer Übertragung.

[16] Abdruck z. B. bei Hans Rupprich: *Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten* (Leipzig, 1935): 226–38.

[17] *Prosatori*, wie Anmerkung 15: 240–46 mit ital. Übersetzung.

[18] Abdruck bei Richard Nürnberger (Hg.), *Melanchthons Werke*, Studienausgabe, (Gütersloh, 1961) III: 64ff.

den beteiligten Fachwissenschaften hinlängliche Handreichungen zur Verfügung gestellt bekommen.

Spätestens an dieser Stelle verknüpft sich die erste Fragestellung unseres Seminars mit der zweiten. Didaktik der neulateinischen Literatur an der Schule ist m. E. nur sinnvoll, wenn ihr eine Hochschuldidaktik den Weg bahnt. Einer der meistgehörten Einwände bei Weiterbildungsveranstaltungen für Lehrer, bei denen ich als Werber für die neulateinische Literatur aufgetreten bin, war der, man fühle sich nicht kompetent, neulateinische Literatur zu lesen, da man weder die nötige Sachkenntnis noch die methodischen Voraussetzungen für eine schulische Behandlung solcher Texte besitze. Ich denke, man sollte solche Einwände durchaus ernst nehmen und nicht nur als bequeme Ausflucht betrachten. Walther Ludwig hat—wie mir scheint, ganz zurecht—schon 1972 auf die besondere Kompetenz der "Classicists" für die neulateinische Literatur hingewiesen, da in der Regel nur sie über die notwendigen Hintergrundkenntnisse zur antiken Literatur verfügen, das allein reicht aber keineswegs. Meist ist dem nicht speziell vorgebildeten Gymnasialkollegen schon der Zugang zu den vorhandenen Hilfsmitteln der Neolatinistik aus schlichter Unkenntnis versperrt, oft schon deshalb, weil die Seminar- und Institutsbibliotheken sie nicht sammeln. Und selbst wenn sie vorhanden sind, muß ihre Existenz bekannt sein. Dazu ist es unerläßlich, daß in Einführungskursen ein Einblick in Gegenstände und Arbeitsmethoden der neulateinischen Philologie gegeben wird. Diese Forderung bedeutet, daß nicht nur auf einen Autor oder eine Werkgruppe spezialisierte Seminare veranstaltet werden sollten, notwendig wären vielmehr auch propädeutische Seminare und/oder Überblicksvorlesungen zumindest über größere Teilbereiche der neulateinischen Literatur mit einer Einführung in Hilfsmittel und Methoden der Neolatinistik. Ich denke etwa an Kurse, wie sie Walther Ludwig für die Columbia—Universität zu Beginn der 70er Jahre mit Titeln wie *Introduction to Renaissance Latin Literature* erwähnt, deren Inhalt er folgendermaßen umschreibt:

> It is a survey course, covering each week a different genre of Renaissance Latin, for instance dialogues, letters, odes, elegies, comedies, novels, etc, and exemplifying each with an important Italian, French, German, or English author of the 14th to the 16th century. Attention is given to Classical antecedents and contemporary relationship.[19]

Auch wenn etwa dem deutschen Lehrsystem solche Überblickskurse, die leicht in den Verdacht geraten, unwissenschaftlich zu sein, fern liegen mögen, ist doch zu überlegen, ob sie nicht wenigstens dort einen Platz haben, wo es nicht um ein Hauptgebiet des Philologiestudiums geht, in dem sich ohnehin jeder Student selbstständig einen Überblick über Gegenstand

[19] Vgl. Jetzt Walther Ludwig, *Litterae Neolatinae* (München, 1988; = Humanistische Bibliothek I,35): 247.

und Methode verschaffen muß. Dies führt zu einer weiteren Bemerkung. Oft ist die Bereitschaft der klassischen Philologen, mit ihren neuphilologischen Kollegen zusammenzuarbeiten, recht gering; man hat manchmal den Eindruck, daß sie eine gewisse Scheu haben, sich auf die Methoden der neueren Philologien oder auch der Geschichtswissenschaft und Theologie so einzulassen, wie es für eine fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit notwendig wäre. Gerade für die Neolatinistik ist eine Kooperation mit den Nachbardisziplinen aber aus vielen Gründen unerläßlich, steht doch die neulateinische Literatur in der Regel in einem Spannungs- und Konkurrenzverhältnis zur volkssprachlichen Literatur ihrer Zeit.

Eine interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit ergäbe etwa auch die Chance, für den muttersprachlichen Unterricht zentrale Texte der neulateinischen Literatur eines Landes bereitzustellen. Erfreulicherweise gibt es hier schon Ansätze von seiten des muttersprachlichen Unterrichts. Im Deutschunterricht der elften Klasse des Landes Baden-Württemberg ist z. B. die Möglichkeit gegeben, als bedeutendstes Beispiel des barocken Dramas den *Cenodoxus* von Jakob Bidermann zu lesen. Selbst wenn die Verfasser des Lehrplanes natürlich in erster Linie an die Lektüre der jetzt leicht zugänglichen zeitgenössischen Übertragung von Joachim Meichel gedacht haben, spricht nichts dagegen, wenigstens wichtige Szenen in dem wundervollen Latein des Originals zu lesen. Dabei wird den Schülern sehr schnell der große Unterschied beider Fassungen deutlich.[20]

Für die propädeutischen Seminare wäre es sehr hilfreich, wenn in Zusammenarbeit von Fachgelehrten und Didaktikern durch geeignete Unterrichtsmittel eine Grundlage geschaffen würde, die das eigene Weiterstudium fördern und auch der Schule nützen könnte. Ich denke da v. a. an ein gut kommentiertes neulateinisches Lesebuch, das, mit einem knappen literaturgeschichtlichen Abriß versehen, die Kenntnis dieser Literatur verbreiten könnte. Zwar gibt es mit den Sammlungen von Nichols, Sparrow-Perosa, McFarlane und Laurens-Bellavoine inzwischen gute, nicht nur die Literatur eines Landes berücksichtigende Reader, sie sind aber meist für den Anfänger- und Schulgebrauch zu wenig kommentiert und auch schon wieder zu umfangreich. Außerdem kommt die Dichtung für den Schulunterricht in der Regel weniger in Frage als Prosatexte, und für sie gibt es kaum etwas den genannten Sammlungen Vergleichbares. Ein solches Lesebuch würde die Gefahr vermeiden helfen, Kollegen und Schülern nur "Pröbchen" zu bieten und könnte ihre Sicherheit im Umgang mit neulateinischer Literatur erhöhen. Ich selbst arbeite seit längerem an einem derartigen Reader.

3. Bei der Erarbeitung dieses Lesebuchs stellt sich verstärkt die Frage

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[20] Der Text Meichels orientiert sich an den volkssprachlichen Moralitäten, während das Original die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Neustoizismus spiegelt. Ausgabe: Rolf Tarot (Hg.), *Jakob Bidermann Cenodoxus.* (Tübingen, 1963 = Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke N. F. 6). Übersetzung: *J. B. Cenodoxus. Deutsche Übersetzung von Joachim Meichel,* hg. von Rolf Tarot (Stuttgart, 1965 u. ö.).

nach einem Kanon lesenswerter Autoren. Angesichts des Zeitfaktors sollte man hier nur solche Texte wählen, die für die neulateinische Literatur repräsentativ sind. Es ist wesentlich das Verdienst Peter Lebrecht Schmidts, auf Francesco Petrarca als Schulautor hingewiesen zu haben.[21] In der Tat kann man an ihm als den eigentlichen Archegeten des Humanismus mit seiner Wiederentdeckung wichtiger *genera* der antiken Literatur kaum vorbeigehen, zumal er einer der wenigen Humanisten sein dürfte, der vielen Schülern wenigstens dem Namen nach noch bekannt ist. Die von Schmidt vorgeschlagene Auswahl aus den *epistolae ad familiares* spiegelt ebenso seine Wiederentdeckung des antiken Rom wie die Geschichte von Horatius Cocles aus *de viris illustribus*, die Schmidt sozusagen kontrastiv zu Livius und Pseudo-Aurelius Victor zu lesen empfiehlt. Weiter sollte—meine ich—in einem solchen Reader der italienischen Prosaliteratur, v. a. der epistolographischen, ein wichtiger Platz eingeräumt werden. Gerade unter dem Aspekt "Humanität und Sprache" sind viele Texte etwa Lorenzo Vallas kaum verzichtbar. Gute Erfahrungen habe ich auch mit den "Reisebriefen" Enea Silvio Piccolominis, so der Beschreibung Wiens vom April 1438 gemacht, die die für Schüler reizvolle Erzählweise der Humanisten gut erkennen lassen.[22] Außerhalb von Grundlagentexten italienischer Humanisten dürfte ein die jeweiligen nationalen Bedürfnisse berücksichtigender Kanon von Prosatexten nicht leicht zu erstellen sein.

Unabhängig von solchen nationalen Besonderheiten sollte man in einem Reader an Gattungen, die eigentlich erst der Renaissance-Humanismus geschaffen hat, nicht vorbeigehen. Wegen ihrer geistes- u. sozialgeschichtlich ungeheueren Wirkung wird—wer überhaupt neulateinischer Texte im Unterricht zu behandeln gedenkt—kaum auf die Staatsutopien verzichten wollen, deren Archeget, die *Utopia* des Thomas Morus, zurecht einer der bekanntesten neulateinischen Texte ist, um den sich denn auch die Didaktik am meisten bemüht hat. Ihr didaktischer Ort ist die Behandlung der antiken Staatstheorie in der Oberstufe, wo sie im Anschluß an Ciceros *De republica* gelesen werden kann. Ich habe selbst gute Erfahrungen damit gemacht, den Text der *Utopia* durch biographische und autobiographische Zeugnisse über Thomas Morus einzurahmen.[23]

Eher am Rand dieser Gattung steht ein Text, dessen Einbeziehung in einen "Reader" utopischer Literatur ich aufgrund eigener positiver Erfahrungen sehr empfehlen möchte—das *Nicolai Klimi iter subterraneum* (1741) von

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[21] Peter Lebrecht Schmidt, "Die Humanistenzeit in der Schullektüre am Beispiel Petrarcas," *Gymnasium* 88 (1981): 357–72; ders.: "Petrarcas Korrespondenz mit Cicero," *Der Altsprachliche Unterricht* 21, 1 (1978): 30–38.

[22] Kleine Auswahl bei Heinz Martius (Hg.), *Humanisten der Renaissancezeit* (Bamberg 1970; = Aus dem Schatze des Altertums. Lateinische Schriftsteller B. 31): 25–27.

[23] So den Brief des Erasmus über Thomas Morus an Hutten von 1519. Darüber habe ich im dritten Teil des Seminars berichtet. Die Ergebnisse werden an anderer Stelle publiziert werden.

Ludvig Holberg mit seiner satirischen völligen Infragestellung der europäischen Wertewelt der Aufklärung. Am vergnüglichsten wird das in der Darstellung der *regio subterranea Cocklecu* deutlich, die von lebenden Wacholdersträuchen beiderlei Geschlechts bewohnt wird. Wie in allen anderen Regionen des unterirdischen Planeten haben die Cocklecuaner eine Besonderheit: Die Männer sind nur für niedrige Arbeiten tauglich und bestimmt: *at soli viri ad culinaria et ignobiles labores damnantur.* Während bei der Lektüre entsprechender Abschnitte der Staatsutopien die Mädchen meist das Gefühl haben, die gleiche Erziehung der Geschlechter etwa in der *Utopia* des Thomas Morus habe nur Alibi-Charakter, da ja auch Utopia ganz eindeutig männlich dominiert wird, gab es bei mehreren Analysen von Ausschnitten des *iter subterraneum* hier ein "Aha-Erlebnis." Wenigstens in Gedanken wird die Möglichkeit durchgespielt, daß Frauen die Geschicke eines Gemeinwesens lenken könnten. Auch wenn in dänischen Schulen der Text als der eines dänischen Klassikers wohl nahezu ausschließlich in der Nationalsprache, d. h. in Übersetzung, gelesen wird, gibt es gute Gründe, ihn im lateinischen Original—sinnvollerweise übrigens unter Einbeziehung der sehr amüsanten Abbildungen in den früheren Ausgaben—zu lesen, wird so doch nicht nur der Anspielungsreichtum des Originals mit seinem antiken Hintergrund wirklich sichtbar, sondern auch die Gattung der *Satyra Menippea.* Für sie sind bekanntlich aus der römischen Antike außer Senecas *Apokolokyntosis* und Varros Fragmenten kaum Vertreter erhalten. So kann die Lektüre auch genutzt werden, um die Entstehung einer neuen Gattung, des Romans, aus einer klar umrissenen, aus der Antike tradierten Erzählform zu entwickeln. Die im *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum* erörterten Probleme der europäischen Gesellschaft sind von einer auch für heutige Leser z. T. brennenden Aktualität. [24]

4. Schwieriger als für die Frage nach einem möglichen Corpus neulateinischer Prosatexte gestaltet sich die nach einer Lektüre neulateinischer Dichtung im Unterricht. Ein vorzüglicher älterer Schulmann und Wissenschaftler, der Herausgeber der besten mir bekannten auf das Lokale bezogenen Schulanthologie, Alfred Hartmann, äußerte sich bereits 1931 im Vorwort seiner *Basilea Latina* knapp und unmißverständlich: "Doch wird ein Einsichtiger verstehen, wenn die Poesie fast ganz fehlt . . . ,"[25] obgleich ihm doch aus dem Basler Fundus, der sich in Peter Buxdorfs *Alma mater poetica* dokumentiert findet, durchaus reizvolle Texte zur Verfügung gestanden hätten. Demgegenüber haben z. B. Peter Leberecht Schmidt, Jürgen Bläns-

[24] Leicht zugänglich bei Jozef Ijsewijn: *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam u. a., 1977): 348–50. Die Kupfer z. B. in der Ausgabe: *Nicolai Klimi iter subterraneum* (Hafniae-Lipsiae, 1766).

[25] Alfred Hartmann (Hg.), *Basilea Latina.* Lateinische Texte zur Zeit—und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Basel im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (Basel, 1931): xi.

dorf und Walther Ludwig betont, daß sie eine solche Lektüre für einen umfassenden Lateinunterricht für unabdingbar halten.

Die Einfügung von neulateinischer Dichtung in eine sinnvolle Lektüresequenz ist sicher kein geringes Problem. Die einfachste Möglichkeit ist wohl die rezeptionsgeschichtliche Anbindung der Lektüre neulateinischer Gedichte an die jeweiligen Vorbilder, um so die durchaus produktive, nicht selten das Original mindestens erreichenden Rezeption der antiken Texte zu demonstrieren, wozu die genannten Autoren wichtige Ansätze zeigen. Das bloße Aufzeigen von *imitatio* und—wenn auch gelungener—*aemulatio* ist nach meiner Erfahrung indessen ein Schüler nicht besonders interessierendes Phänomen. Reizvoller ist es schon, wenn man etwa die neulateinische Transformation antiker Dichtungsgattungen vorführen kann. So sollte etwa bei einer Sequenz der römischen Liebeselegie, die Tibull, Properz und Ovid einschließt, als neulateinischer Kontrast eine kleine Auswahl aus Giovanni Pontanos *De amore coniugali* angeschlossen werden, in denen die Umbildung der Erotik der Vorbilder in Richtung auf ein humanistisches Familienideal deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt.[26] In Mädchenklassen, die den antiken Erotikern nicht selten recht reserviert gegenüber stehen, weil die Liebe ihnen dort zu sehr aus der Perspektive des Mannes gezeigt zu sein scheint, habe ich gute Erfahrungen mit den *nursery songs* Pontanos gemacht.

Um die genannten Ziele zu erreichen, genügen wenige Beispiele, die sich—etwa auch als Referat eines einzelnen Schülers—in kurzer Zeit bewältigen lassen. Nachdrücklich möchte ich dafür plädieren, bedeutende Vertreter der neulateinischen Dichtung im Zusammenhang mit der muttersprachlichen Dichtung und in Zusammenarbeit mit den entsprechenden Fachkollegen zu lesen. In meinem eigenen Land z. B. besteht ein sehr wesentlicher Teil der Renaissance—Literatur aus neulateinischer Dichtung, und wer zwischen dem Spätmittelalter und dem Barock nicht einfach ein Niemandsland und eine Lücke lassen will, die suggeriert, in dieser Zeit sei in Deutschland keine nennenswerte Lyrik geschrieben worden, wird auf neulateinische Texte zurückgreifen müssen, die wie etwa die bekannten Lutherelegien des Eobanus Hessus einen aufschlußreichen Einblick in die Reflexe der religiösen und politischen Vorgänge der Reformation in der humanistischen Dichtung geben. Man kann eine Lektüre von einer oder zwei dieser Elegien[27] gut mit der von Luthers eigenen lateinischen *Carmina* verbinden, die unlängst von Udo Frings für den Unterricht kommentiert worden sind.[28] Der didaktische Ort einer solchen Reihe ergibt sich aus der Behandlung der Reformationszeit im Deutsch- aber natürlich auch im Religions—und Geschichtsunterricht. Sie bietet sich auch für Studientage an, die diesem

[26] Vgl. Mario Soldati (Hg.), *Ioannis Ioviani Pontani Carmina* (Firenze, 1902), 2: 149–56.

[27] Abdruck bei Rupprich, wie Anm. 16: 209–23.

[28] Udo Frings, *Martinus Lutherus—Poeta Latinus*. Orientierung. Schriftenreihe zur Lehrerfortbildung 10 (Aachen, 1983).

Gegenstand gewidmet werden können. Keine Motivationspobleme wird wohl auch haben, wer, wenn auch sicher nur wenige, Gedichte von Petrus Lotichius Secundus (1528–1560) mit Schülern der Oberstufe lesen will, etwa aus dem ersten Buch, das die Erlebnisse des Dichters in Schmalkaldischen Krieg in einer Art an Tibull orientiertem poetischen Tagebuch schildert. Lotichius gilt sicher nicht zu Unrecht als bedeutendster deutscher Lyriker der Renaissance.

5. Nur noch hinweisen möchte ich auf die Berücksichtigung neulateinischer Texte in einem Zusammenhang, in dem selbst bei sonst ihr gegenüber reservierten Fachvertretern in der Schule kaum Widerstand zu erwarten ist: ich meine lokal—oder regionalgeschichtliche Texte. Während Geschichtswerke meist allenfalls in kleinen Auszügen in Frage kommen, sind neben Briefen v. a. zwei Quellengattungen recht ergiebig: Für fast jede europäische Stadt, deren Gründung lange genug zurückreicht, gibt es im Gefolge von Leonardo Bruni's *Laus urbis Florentinae*, interessante *Laudes urbium* von an Ausonius orientierten epigrammatischen Sammelwerken wie etwa bei Julius Caesar Scaliger[29] bis hin zum ausgeführten Städtelob in Prosa und Vers etwa in Enea Silvio Piccolominis beiden Briefen über Basel oder in der für das Selbstverständnis der Gelehrtenrepublik aufschlußreichen Lobrede des Petrus Ramus auf die gleiche Stadt;[30] gut im Unterricht einsetzbar sind auch die prosaischen und poetischen Encomia auf Nürnberg von Konrad Celtis und Eobanus Hessus, von vielen kleineren und weniger bedeutenden Stücken, etwa den zahlreichen Hermanns von dem Busche, abgesehen.

Eine zweite Quellengruppe, für die oft Texte aus unserem Zeitraum in Frage kommen, sind die zahlreichen lateinischen Grab—und Ehreninschriften, deren Entschlüsselung vor Ort zusammen mit einer Erarbeitung wichtiger epigraphischer Probleme wie Kürzungen, Titulaturen u. ä. auf neulateinischen Inschriften mindestens ebenso gut studiert werden kann wie auf antiken.

Der didaktische Ort solcher Beschäftigung mit der eigenen lateinischen Vergangenheit ist der Rekurs auf die in allen mir bekannten Curricula empfohlene Heimatgeschichte, zu der der Lateinunterricht so einen willkommenen Beitrag leisten kann.

Mannheim

Meinem Schüler Martin Völkert danke ich ganz herzlich für vielfache technische Hilfe.

[29] Vgl. Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poemata Omnia* (zitiert nach der Ausgabe Heidelberg 1621); 543–73 "Vrbes."

[30] Die Stadtbeschreibungen Enea Silvios sind mit Übersetzung abgedruckt in: Edgar Bonjour, (Hg.), *Basel in alten Stadtbildern und in den beiden berühmten Beschreibungen des Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini* (Basel, 1951). Zur Baselbeschreibung des Ramus vgl. Petrus Ramus, *Basilea. Eine Rede an die Stadt Basel aus dem Jahre 1570* (Basel, 1944).

De mortuis non nisi bene?
The Leiden Neo-Latin Funeral Oration[*]

CHRIS L. HEESAKKERS

In a discussion on Dutch humanism or one of its topics, it is hardly possible not to begin with the work of Erasmus, let alone completely to avoid his name. And although it may be said that humanism in the Netherlands soon reached its first peak with the work of Agricola, nevertheless, it was then and still is largely dominated by that gigantic personage, Erasmus. The first Dutch university, founded in 1575 in Leiden, which initiated a second great wave of humanism in Holland, soon put itself under the patronage of the Rotterdammer, whose painted portrait was the first to adorn the university library.[1] Scholars who set themselves to discuss Dutch humanism in the century 1550–1650 characteristically take refuge in an awkward negative title such as "Dutch humanism after Erasmus."

In our search for early traces of what was to become a well-developed field within later Dutch Neo-Latin literature, academic funeral oratory, we are once more going to be confronted with that towering name. The first specimen of the genre ever written on Dutch soil was the funeral oration for a pious widow in Gouda named Bertha de Heyen. Gouda, as we know, was the town in which Erasmus had spent his early youth. One of the many cloisters in its surroundings was the monastery of Stein, which belonged to the Order of the Canons of St. Augustine. Erasmus had entered this cloister in 1488. Bertha de Heyen had been a benefactor of the monastery and had been accustomed to offering its monks, including the young Erasmus, the hospitality of her table. After her death Erasmus composed an *Oratio lugubris*, evidently not intended to be pronounced at a funeral ceremony, but ad-

[*] I am indebted to Mrs. Jane Zaat-Jones for correcting my English.

[1] Cf. C. L. Heesakkers, *Tussen Erasmus en Leiden* (Leiden, 1989), 5.

dressed to Bertha's daughters, members of a convent of Augustinian nuns.[2]

Another specimen of funeral oratory to be mentioned here, not written by, but for a Dutchman, again leads us to Erasmus. Erasmus's death in July 1536 occasioned a ceremony at Cleve, with an *Oratio funebris* by Gulielmus Insulanus.[3] Both mentioned orations, the one by and the one for Erasmus, were inserted into his *Complete Works*.[4]

The strictly academic funeral oration was known in the Netherlands before the foundation of the Leiden Academy, which, as we know, had an older sister at Louvain (and a younger one at Douai). In 1517 this venerable university was enlarged by the addition of the Collegium Trilingue. Erasmus played a part in its foundation and his protegé and most faithful friend Conrad Goclenius became its second professor of Latin. Goclenius died three years later than Erasmus, in 1539, and his future successor, Petrus Nannius, a native from the northern Alkmaar, delivered an oration at the funeral.[5] Nannius himself died in 1557 and was honored in a similar way by his fellow countryman Cornelius Valerius.[6] Valerius was the teacher of a complete generation of scholars and humanists of the Low Countries, as has been illustrated by Henry de Vocht in his monumental monograph on the foundation and development of the Collegium Trilingue. Most of the great names to be met with in the early years of Leiden University, such as Vulcanius, Dousa, Lipsius, are also to be found among the disciples of Valerius. And although Valerius did not publish his oration on Nannius, these disciples must have known of its existence. Vulcanius, who sojourned in Louvain, 1555–1557, and had had close ties with Nannius, might even have assisted at the ceremony. Four years after the death of Nannius, Dousa made the acquaintance of Valerius. Lipsius, finally, proved to be familiar with funeral oratory before he came to Leiden, since he himself had personally delivered such an oration already in 1573, when he was a professor at the Lutheran university of Jena. He had refused to publish this text, but his former colleague Andreas Ellinger had it published four years after it had been delivered.[7]

It is only natural that the Leiden archives do not provide us with much information about funeral ceremonies at the university during the first decades of its existence. The staff was still small and many teachers of the first hour soon changed their academic jobs for functions elsewhere. Nevertheless, even in those early years there were some deaths among the professors

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[2] Cf. Erasmus, Ep. 28, 14; *Opera*, LB (= ed. Leiden, 1703–1708), 8, 551–60.

[3] *Oratio funebris in obitum D. Erasmi Roterodami* (Augustae and [Cologne], 1536).

[4] *Opera*, LB, 10, 1850–1860.

[5] *Funebris oratio habita pro mortuo Conrado Goclenio* (Louvain, 1542).

[6] *Oratio funebris de obitu D. Petri Nannii*, 1557, ed. H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense* (Louvain, 1955), 4:454–72.

[7] *Oratio in funere . . . Ioannis Guilielmi* (Jena, 1577).

which were to be regretted. First of all, the greatest success Dousa, as curator, had had in his search for capable teachers for the new foundation was undone in this way. His great friend Hadrianus Junius, called to Leiden for the chair of medicine, died even before he had started his work. Dousa honored him with a large collection of "Manes Iuniani," but nothing is heard about a funeral oration.[8] This is not very surprising, however, since Junius had died in far away Zealand before he had even started to prepare his move to Leiden. One year later, the professor of Latin, Basilius Pithopoeus, was the first staff member to die in harness,[9] but as far as the archives reveal, the university was not yet prepared to create an appropriate ceremony. Obviously, this was still the situation when the university mourned its first great loss in 1584. On 10 July of that year its founder, William the Silent, was heinously assassinated. The archives contain no mention at all of this hard blow. In the next year, the botanist Rembertus Dodonaeus died, and in 1586 the theologian Johannes Holmannus Secundus. The latter was the first to bequeath his books to the university, thus decisively promoting the establishment of a university library. Notwithstanding this generous gesture, no word about his decease is to be found in the archives. In this year, 1586, however, Leiden for the first time saw the printing of a funeral oration. Christoph Plantin, who had returned from Leiden to Antwerp in the previous year, had an oration on the Spanish bishop Antonio Agustin of Saragossa, written by Andreas Schottus, an Antwerpian scholar and priest in Spain, printed by his son-in-law Franciscus Raphelengius in Leiden.[10]

The early 1590s were, as we know, rather startling for the young university. To the distress and despair of Dousa and others, Lipsius left Calvinistic Leiden to become reconciled with his former Jesuit friends and the Roman Catholic church. Two years later, however, the loss was undone by the coming of an even more famous scholar, Josephus Justus Scaliger. To accustom the Dutch people to his presence, Scaliger had engraved portraits of himself and his father made and distributed before his coming.[11] Having finally arrived in Leiden, he introduced himself to the reading public with a printed open letter to the university's curator, Dousa, about the antiquity and splendor of his family. In it he had inserted the funeral oration his father Julius Caesar had written half a century earlier for the untimely death of his son Audectus.[12] This was the first serious funeral oration edited by a member of the academy.

I emphasize the word serious, for in the meantime the Dutch reading

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[8] *Novorum Poematum secunda Lugdunensis editio* (Leiden, 1576), fols. Cc i^{r}–Dd ij^{v}.

[9] He died 30 March 1576.

[10] *Laudatio funebris Ant. Augustini, archiepiscopi Tarraconensis,* Ex officina Plantiniana; cf. L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589)* (Amsterdam, 1980–1983), 4:2063–64.

[11] Cf. P. C. Molhuysen, *De komst van Scaliger in Leiden* (Leiden, 1913).

[12] Cf. J. J. Scaliger, *Epistola de vetustate et splendore gentis Scaligerae* (Leiden, 1594), 68–96: P. Scaliger, *Genealogia,* with *Oratio in luctu Audecti Caesaris filii.*

public had made its acquaintance with a peculiar derivative of our genre, the mock oration on animals. This parody of a most grave branch of literature had already been practiced by Italian humanists such as Leon Batista Alberti and Laura Cereta. In 1590 Dousa's oldest son published an astronomical poem, to which an edition of eleven *Orationes funebres in obitum aliquot animalium*, with a separate title-page, was added.[13] These orations were Latin translations by the late Dutch philologist William Canter from a French version, which in its turn stemmed from an Italian original. The translator tells us that this original was not available to him and that he did not know the author's name. In fact, Canter translated the *Sermoni funebri di vari Authori nella morte de diversi Animali*, written by Ortensio Landi and first published in 1542.[14] Obviously this product of the "adoxon genus" enjoyed a certain popularity in Leiden. The meritorious Neo-Latin poet Jacob Eyndius inserted a metrical adaptation of eight of these orations into his *Poemata*, published in Leiden in 1611. This adaptation was reprinted in Gruterus's famous *Delitiae*, 1614, and added to Daniel Heinsius's *Dissertatio Epistolica* in 1618. The first edition of this "Heinsianum," however, published in 1616, had contained Canter's Latin prose version.[15]

The Leiden professor of philosophy, the Scotsman Jacobus Ramsaeus, James Ramsay, who died in 1593, was immortalized by an impressive portrait of himself lying on his death-bed, painted by Isaac Swanenburgh.[16] However, neither about his funeral, nor about that of the theologian Jeremias Bastingius, who died two years later, is any information to be found in the archives.

The first member of the university staff to be honored with a funeral oration, although not in Leiden, was the editor of Canter's translation of the mock orations, young Janus Dousa Filius. His early death, which meant such a serious blow to the morale and the literary activity of his father, the Leiden curator, and which made Scaliger, according to his own confession, weep for an entire week,[17] resonated in the neighboring countries in which he had traveled shortly before his death. Christoph Coler commemorated the deceased at his university at Altdorf by delivering a *Declamatio In obitum praematurum, et omnibus doctis lugendum, Iani Dousae F.*[18] The text was printed

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[13] J. Dousa Fil., *Rerum Caelestium liber primus . . . Quibus additae Orationes funebres In obitus aliquot animalium, Interprete Gulielmo Cantero* (Leiden, 1591).

[14] Eds. Venice 1548; Genova 1559.

[15] J. Eyndius, *Carmina* (Leiden, 1611), 2nd Part, 127–92: *Nugarum liber*; R. Gherus, *Delitiae C. poetarum Belgicorum* (Frankfurt, 1614), 2:346–99; D. Heinsius, *Dissertatio Epistolica . . . Quibus . . . accessere V. N. Iacobi Eyndii ab Haemstede Ioci funebres in Obitus aliquot animalium* (Leiden, 1618), 73–140; D. Heinsius, *Dissertatio Epistolica . . . Quibus additae sunt Incerti Auctoris Orationes Funebres in obitus aliquot animalium* (Leiden, 1616).

[16] Cf. *Icones Leidenses* (Leiden, 1973), No. 46.

[17] Cf. *Scaligerana*, ed. des Maizeaux (Amsterdam, 1740), 2:298.

[18] Nürnberg 1597.

with a dedicatory letter to Dousa Pater and Scaliger, dated 8 July 1597, and must soon have arrived at Leiden. The booklet contained a poem by Coler's colleague Conrad Rittershusius bearing the same date, addressed to the Leiden printer and professor of Hebrew Franciscus Raphelengius.[19] It is doubtful, however, whether Raphelengius ever saw this poem, for hardly two weeks later, on 26 July, he died himself.

Raphelengius's death seems to be the first which is officially recorded in the archives, with the addition that a funeral oration had been delivered on the day of his burial by "the son of the geometer Solomon," as well as one on the following day by the twenty-one-year old student Festus Hommius. Thus neither of these orations was delivered by a professor, and neither of them seems to have been printed or preserved in manuscript.[20] The same holds for the oration that was delivered on the death of the professor of medicine Gerardus Bontius, September 1599, although this time the appointed orator was a professor, the theologian Franciscus Junius.[21] This leads us to the conclusion that no Leiden funeral oration from the sixteenth century has come down to us.

Nevertheless, it is this same Franciscus Junius to whom we owe the first specimen of this oratory as practiced in the Leiden academy. In 1602 the plague ravaged the population of the town and it also exacted its victims among the staff members of the university. One of them was the theologian Lucas Trelcatius who succumbed to the disease on 28 August. Once again it was Junius, *collega proximus* of the deceased, who was charged with the delivery of an oration, which was subsequently published and so became the oldest Leiden funeral oration we possess.[22]

The second victim of the plague among the professors was Junius himself, as a Dutch Catholic noted in his diary: "In the last days of October, Franciscus Junius, the lapsed monk and most renowned heretic, died at Leiden."[23] Now the scenario was in place. The senate had invitations sent to the curators and the town's magistrate, and the students were officially summoned to the funeral ceremony. Franciscus Gomarus, the only surviving professor of divinity, was charged with the delivery of the oration. This text, too, was printed within a short period.[24]

With the publication of the orations by Junius and Gomarus in 1602, the foundations were laid for an academic tradition which in the beginning

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[19] *O.c.*, *B 1^{v}–2^{r}.

[20] Cf. P. C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidse Universiteit*, 1 ('s-Gravenhage, 1913), 99. For the geometer's son, probably Henricus Delmenhorst (suggestion Dr. E. Rabbie), cf. *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, ed. P. C. Molhuysen, 1 ('s-Gravenhage, 1928), 89.

[21] Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 117.

[22] F. Junius, *Oratio funebris in obitum Lucae Trelcatii* (Leiden, 1602). Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 139.

[23] Cf. Fr. Dusseldorpius, *Annales*, ed. R. Fruin ('s-Gravenhage, 1894), 315.

[24] Fr. Gomarus, *Oratio funebris in obitum Franc. Iunii* (Leiden, 1602). Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 140.

seems to be mainly supported by the faculty of divinity whose professors, also being preachers, had experience in speaking at similar meetings. This fact might explain why there is no record of any ceremony on the death of the professor of rhetoric and physics Antonius Trutius, which occurred in the next year, 1603. In the following year, however, the university bewailed the loss of a man who had no particular relation to the faculty of theology, and was not even a professor, but who had made himself useful to the university for the entire three decades of its existence in a most particular way. He had been a member of the founding committee and of the board of governors and had also been the first librarian. Although this man, Janus Dousa Pater, had died in the Hague and the funeral was to take place there, it was obvious that the university could not give him his due but by a most official ceremony. Immediately after the announcement of his death, the senate assembled and ordered an entire week of mourning, during which there were no lessons to be given. Moreover, the professors were summoned to join their colleagues Petrus Bertius, who was to deliver the oration, and Daniel Heinsius, who was charged with writing something in honor of the deceased.[25] This charge entrusted to Heinsius sounds rather vague, but from the results it is clear what was intended. Heinsius wrote what was entitled a *Laudatio funebris*, which was evidently delivered at an official session in the hall of the academy within the week of mourning. Heinsius's oration is, as may be expected, highly panegyrical and contains fewer biographical details than that of Bertius. One detail of Dousa's dying, however, referred to by Heinsius in the oration and emphasized in one of the poems added, may be mentioned here. Shortly before dying, Heinsius tells the public, Dousa had enjoyed a moment of heavenly bliss, during which he tasted the happiness of hearing, just like the protagonist in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, the music of the spheres. From the mouth of a Calvinist like Heinsius, such a hagiographic detail, more suitable within a Catholic context, may seem surprising. Some strange thing, however, must have happened, since Bertius also refers to it.[26] For the rest, Heinsius's *Laudatio* is rather sparing of the usual Christian piety.

From now on, the Latin funeral oration would be a regular component of the Leiden academic tradition, although, for unknown reasons, the archives keep silence about the ceremonies of several great lights of the academy, such as the two professors Heurnius and the two professors Snellius, and some professors who had themselves delivered one or more orations on deceased colleagues. The custom would soon spread to the other Dutch universities. Franeker heard its first oration in 1605, Groningen was to follow in 1614 and Utrecht in 1639. The tradition maintained itself far into the

[25] Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 154–55.

[26] D. Heinsius, *Laudatio ... Iani Dousae* (Leiden, 1605), 27–29; P. Bertius, *Oratio De vita et obitu ... Iani Dousae* (Leiden, 1604), fol. C4^{v}.

nineteenth century. Without engaging in any systematic research, I have registered to date seventy-two specimens for Leiden alone.

This not the moment to give a typology of the genre as it was practiced in the first Dutch university, or to list both the commonplaces demanded and the exceptions to the rules some of the orators permitted themselves. Instead, I will dwell for a moment on two early examples that gave occasion to some tumult and will throw some light on the atmosphere in which the tradition started to flourish.

The first example is an oration of 1609 by Petrus Bertius, whom we have already met as the orator for Dousa Pater, and who had also delivered the oration on the theologian Trelcatius Jr. in 1607. The year 1609 brought two heavy losses to the university. On 22 January, the senate announced, as it had done on Dousa's death, the cancellation of lessons for an entire week because of the departure from this life of Josephus Scaliger. Again like Dousa, Scaliger was honored with two orations. The first orator was the "parvulus Scaliger," Daniel Heinsius, the second, Dominicus Baudius, who had first had the bright idea of calling Scaliger to Leiden. Heinsius's oration was to be reprinted six times in his collected orations and Baudius's as many as twelve times. An English translation has been published of both orations.[27]

The second great loss which occurred in 1609 was the death of the theologian Jacobus Arminius on 19 October. During the six years of his teaching, cooperation with his colleague Gomarus had become increasingly difficult because of their different views on the theological topics of grace and predestination, and on the relationship between the church and the state government. Theologians, preachers, teachers, students and other members of the Calvinist Church in and around Leiden and in the province of Holland got more and more involved in their polemics and divided into two increasingly hostile factions. The arrangements for the burial of the controversial deceased demanded tact and delicacy in order to prevent precarious or even distasteful situations. The reports of the senate's meeting are not very informative. They are silent about the name of the appointed orator, but tell us that it was decreed that he should avoid inserting anything that might sound offensive to any of his colleagues.[28] It seems to be rather naïve of the senate to expect that all trouble would be prevented by addressing a simple warning to the orator, the more so when we take into account whom they had appointed. A few days later it is reported that no lessons were given on the day of Arminius's burial and that Petrus Bertius had pronounced the funeral oration. Bertius, now regent of the "Staten College" and professor of ethics, had been a lifelong friend of Arminius who, after the loss of his parents, had lived in the house of the Bertius family. Thereafter the young Bertius and Arminius had studied together in

[27] See G. W. Robinson, *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), esp. 19–20.
[28] Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 182.

Leiden. No wonder, therefore, that Bertius had the reputation of being a fervent adherent of Arminius.

Within a few weeks Bertius's oration had not only been published in the original version, but also in a Dutch translation, made by an unnamed "liefhebber," a devotee, whom we know to be Bertius's disciple Johannes Corvinus.[29] This translation, extended by the addition of a preface by Bertius himself, implied an unprecedented dissemination of the *laudatio*, particularly outside the academic circle, and a means of far-reaching propaganda for Arminian views. It is understandable that a response from the other party did not fail to appear. It came from the pen of its leader Franciscus Gomarus, who, of course, had been among Bertius's audience.

In his oration Bertius had with all honor pointed to Gomarus as the "Atlas" who in 1602, after the death of Trelcatius and Junius, had, all on his own, supported Leiden's faculty of divinity. He had also commemorated the fact that Arminius had acquired his doctorate from the hands of Gomarus. After the publication of the Latin text, accompanied by the usual *epicedia* and other poems, Bertius had immediately sent a copy to his colleague. Now Gomarus felt obliged to respond to what he considered an unquestioning and exaggerated praise of his late colleague and opponent, in which it was suggested that neither Franciscus Junius nor Gomarus himself had ever had any doubt as to the orthodoxy of Arminius. Nearly two months had passed when Gomarus's *Objections Concerning the Funeral Oration by Master Petrus Bertius* became available.[30] The pamphlet was, with similar energy, answered by Bertius with his *Address to Master Franciscus Gomarus Concerning his Objections*.[31] Bertius concluded his *Address* with the statement that he would never again write against the contentious Gomarus, but hoped to keep peace with him. Gomarus, however, was not yet exhausted and replied with an analysis of Bertius's *Address*, entitled *Examination of Bertius's Address*, published twice in 1610.[32] Bertius kept his promise to keep silent, possibly out of the certainty that others would take over his cause. The same year saw two editions of the *Inspection of Gomarus's Examination of Bertius's Address, by one of the latter's disciples*.[33] This unnamed disciple was identical with the unnamed translator of the funeral oration, Johannes Corvinus. The annoying and nasty polemics across the grave of Arminius may have precipitated Gomarus's decision to leave the obfuscated atmosphere of the university in the next year, 1611.

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[29] *Petri Bertii Liick-Oratie over de doot vanden Eerweerdighen ende wytheroemden Heere Iacobus Arminius . . . door een liefhebber verduyst* (Leiden, 1609). Cf. L. J. M. Bosch, *Petrus Bertius 1565–1629* (Meppel, 1979), 85–99.

[30] F. Gomarus, "Bedencken over de Lyck-oratie van Meester P. Bertius," in *Waerschuwinghe Over de Vermaninghe aen R. Donteclock* (Leiden, 1609), 2nd Part, 41–49.

[31] P. Bertius, *Aen-spraeck aen D. Fr. Gomarum op zijne Bedenckinghe over de Lijck-oratie* (Leiden, 1610).

[32] F. Gomarus, *Proeve van M. P. Bertii Aenspraeck* (Leiden, 1610).

[33] *Schouwe over D. Francisci Gomari Proeve, van D. M. P. Bertii Aenspraeck, By een van sijn Discipelen* (Leiden, 1610).

If Bertius, notwithstanding the senate's warning, put too much religion into his praise of Arminius, five years later an orator was to cause some tumult by too obviously and too thoroughly avoiding the topic of the deceased's religion. Before concluding my paper, I would like to dwell for a few seconds on this oration.

On 9 October 1614, Bonaventura Vulcanius, who had served the university as the professor of Greek for more than thirty years, died. The archives pass over it without record and so we have no information about the burial. No oration was published. In the eighteenth century, however, an *Oratio in obitum Bonaventurae Vulcanii* was inserted in an edition of the *Epistles* of the jurist Petrus Cunaeus.[34] About six months before Vulcanius's death twenty-eight-year old Cunaeus, who had already been teaching for some years in several disciplines, was appointed *Professor Politices*. He had as yet had hardly any experience as a funeral orator. In later years, he appears to have been one of the favorites for this job.

From Cunaeus's published letters it becomes clear that the choice of this orator had been a last resort. Vulcanius's long service, both as a professor and as the first secretary to the senate demanded a worthy funeral ceremony. Nevertheless, the senate did not at first succeed in finding someone willing to deliver the traditional oration, which was supposed to end with the commemoration of the pious way in which the deceased had exchanged his mortal life for eternal life. The problem was that it was not easy to find plausible proofs for such a pious passing over in the case of Vulcanius. Nobody had ever heard him speak about Christ or about Christian piety. When visitors admonished the aged man that the time had come to devote himself to the "meditatio mortis," he used to become furiously enraged and to chase them away immediately.[35] Finally the young and newly appointed *ordinarius professor* Cunaeus helped the senate out of the embarrassing situation by declaring himself willing to fulfill the delicate charge.[36] In his oration, he carried it off by praising in Vulcanius that which could be praised in all scholars, that is to say, his devotion to erudition, and by painting his beatitude in the after-life as the joy of companionship with other deceased scholars such as Scaliger and Lipsius.[37]

Now the name of Lipsius, as well as that of Erasmus, also honorably mentioned by Cunaeus, was like a red rag to a bull to the fervently Contra-remonstrant part of the orator's audience.[38] The most direct response came from afar. Within less than a month Cunaeus was informed that his action had been publicly denounced by the well-known Amsterdam cartographer, merchant and minister Petrus Plancius. Plancius had openly de-

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[34] *Petri Cunaei ... epistolae quibus accedit Oratio ...*, ed. P. Burmannus (Leiden, 1725).

[35] *Cunaei Epistolae*, 93 and 112. Cf. also *Scaligerana*, 2:620.

[36] *Cunaei Epistolae*, 111.

[37] *Cunaei Epistolae*, 93, and in the oration itself, ibid., 412.

[38] *Cunaei Epistolae*, 93; 112.

clared, first from the pulpit and then before a notary and some witnesses, that Leiden university fostered a professor who denied the resurrection of the body and another one who praised the heathens more than the Christian saints, and "who in the funeral oration on Vulcanius had spoken as an enemy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." And, instead of being punished, Plancius added, this man was even rewarded and promoted from *extraordinarius* to *ordinarius* professor.[39]

Cunaeus set himself to prepare a short reply to Plancius, a *Dissertatiuncula* and had a draft of it circulated within a few days.[40] This text is probably identical with a Latin letter still extant addressed to Plancius, and finally dated 14 November 1614. On 11 November, however, the board of the university had already sent a letter of protest to the government of Amsterdam, together with a Latin letter by Cunaeus, addressed to Petrus Plancius. The board wanted to prevent the publication of Cunaeus's letter, which would have caused another shower of vehement pamphlets between the two belligerent Protestant parties. One week later those in Amsterdam sent a reply, declaring they completely shared the worries and wishes of the Leiden administrators and promising to address Plancius and to do what they recognized as their duty.[41] It seems that the question was therewith disposed of.

The commotion surrounding the oration on Vulcanius was in a way as symptomatic of the explosive atmosphere as the situation which surrounded Arminius. This may be surprising in the case of a religiously indifferent person like Vulcanius, who had kept himself far away from the ecclesiastial conflict of his day. Probably, however, it is not so much the *laudatus*, but the *laudator* whose action was beheld with Argus eyes. Two years before, Cunaeus had caused great tumult among students and teachers with the publication of a satire, entitled *Sardi venales*, in which the mentality of the Leiden theologians and other professors had been satirized at a moment when emotions had risen to fever pitch because of the appointment of Conrad Vorstius to the vacancy left by Arminius. Cunaeus had, to quote his colleague Bronchorstius, "severely censured the topics of theological teaching and the way of life led by the ministers of the church. . . ." Therefore he was twice hooted off stage by the students and for one whole week there were no lessons on account of the ensuing tumult.[42] The choice of the young and controversial author of the *Sardi venales* as the orator to speak over Vulcanius's catafalque must indeed have been an act of last resort by the Senate.

The tumult caused by Bertius's oration on Arminius and surrounding

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[39] Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 2:*72–*73.

[40] *Cunaei Epistolae*, 112.

[41] Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 2:*72–*74, referring to a Latin letter to Plancius, probably *Cunaei Epistolae*, 123–31 (November 14, 1614).

[42] *Diarium Everardi Bronchorstii*, ed. J. C. van Slee ('s-Gravenhage, 1898), 128–29. Cf. *Two Neo-Latin Menippean Satires. Justus Lipsius: Somnium. Petrus Cunaeus: Sardi venales*, ed. C. Matheeussen and C. L. Heesakkers (Leiden, 1980), 10–18.

that of Cunaeus on Vulcanius confirms, once again, that the conflict between Remonstrants and Contraremonstrants had its repercussions on all aspects of university life during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Even in a solemn and delicate ceremony, which is what a burial ought to be, it was not always possible to prevent outbursts of overt hostility between the two camps. From a historical point of view, the funeral orations from this early period therefore belong to the most vivid and the most interesting specimens of the genre. Further investigation will reveal whether the products of the later periods have equally fruitful material to offer us for our understanding of contemporary ecclesiastical, political and cultural life in Leiden and in the Netherlands in general.

University of Amsterdam / State University Leiden

Some Tendencies in Dutch Humanism 1570–1650

CORRY RIDDERIKHOFF

The adjective "Dutch" nowadays refers to the population of Holland or more correctly to the population of the Netherlands. However, there is a historical justification for the application of the word to a wider territory, which was known already in the sixteenth century as "de Nederlanden, Les Pays-Bas," or in English as the Low Countries. "Dutch" is a translation of the archaic Dutch word "Diets" or "Duits,"[1] an expression introduced in the Middle Ages to distinguish the Netherlandish speaking people from the French speaking Walloons. The plural "landen," "countries," and not the singular "land" is also a relic of the medieval past. Up to the fourteenth century each country was an independent state, ruled by a duke or a count; Brabant, for instance, was ruled by a duke, the rich countries of Flanders and Holland by a count. In the case of Utrecht, the bishop was also the secular head of his province.

The process of state-building started in 1384, when a French prince, the duke of Burgundy, acquired the county of Flanders. By a series of feudal arrangements he soon gained control of the duchy of Brabant and the counties of Holland, Zealand and Hainaut. When in 1477 the last duke of the house of Burgundy died in the battle of Nancy, he left to his daughter, Mary the Rich, and to his son-in-law, Maximilian of Habsburg, a well-organized state of eleven counties. The grandson of this couple, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, completed the work of his Burgundian ancestors by conquering the northeastern regions. In a war extending over a period of twenty years he added Utrecht, Overijssel, Friesland and Groningen to his territories. In 1543, he finally crowned his conquests in the Low Countries

[1] For the use of the word "Dutch-Diets," see P. Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands 1555–1609* (London, 1932; repr., London, 1988), preface.

by adding the duchy of Guelders and Zutphen as the sixteenth and seventeenth provinces of his new state.

When in 1555 the Emperor Charles handed over his lands and dignities to the junior members of the Habsburg house, he split them up into two parts. Hoping to create a new empire from the old one, he had his younger brother Ferdinand elected as emperor. His son Philip received the richest parts: the kingdom of Spain, the kingdom of Naples, Spanish Burgundy, the Low Countries, and, last but not least, the continent which was called "the islands and lands on the other side of the Ocean." From then onwards, two branches of the Habsburg family ruled over large tracts of Europe and the rest of the world, the younger one from the old imperial court in Vienna, and the older branch from behind the rigid façade of the Escorial near Madrid.

Very few of his subjects applauded the Emperor's decision. Nevertheless there is to be found at least one staunch supporter of the new rule in the Low Countries. This enthusiast is named Lodovico Guicciardini, the son of a Florentine merchant who was sent to Antwerp by his father to look after the family business on the international market. As an economist *avant la lettre*, he predicted a golden future for the city of Antwerp, it being the natural junction between the south-north and the west-east trade.

There were more sides to Lodovico Guicciardini. He has given us a glorious description of the Low Countries in the first years of the reign of King Philip II of Spain. His *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* is the result of a visit the Florentine made to the northern and southern counties. Starting from Antwerp, he traveled all the way through Friesland, Holland and Zealand and back to the south. The county of Holland was certainly one of the highlights of his sightseeing tour. With great complacency he listened to all the trash his local guides doled out. One example is the following story about the lack of trees. I quote from an old English translation of the *Descrittione*: "The countrey hath in it few trees, because the ground is so waterish and soft, that it is not able to beare the waight of a tree."[2] During his visit to the city of Haarlem he must have met a very loquacious local. Talking about the invention of printing in his town, Guicciardini's Haarlem host also touched on the question whether mermaids and mermen really exist. He felt he could prove that a knitting and spinning mermaid had been around in Holland in about 1400. An observation like this could only have come from an insider. For such a specialist we need not look very far. After a visit to Copenhagen in the early sixties, the physician Hadrianus Junius reappeared in Haarlem, wishing nothing so much as to start a new career as the official historiographer of Holland.[3] Fluent in Italian, he suited the Florentine of Antwerp

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[2] Lodovico Guicciardini, *The description of the Low Countreys* (London, 1593; repr., Amsterdam-Norwood, N.J., 1976), 60–68.

[3] His unfinished "magnum opus" was *Batavia; in qua praeter gentis et insulae antiquitatem, originem, decora, mores, aliaque ad eam historiam pertinentia declaratur, quae fuerit vetus Batavia, quae Plinio, Ta-*

down to the ground. Lodovico Guicciardini finished touring the Low Countries in 1566. His *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* was sent to the press of the Antwerp printer Silvius and was dedicated to King Philip II of Spain. The heir to the throne, the ill-starred Don Carlos, honored the author of this peaceful portrait of the Low Countries with a gift of 200 sovereigns.

The next year the Dutch Revolt broke out, a war of independence which only ended in 1648 with the international peace conference of Westphalia which recognized the free Dutch republic in the North. The inhabitants of the southern part of the Low Countries had lost their struggle long ago when a superior Spanish army conquered their great cities of Flanders and Brabant one by one. The Calvinist stronghold of Ghent was forced to surrender in September 1584. One year later the proud city of Antwerp was compelled to make peace with the king of Spain. Citizens who refused the oath of obedience to the Spanish regime were allowed to sell their belongings and leave the city within four years. Thousands flocked to the north to find new homes in the seven free provinces.

The political disruption caused by the outbreak of the revolt in the Low Countries was bound to affect the lives of the scholars that Lodovico Guicciardini had met during his tour. In 1573, Hadrianus Junius, the humanist who was presumably his Haarlem host, had to cope with the dreadful experience of living in a town under siege by the complete Spanish armed forces in the Low Countries. Too old to take part in the resistance, he gratefully accepted the offer of the Prince of Orange to escape the war. Alas, he would never see his beloved Haarlem again. Deeply shocked by the loss of his golden days, of his friends, his family, his home, and above all by the total destruction of his library, he died two years later in his Zealand sanctuary, Middelburg.

War and humanism have nothing in common, as we all know, and yet, by interpreting the facts of life in a negative way, we deny the strong positive sides of this life-and-death struggle. In a classic of modern history-writing, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, the author Hans Baron demonstrates quite convincingly that, in defending the *civitas* of Florence against the tyranny of Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, the Quattrocento scholars discovered their real vocation as humanists, calling forth new ideas on education, life and politics. Or, as Hans Baron puts it, in the atmosphere of a common struggle for freedom, the scholar transforms into a civic humanist who, in addition to his studies, consummates his *humanitas* by shouldering man's social duties and by serving his fellow citizens in public office.[4] It is therefore tempting to examine to what extent the theory of Hans Baron ap-

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cito, Ptolemaeo cognita, quae etiam genuina inclytae Francorum nationis fuerit sedes, ed. Petrus Junius and Janus Dousa (Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, 1588).

[4] H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1955 and 1966 [revised one-volume edition with an epilogue]), chap. 1: "The elements of the crisis."

plies to Dutch humanism in the crisis of the Revolt. As I have mentioned before, Hadrianus Junius, who was born in 1511, was too old to serve as an example. If we want to compare the Dutch humanists of those days with their Florentine counterparts Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni, we have to look for a younger generation, the scholars born in or around 1540, scholars like Justus Lipsius, the French Huguenot Franciscus Junius, the militant Calvinist Petrus Plancius and the nobleman-poet Janus Douza, Lord of Noordwijk. Each of them experienced the Revolt in his own way. While in those tumultuous years the stoic Lipsius was looking for "constantia in publicis malis," but in vain, the others were taking a more active part in the Revolt. In my view, the nobleman-poet Janus Douza answers perfectly to Hans Baron's description of the civic humanist. As Lord of Noordwijk he could easily have lived on his estates, but he chose to defend the freedom of the city of Leiden against the Spanish tyranny. When finally, on the third of October 1574, the sea-beggars of the Prince of Orange broke through the enemy lines and came to the relief of the besieged town, all sufferings ceased. As a token of gratitude for the courage and determination which the nobleman-poet had shown in the resistance, Prince William of Orange rewarded him with the honorable appointment as trustee of the new institution of higher education, which the prince was about to found in Leiden. Janus Douza accepted with all his heart this challenge to breathe life into the young university.[5]

In this respect our Janus Douza can stand comparison with the Quattrocento civic humanists. Still, it would be a historical mistake to consider the Dutch humanists of the generation of Janus Douza as simple replicas of Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni. First of all, Douza, Lipsius, and Plancius, were by no means the first civic humanists in the Low Countries, neither had fifteenth-century Florence a monopoly of civic humanism in Europe. Under the rule of the Burgundian dukes, a feeling of confidence in their own strength had also awakened in the big cities of Brabant, Flanders and Holland. Like their Florentine counterparts the citizens of the Low Countries became more and more aware of their civic duties. The sons of the wealthier families were no longer forced to follow in their fathers' footsteps. On the contrary, parents eagerly sent their sons to school. This new mentality is reflected in the matriculation records of Leuven University. This, the oldest university in the Low Countries, already looking prosperous in 1450 with about 120 inscriptions in one year, but it now saw an increase in numbers every year. In 1470 it reached an annual intake of 456 students.[6] We may consider these to be the first generation of Dutch civic humanists.

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[5] J. J. Woltjer in *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century, An Exchange of Learning*, ed. Th. M. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1975), "Introduction."

[6] *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, I (1426–1453), ed. E. Reusens (Brussels, 1903), and II (1453–1485), ed. J. Wils (Brussels, 1946).

In other words, Janus Douza, Justus Lipsius and other civic humanists did not have to look across the borders for intellectual and spiritual inspiration. Dutch humanism already had its own heroes! There is another point by which the civic humanists of Douza's and Lipsius' generation distinguished themselves from the Quattrocento humanists of the crisis of the early Italian Renaissance. As opposed to the faithful Catholics Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni, most of the Dutch humanists lost their faith in Rome in the crisis of the Revolt and turned themselves to the church of Geneva for moral inspiration. Finally, whereas the Florentine humanists were defending their free *civitas* against a foreign oppressor, the Dutch took up arms against their own lord and sovereign. By breaking their oath of allegiance to King Philip of Spain they forfeited for ever their rights as loyal servants of the Spanish crown.

Time has come for some general considerations. The Dutch humanists who witnessed the breakup of the political and religious unity of the Low Countries were undeniably civic humanists. There can be no doubt about it, and if they differed from their fellow civic humanists in other countries, that was because they had to bear the legacy of their past: educational tradition, Calvinism and Revolt.

This triple burden was a heavy one to bear. Dressed in black, bible in hand, the Dutch humanists were as cheerful as mourners in a funeral procession. Even in moments of joy they never managed to throw off their innate *gravitas*. The following example is perhaps the best illustration. In 1594 the Delft city-councillor Jan de Groot accompanied his eleven-year-old son Hugo to Leiden to enlist him at the university. At all other universities in Europe the enrolment-ceremony provided a happy excuse for a day of eating and drinking. Such frivolity was not to the taste of the trustee of Leiden university, Janus Douza. For that particular occasion he composed a poetical address, in so funereal a tone that any other child would be traumatized for the rest of his life.[7] But not our little Hugo Grotius. He kept his countenance and saved the academic session by his behavior. This *spes patriae* even surpassed the high expectations set upon him. On Hugo's next visit home he is reported to have converted his Catholic mother to the true religion. Telling her that she was too clever to cling to the errors of popery, he recommended to her a daily reading of the Holy Scriptures. Touched by the wise words of her son the mother gave in.

In this respect the welcoming poem of Janus Douza appears to have been rather effective. There are other reasons for admiring the endless efforts made by the trustee of Leiden University to attract the young and the talented to his academy. Until recent times, insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that in the first decades of the Dutch Revolt the demand for

[7] C. Brandt and A. van Cattenburgh, *Historie van het Leven des Heeren Huig de Groot*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1727), I:7–10.

loyal intellectuals, who were able to take over the responsibilities of the older generation, was extremely high. On the other hand, in the 1580s and 90s, the supply of young graduates was at its lowest ebb. With wars raging over much of the European continent the enthusiasm for attending a university was dwindling. Only highly motivated young men took up the challenge, some law students, one or two physicians and, not very surprisingly when we take into consideration the missionary character of Geneva, a dozen or so Calvinist theologians.[8] Among them, were the pillars of the Calvinist church in the Low Countries, Franciscus Gomarus, Sibrandus Lubbertus, Jacobus Arminius and Johannes Wtenbogaert.

However learned the theologians might be, they could not alter the fact that the young Republic was in desperate need of academically-trained lawyers, teachers and doctors. The grand old men of Leiden University Douza, Lipsius, his successor Scaliger, Franciscus Junius and the Hellenist Bonaventura Vulcanius were well aware of their historical mission. They also knew that they had started too late to direct the studies of the generation born between 1555 and 1570. From the point of view of academic studies this generation was lost. The miracle had to come from the *spes patriae*, the generation of Gerardus Joannes Vossius, Daniel Heinsius, Caspar Barlaeus, Johannes Meursius, Hugo Grotius and all the other brilliant young men. The younger generation knew its duty. At the age of twenty they had assumed functions which were normally reserved for experienced men in their forties or fifties. Mentally they were not ready for these jobs. It must have been a charming experience to watch fifteen-year-old Hugo Grotius delivering an elegant Latin speech to King Henry IV of France. It is not so charming, when, thirty-years old and advocate-general of Holland, he did the same in front

[8] The unrest in Europe's universities is reflected in the number of matriculations of students from the Northern and Southern Netherlands at "dissident" (Protestant) universities. The table below is based on figures to be found in the official registers, the *matriculae*.

(O=Orléans, H=Heidelberg, W=Wittenberg, R=Rostock, B=Basle, G=Geneva and P=Padua):

	O	H	W	R	B	G	P
1559-1564	238	38	35	31	31	9	54
1565-1569	177	138	20	15	19	27	36
1570-1575	18	79	29	20	18	5	20

of King James I of England. An eye-witness, George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, later declared in the memorable year of 1613 that the king was thoroughly bored by the display of learning and the tedious tittletattle of the Dutch oracle. It should have been pointed out to the young advocate-general that his behavior was at odds with his weighty function, but no one was available for this thankless task. His Leiden teachers had passed away one by one and their successors were of the same age as he was. Outside the university, only Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and the theologian Johannes Wtenbogaert still enjoyed the prestige accorded to the grand old men of the Republic. To them Grotius would have listened, if they had not just got their fingers burnt with the appointment of the unorthodox Calvinist Conradus Vorstius to the principal Leiden chair of theology. When we look at their problems, the grand old men needed a brilliant lawyer much more than Grotius needed paternal advice. So, as usual, he did what the elderly wanted of him. In his wellknown tittletattle style he took up the public defense of their church policy in a booklet appearing that same year under the title "The piety of the States of Holland," the *Ordinum pietas*. On receiving a copy of the *Ordinum pietas* the French humanist and historiographer Jacques-Auguste de Thou warned Grotius against the dangers of his political commitment. He warned him to keep well away from this tricky arena.[9] These well-meant words came too late. Civic humanism was no longer a virtue! In the last days of August 1618 his principal mentor Johan van Oldenbarnevelt dragged Grotius with him in his downfall. Twenty-four frustrated judges sentenced Grotius to lifelong imprisonment in the state prison of Loevestein.[10]

Yet, there was still hope for humanity. In the spring of 1621 his clever wife Maria van Reigersberch helped her husband to escape. The couple established themselves in Paris, she as his *prudentia* and the king of France as their Maecenas. Humanism had already seen many strange combinations. This one, however, was the most endearing. In this period Grotius wrote his international masterpiece *De iure belli ac pacis* and his utterly sincere *De veritate religionis Christianae*. It was cardinal de Richelieu who in 1631 broke up the unique relationship between his king and the Dutch couple. Grotius and Maria returned home. That same year, spies spotted the escaped prisoner of Loevestein in Rotterdam saluting the new bronze statue of Erasmus.

Grotius was no longer welcome in his fatherland. Waiting for a warrant to leave the country, he hid in an Amsterdam merchant's house. From this hiding-place he wrote to his old friend Johannes Wtenbogaert in January 1632: "it is January the 8th and at this hour Gerardus Johannes Vossius is inaugurating the Amsterdam *Athenaeum Illustre*. Tomorrow Caspar Barlaeus will give his address." Even without the presence of the "great" man, the

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[9] *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius* I, ed. P.C. Molhuysen (The Hague, 1928), no. 403.

[10] J. den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619)*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1973), 2:423–66 and 511–703.

opening ceremony of the *Athenaeum Illustre* was impressive.[11] Before an audience of city magistrates, preachers and merchants, Professor Vossius gave a public speech in the best tradition of Dutch humanism. Dressed in black, the bible close at hand, he spoke of the *utilitas* of history. The next day his colleague Barlaeus looked into the future. For his speech he had also chosen a subject which fitted the occasion well. From nine o'clock to eleven he paid homage to the *Mercator Sapiens*. At eleven the bell of the Amsterdam stock exchange sounded over the city. With one accord the *sapientes* rushed out to the market. Dutch humanism was for sale. Soon it found its highest bidder, Queen Christina of Sweden. On the same scale as she was collecting Dutch books and Dutch paintings, she gathered the flower of Dutch humanism around her. Grotius, Isaac Vossius, Nicolas Heinsius, the French-Dutch humanists Claude Saumaise and René Descartes, one by one, they were summoned by the queen to her Palace of the Three Crowns in Stockholm.[12] seven hundred miles north-east of the Amsterdam *Athenaeum Illustre* a new Athens was born!

Constantijn Huygens Institute, The Hague

[11] C. S. M. Rademaker, *Life and Work of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649)* (Assen, 1981), 236–54.

[12] On the academic relations between Sweden and Holland, see the contribution of F. S. de Vrieze in *Leiden University*, 344–65.

*The Wanderings of Aeneas as a Figure for the Active Life in Italian Renaissance Painting**

J. L. DE JONG

One of the most popular figures in Italian Renaissance art is Aeneas, the hero of Virgil's well-known epic.[1] His deeds were a favorite subject in painting, and they were often meant as an example of the active way of life—a way of life, that is, in which virtue and wisdom are pursued and a higher goal is aimed at.

Already in the fourteenth century Petrarch and Boccaccio interpreted Virgil's *Aeneid* as an allegory of human life. They explained his wanderings as the various stages in the life of man trying to overcome vice, gain wisdom, and reach a higher destination. This way of explaining Virgil's *Aeneid* concentrates on books 1 to 6, which describe Aeneas's adventures and his arrival at the place of destination, Italy. As scholars had difficulty explaining why Aeneas, after reaching his fated destination, still had to fight on through books 7 to 12, the second half of the *Aeneid* was usually passed over in silence.[2]

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* I am very grateful to my wife Elizabeth for her help in preparing the text of both the lecture at the congress and of this article.

[1] For a survey—although not a complete one—of representations of the *Aeneid* in Italy during the Renaissance as well as other countries and during other time periods, see the catalogue of the exhibition in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome, 1981, *Vergilio nell'aarte e nella cultura europea*, ed. M. Fagiolo (Rome, 1981).

[2] On *Aeneid* explanations during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see D. C. Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, London, 1970), 135–62, and A. Buck, *Die Rezeption der Antike in den romanischen Literaturen der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1976), 166–76. On the *Aeneid* explanation of Petrarch and Boccaccio, see below, nn. 26 and 25. The only explanations of the second half of the *Aeneid* from the Renaissance that I know of were given by Maffeo Vegio in his *De perseverantia religionis* (1:5),

The same pattern was followed in the longest and most detailed explanation of the *Aeneid*, the *Disputationes Camaldulenses* of Cristoforo Landino. The *Disputationes* were most probably written in 1472 and were printed for the first time in 1480.[3] Landino belonged to the court of Lorenzo il Magnifico in Florence, where the lively interest in Neoplatonic philosophy had a strong impact on him. The *Disputationes* reveal this clearly, for Landino explained the first half of the *Aeneid* in Neoplatonic terms, with Aeneas as a symbol of man striving to regain his divine origin.[4] The various obstacles and adventures he encounters in his wanderings each represent some stage in this search, and Italy symbolizes, of course, his ultimate destination. Landino even calls Italy "a figure for the contemplative life." By contrast, Carthage, where Aeneas has a love affair with Queen Dido, is mentioned as "a figure for the active life." [5] It may or may not be mere chance, but it is this specific episode of Aeneas's love affair with Dido which was the theme from the *Aeneid* most often represented in Italian Renaissance painting.

As it is impossible to discuss in only a few pages all the representations of Dido and Aeneas that were made during the Italian Renaissance, I will concentrate on one series of paintings and refer very briefly to contemporary pictures. But first I will give a short survey of painted *Aeneid* cycles produced in Italy during the period before the series under discussion.

The oldest known *Aeneid* cycle in monumental painting was made around 1535. Before that time *Aeneid* cycles occurred only in manuscripts and on marriage chests (*cassoni*).[6] The cycle of 1535 was painted by an anonymous artist in the Palazzo Besta at Teglio, some one hundred kilometers northeast of Milan.[7] The scenes were painted al fresco on the walls of the courtyard,

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from 1488, and by Celio Rodigino in his *Lectiones antiquae* (4:1), from 1516.

[3] I have used the edition of the *Disputationes* by P. Lohe (Florence, 1980), with information on the date of composition and publication on xxxii and xvi.

[4] Edition cited in preceding note, books 3 and 4, esp. 119, lines 2–22, and 256, lines 13–21.

[5] Edition cited in n. 3, 170, lines 26–28: "Puto vos meminisse Italiam speculationis, Carthaginem actionis figuram habere." Cf. also 194 and 195. On 218, lines 20–21, Landino gives an explanation of what Troy stands for: "Troiam enim prima naturae, in quibus voluptates corporeae plurimum vigent, interpretari licet."

[6] P. Schubring, *Cassoni, Truhen und Truhenbilder der italienischen Frührenaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Profanmalerei im Quattrocento* (Leipzig, 1915); E. Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (London, 1974). I do not think that the three panels by Dosso Dossi from ca. 1510–15 (now in Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada; Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts; Washington D. C., National Gallery of Art), together with seven other panels (presumably lost) originally formed an *Aeneid* cycle in the so-called Camerino d'Alabastro, of Alfonso d'Este, in Ferrara. The various sources are not unanimous in their identification of the scenes and only one painting (in Ottawa) can without any doubt be recognized as an illustration of the *Aeneid*, namely *Aeneas in the Elysian Fields (Aen.* 6.628–55); see most recently C. Hope, "The Camerini d'Alabastro of Alfonso d'Este I and II," *Burlington Magazine* 113.824 (1974): 641–50, and D. Goodgal, "The Camerino of Alfonso I d'Este," *Art History* 1.2 (1978): 162–90.

[7] M. C. Muscolini, "Le fonti iconografiche del ciclo di affreschi dell'Eneide a Palazzo Besta di Teglio," *Arte Lombarda* 65 (1983): 133–40; M. L. Gatti Perer, "Precisazioni su Palazzo Besta," *Arte*

in monochrome green colors. They are now in rather bad condition and some scenes are hardly discernible. Originally they constituted an extensive and accurate illustration of the *Aeneid*, beginning with Aeneas's flight from Troy and ending with the death of Turnus. Each of the four walls of the courtyard above the loggia was covered with one large scene which comprised several different episodes. The main figures are easy to identify, as the painter has consistently added their names. In these respects, but also in regard to composition and the use of backgrounds, the anonymous painter clearly revealed his source of inspiration. This was not the actual text of Virgil's *Aeneid*, but the woodcut illustrations to it which appeared for the first time in 1502, in the Strasburg edition of Virgil's works by Sebastian Brant.[8] Copied by a certain "L.," these illustrations occur in many Venetian Virgil editions from the period between 1505 and 1544.[9]

The next *Aeneid* cycle was probably painted only a few years later, around 1540. The artist was Niccolo dell'Abate, who executed this work for Giulio Boiardo, a second cousin of the author of the *Orlando innamorato*, Matteo Maria Boiardo.[10] The cycle was painted in the Rocca di Scandiano, near Modena. The Rocca has now been turned into a military academy, and the room in which the cycle was painted—a small *gabinetto*—no longer exists. The paintings of the cycle are now in the Galleria Estense in Modena. Originally they were painted al fresco on the walls of the *gabinetto*, but they were detached and transferred to canvas in 1772. Three scenes were lost during a fire in 1815, but they are still known through engravings.[11] The cycle consisted of twelve scenes, corresponding to the twelve books of the *Aeneid*. Each scene thus contained several episodes from one particular book. Although the scenes may seem a little crowded and confusing, the text of the *Aeneid* has been illustrated quite accurately. That does not imply, though, that Niccolo dell'Abate based himself exclusively on the words of Virgil. In the case of the illustration of book 2, with the Trojan horse, it is obvious that he too, just like the painter in Palazzo Besta, was inspired by the woodcut illustrations of Sebastian Brant's Virgil edition as a visual example.[12]

Neither of these cycles seem to have been known to the painter of the

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Lombarda 67 (1983): 7–69; most recent, and with good color photographs, is G. Galletti & G. Mulazzini, *Il Palazzo Besta di Teglio. Una dimora rinascimentale in Valentina (sine loco*, 1983).

[8] Muscolini, 136–40; Galletti & Mulazzini, 155–57.

[9] To be precise, in the editions of 1505, 1515, 1519, 1522, 1533, 1534, 1537, 1542 and 1544; see G. Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni virgiliane* (Florence, 1954), passim.

[10] E. Langmuir, " 'Arma virumque . . .': Nicolò dell'Abate's *Aeneid gabinetto* for Scandiano," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 151–70; more recent, and with good color photographs, is R. Gandini, G. Prampolini & O. Rombaldi, *La Rocca di Scandiano e gli affreschi di Nicolò Dell'Abate* (Genoa, 1982).

[11] Published in G. B. Venturi, *L'Eneide di Virgilio dipinta in Scandiano dal celebre pittore Niccolò Abati* (Modena, 1821).

[12] Langmuir, 163.

frescoes which will now be studied in detail. The frescoes are still on their original place in Rome, in the Palazzo Angelo Massimo (probably better known as Palazzo Pirro Massimo), at the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, number 145.[13] The construction of this palace started in 1533, shortly after the Sack of Rome, and was more or less finished in 1537.[14] The original owner, Angelo Massimo, member of a prominent Roman family, left the palace to his son Massimo at his death in 1550. According to an inscription,[15] it was he who had the *Aeneid* cycle painted. Massimo led a rather capricious life: after various functions in the city government of Rome he suddenly became a priest and even archbishop of Amalfi in 1561, only to return to Rome and finish his religious career in 1564. He died in 1579.[16] For the *Aeneid* cycle this means that it must be dated between 1550, when Massimo became the owner of the palace, and 1579, the year of his death. A date near the 1550s seems the more probable, as the paintings are stylistically rather close to the work of Perino del Vaga, one of the leading artists in Rome, who died in 1547. The actual painter of the cycle, however, is not known.[17]

The cycle consists of scenes painted al fresco within stucco frames, which run around the walls like a frieze, directly under the ceiling. The two long walls each contains three large scenes, separated from each other by representations of classical gods. One of the short walls contains two large scenes, also separated by a representation of a classical god, while the wall facing it contains a window, which leaves space for only two small landscape paintings and an inscription.[18] In each of the four corners a small, gold-colored medallion illustrates an episode of the *Aeneid* which continues the episode of the preceding large scene.[19] The room in which this cycle has been paint-

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[13] J. L. de Jong, *De Oudheid in Fresco. De onterpretatie van klassieke onderwerpen in de Italiaanse wandschilderkunst, inzonderheid te Rome, circa 1370–1555* (Diss., University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 1987), 229–35.

[14] C. L. Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (Tübingen, 1973), 2:233–50, esp. 245–46.

[15] "Max[imus] Maximus Ang[eli] Filius."

[16] P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, fasc. 45 (Milan, 1837), tav. 4.

[17] Some authors have ascribed the paintings to Michaele Grechi Lucchese; see B. F. Davidson, "Introducing Michaele Grechi Lucchese," *Art Bulletin* 46.4 (1964): 550–52, and the catalogue of the exhibition in the Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome, 1981–82, *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo 1543–48. Progetto ed esecuzione*, ed. E. Gaudioso (Rome, 1981), 2:79.

[18] See n. 15.

[19] The following episodes have been represented (between brackets the corresponding book and verses of the *Aeneid* are indicated): medallion with the ships of Aeneas (1.81ff.); 1: Aeneas and Achates meeting Venus disguised as a huntress (1.314ff.); Mercury; 2: Aeneas and Achates in the temple of Dido (1.494–579); Venus and Cupid; 3: Dido sending food to Aeneas's comrades (1.633–37); medallion with a sacrifice (1.632); 4: Banquet of Dido (1.695ff.); Apollo; 5: Dido and Anna; the sacrifice of a bull (4.6–64); medallion with Venus and Juno (4.90–128); 6: Dido and Aeneas leaving for the hunt (4.129–50); Fama (cf. 4.173–90); 7: Dido and Aeneas hunting (4.160–72); Iarbas sacrificing (cf. 4.198–218); 8: Aeneas leaving Carthage (4.396–450); medallion with Dido on the funeral pyre (4.642–65).

ed is situated on the first floor (*piano nobile*), behind the facade, and borders on the most important room of the palace, the *sala grande*.[20] In Italian palaces, the *sala grande* was used to receive guests on important and special occasions. If necessary, the adjacent room could be used as a sort of extension of it.[21] It seems very probable that the *Aeneid* room in Palazzo Angelo Massimo also served this function, which would mean that it was used for official receptions and comparable important affairs.

The main difference between the *Aeneid* cycle in Palazzo Angelo Massimo and the preceding cycles in Teglio and Scandiano is that the Massimo cycle shows only one particular episode of the *Aeneid*: the story of Dido and Aeneas. Each scene, moreover, contains only one event, and not several. The cycle starts with a scene showing the meeting of Aeneas and Achates with Venus, as it is told by Virgil in book 1 (fig. 1).[22] On the right side Aeneas's comrades can be seen, preparing food on the beach after their escape from the storm. In the sky above them the gods are discussing the fate of Aeneas. On the left side Carthage is visible, with people busily involved in construction works. On a hilltop in the center of the scene, in front of some trees, Aeneas and Achates are shown talking to a huntress, who is pointing the way to Carthage. A flight of twelve swans in the lower right corner of the scene reveals that this huntress is Venus, Aeneas's mother.

Already this first scene makes it clear that the painter illustrated the text of the *Aeneid* very carefully, even down to such details as the exact number of swans that Virgil mentions.[23] The scenes that follow display the same attention to the words of Virgil. The scenes as a whole clearly illustrate the unfolding of the love affair of Dido and Aeneas as it is told in *Aeneid* 1 and 4, without suppressing important episodes,[24] while each individual scene shows in its details how conscientiously the painter handled the text. The hunt, described in book 4, is illustrated in two scenes: Dido leaving her palace and mounting her horse, and Dido and Aeneas hunting against the background of a dark, stormy sky. The next scene illustrates an episode not directly following the hunt: it shows how Aeneas, after various admonitions of the gods and after difficult inner deliberations, has definitely decided to leave Dido and Carthage (fig. 2). His comrades are preparing the ships for departure and Dido's sister Anna is in vain making a last attempt to hold him back. Behind a window of the palace in the background the desperate Dido can be seen.

It will come as a surprise that this scene concludes the cycle. After fol-

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[20] The *sala grande* has been decorated by an unknown painter around 1540–50 with a painted frieze showing episodes from the life of Romulus; see De Jong, 232–33.

[21] Frommel, 1:70–71.

[22] See n. 19.

[23] *Aen.* 1.393.

[24] Aeneas's wanderings, told by Aeneas during the banquet offered by Dido (*Aen.* 2 and 3) have been skipped.

lowing in Virgil's footsteps through all of the books 1 and 4, the painter decided not to follow him to the dramatic conclusion of the story: Dido's suicide on the funeral pyre. It is true that Dido's death is represented in the last medallion in the corner, but next to the large scene with Aeneas's departure it hardly attracts attention. Obviously the moment when Aeneas left Dido meant the end of the story to the painter. What happened to Dido afterwards was of minor or no importance. In other words, the painter represented the story of Aeneas rather than that of Dido and Aeneas. As soon as Aeneas has "safely" escaped the problems which entangled him, it does not matter anymore what happens in Carthage, however dramatic that may be.

This particular stress on the character of Aeneas can be explained as a result of the way in which the *Aeneid* had been interpreted for centuries, namely as an allegory of man on his path through life. In fact, the meaning of the fresco cycle becomes clear when one reads Boccaccio's explanation of the Dido and Aeneas episode in his *Genealogiae deorum gentilium libri* (ca. 1370):

> [Vergilius] intendit pro Didone concupiscibilem et attractivam potentiam opportunitatibus omnibus armatam. Aeneam autem pro quocumque ad lubricum apto et demum capto. Tandem ostenso, quo trahamur in scelus ludibrio, qua via in virtutem revehamur, ostendit, inducens Mercurium, deorum interpretem, Aeneam ab illecebra increpantem atque ad gloriosa exhortantem. Per quem Vergilius sentit seu conscientiae propriae morsum, seu amici et eloquentis hominis redargutionem, a quibus, dormientes in luto turpitudinum, excitamur, et in rectum pulchrumque revocamur iter, id est ad gloriam. Et tunc nexum oblectationis infauste solvimus, quando, armati fortitudine, blanditias, lacrimas, preces, et huiusmodi in contrarium trahentes, constanti animo spernimus, ac vilipendentes omittimus.[25]

Boccaccio's contemporary Petrarch adopted a similar view on the story of Dido and Aeneas,[26] and Dante wrote already around 1305 in his *Convivio*:

> E quanto raffrenare fu quello, quando, avendo ricevuto da Dido tanto di piacere . . . e usando con essa tanto di dilettazione, elli [sc. Aeneas] si partio, per seguire onesta e laudabile via e fruttuosa, come nel quarto de l'Eneida scritto è![27]

This particular way of explaining the episode of Dido and Aeneas may ultimately be traced to the *Aeneid* interpretation of Fulgentius from the end

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[25] 14.13 (ed. V. Romano [Bari, 1951; Scrittori d'Italia 200–201]), 2:723, lines 3–16.

[26] *Rerum senilium libri*, 4.4, in *Opera* (Basle, 1554), 2:867–74; cfr. P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1907²), 123–61, esp. 132–37.

[27] 4.26.8 (ed. G. Busnelli & G. Vandelli (Florence, 1837: Opere di Dante 4–5), 2:333, lines 3–7.

of the fifth century.[28] But that it was still common around 1550 appears not only from the *Aeneid* cycle under consideration, but also from other paintings and from a poem by Joachim du Bellay. This French poet stayed in Rome from 1553 to 1557 (which is almost exactly the period in which the cycle must have been executed). During these years he wrote a collection of sonnets called *Les regrets*. One of them contains these lines (the first two refer to Melissa and Ruggiero from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, the latter two to Dido and Aeneas):

> Qui m'éteindra le doigt de l'anneau de Mélisse,
> Pour me désenchanter comme un autre Roger?
> Et quel Mercure encor me fera déloger,
> Pour ne perdre mon temps en l'amoureux service?[29]

Around the same time, several fresco cycles with the story of Dido and Aeneas were executed in various palaces in Rome, Bologna, and Genoa.[30] They, too, all stress the character of Aeneas and end with his departure from Carthage, and not with the death of Dido.

A canvas painting by Daniele da Volterra from ca. 1555 offers further proof that it was very common to see the story of Dido and Aeneas mainly from Aeneas's point of view. The painting itself is lost, but it is still known through a copy (fig. 3) and through a description by Giorgio Vasari from 1568: "... Enea che spogliandosi per andare a dormire con Dido, è sopraggiunto da Mercurio, che mostra di parlargli nella maniera che si legge ne' versi di Vergilio."[31] Vasari's description of the painting and his identification of the subject are correct, but his remark that this subject is taken from the verses of Virgil is only half true. Virgil does state—even twice—that Mercury appears to Aeneas, and Virgil also declares—or at least suggests—that Dido and Aeneas slept together,[32] but Virgil does not say that Mercury ap-

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[28] *Expositio Vergilianae continentiae secundum philosopohos moralis*, 14 (in *Opera*, ed. R. Helm [Leipzig, 1897], 94–95).

[29] Sonnet 88 (in *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. H. Chamard (Paris, 1908–31), 2:119–20.

[30] Rome: Palazzo Capodiferro-Spada, 1550 (unknown painter; the Dido and Aeneas scenes on the walls are continued with episodes from Aeneid 5 and 6 on the ceiling): L. Neppi, *Palazzo Spada* (Rome, 1975), 49–56 and 87–120; De Jong, 178–82 and 260–62; Bologna: Palazzo Leoni, ca. 1550 (unknown painter): A. W. A. Boschloo, *Il fregio dipinto a Bologna da Nicolò dell'Abate ai Carracci* (Bologna, 1984), 42–44; J. L. de Jong, " 'Locus plenus Troiani laboris'. Gli affreschi di Enea a Palazzo Leoni a Bologna," in AA. VV., *Gli Ultramontani. Studi belgi e olandesi per il IX centenario dell'Alma Mater bolognese* (Bologna, 1990), 35–48; Genoa: Palazzo Salvago-Campanella, ca. 1565 (Giambattista Castello): P. Torriti, *Tesori di Strada Nuova* (Genoa, 1971), 210–13; Genoa: Palazzo Lercari, ca. 1565 (Luca Cambiaso): G. Biavati, "Affreschi inediti di Luca Cambiaso," *Bolletino dei musei civici genovesi* 6.16–18 (1984): 25–81.

[31] *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1878–85), 7:62. The copy of Daniele's painting, reproduced as ill. 3, was formerly in a private collection in Sweden; see P. Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra. A Catalogue Raisonné* (London, New York, 1979), 98–99.

[32] *Aen.* 4.259–78; 554–70; 170–97.

peared to Aeneas in the presence of Dido. Daniele, however, has combined two separate episodes into one scene, to illustrate the same message as in the *Aeneid* cycle in Palazzo Massimo. Dido is shown nude and seductive, surrounded by love gods, who invitingly pull away the blankets. But flying in from above appears Mercury, who insistently points in the direction which leads away from Dido. It is clear that in this way the painter has shown Dido as "the attracting power of love, armed with all that is needed," and Mercury as "the prick of conscience which brings us back to the beautiful, straight path of virtue." [33] Aeneas as a figure of man on his way through life is placed in between them, and has to choose either lust or virtue. The same message that in the Massimo cycle was spread out over several scenes, has here been compressed into one picture. To be able to do this, the painter had to handle the text of Virgil with some freedom.

The paintings discussed clearly represent Aeneas as an example of the active life, which will lead to a higher destination. It is true that in these paintings Aeneas is not explicitly presented as an example of the active life, in contrast to the contemplative life, but this seems to be in accordance with contemporary art theories. In fact, writers of art treatises in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries recommended examples of wise and heroic behavior as fitting subjects to decorate a palace. Paolo Lomazzo, for instance, wrote in 1584 that watching the deeds of heroes like Aeneas, Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and Julius Caesar will make "che gli animi nostri si sollevino a' pensieri e desideri di onore e grandezza."[34] The frescoes in Palazzo Massimo fit this pattern perfectly. Aeneas serves as an example of man on his path through life, teaching the viewers how to overcome vice and how to live virtuously. The Neoplatonic overtones of Landino's *Disputationes Camaldulenses* are hard to discover, and I seriously doubt if one has to suppose that the painter or the patron had any knowledge of them. The same is true for contemporary and earlier Aeneas representations. Although there was a tendency, some fifteen years ago, to interpret many Italian paintings in terms of Neoplatonic philosophy, [35] I do not think that there is any reason to suppose that Landino's *Disputationes* had a special impact on painting: neither in the sense of stimulating painters to represent scenes from the *Aeneid*, nor in the sense of inducing them to imbue their paintings with Neoplatonic meanings. However, one has to be careful in this respect, for two reasons. First, even if a painter did not intend a Neoplatonic meaning, it cannot be excluded that some viewers projected their own Neoplatonic ideas into the painting. Second, Neoplatonic ideas cannot always be separated clearly

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[33] See n. 25.

[34] *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura et architettura* (Milan, 1584), 6:25, cited after the edition from 1844 (Rome), 2:189; cf. De Jong, 21–45.

[35] It is impossible to be exhaustive on this point; I will limit myself to only one example, which concentrates on *Aeneid* scenes: Neppi, 59–86.

from moral ideas. The sometimes vague borderline between the one and the other is already apparent in Landino's own work. In his introduction to the Florentine Virgil edition of 1488, Landino explained the *Aeneid* in a moral way, without any Neoplatonic overtones. According to him, Virgil had created Aeneas as a morally perfect person, whose example everyone should follow on his way through life. Landino concludes his introduction by stating that "universam huius scriptoris [sc. Vergilii] poesim laudem esse virtutis." [36] Whether one wants to see the paintings discussed in a Neoplatonic or—what I would prefer—in a moral light, Aeneas's wanderings are in both cases presented as an allegory of the active life, leading to a higher goal. Aeneas was—still in the words of Landino—a perfect person in every respect, whom we should all hold up as a unique example to lead our lives: "tamquam unicum exemplar ad vitam degendam." [37]

Institute for the History of Art and Architecture, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

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[36] C. Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. R. Cardini (Rome, 1974), 1:215–16; quotation on 216, lines 24–25.

[37] Edition cited in preceding note, 1:215, line 37; 1:216, line 1.



Fig. 1. Aeneas and Achates meeting Venus disguised as a huntress (ca. 1550).



Fig. 2. Aeneas leaving Carthage (ca. 1555).



Fig. 3. Mercury appearing to Aeneas (ca. 1555).

Die humanistische vita activa/vita contemplativa/ Diskussion: Francesco Petrarcas De vita solitaria[1]

K. A. E. ENENKEL

Eine Diskussion über das *vita activa—vita contemplativa*—Problem des Renaissance-Humanismus mit Francesco Petrarcas *De vita solitaria* anfangen zu lassen, besitzt in mehrfacher Hinsicht Berechtigung: In *De vita solitaria* haben wir den ersten größeren humanistischen Prosatraktat zum Thema vor uns, ein Werk aus der Anfangszeit des Humanismus und zugleich eines, das auf das intellektuelle Leben der späteren Renaissance beachtlichen Einfluß ausgeübt hat: Dies zeigt neben Zitaten in eindrucksvoller Form die handschriftliche Verbreitung; bei meiner Textausgabe von *De vita solitaria* habe ich über 120 Handschriften gezählt.[2] Auch seinem Inhalt nach darf *De vita solitaria* besonderes Interesse beanspruchen: Die Legitimierungsprobleme der humanistischen Lebensweise, der humanistischen *vita contemplativa* werden in dem Werk paradigmatisch sichtbar. Im Untenstehenden soll versucht werden, die Art, in der Petrarca das Problem behandelte, in einer ideengeschichtlichen Zusammenschau aufzuzeigen.[3]

Eine wichtige, und eigentlich überall vorhandene Rolle spielt in *De vita solitaria* der persönliche Hintergrund des Autors. Mit seiner Lebensweise, als freier, nicht an irgendeine Instanz gebundener Vertreter der *studia humanitatis*, der seine Tätigkeit mit Vorliebe in der Einsamkeit der Vaucluse ausübte, hatte Petrarca Neuland betreten und für die humanistische Lebensweise gewissermaßen einen Präzedenzfall geschaffen. Sein Anliegen in *De vita solitaria*

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[1] Vorliegender Aufsatz entstand im Rahmen des Projektes des Verf. "*Vita activa* und *vita contemplativa* im Renaissance-Humanismus," welches von der Niederländischen Organisation für wissenschaftliche Forschung (NWO) unterstützt wird.

[2] K. A. E. Enenkel, Francesco Petrarca, *De vita solitaria, Buch 1. Kritische Textausgabe und ideengeschichtlicher Kommentar* (Leiden, 1990), im weitern zitiert mit Enenkel, 1990.

[3] Hierfür wird vom ersten Buch ausgegangen, in welchem die eigentliche Diskussion stattfindet; das zweite Buch liefert lediglich das Illustrationsmaterial, eine *exempla*-Sammlung.

war es, diese Lebensweise zu rechtfertigen, ideell zu unterbauen, kurz: zu legitimieren. Der verteidigende, manchmal fast apologetisch wirkende Charakter ist einer der auffallendsten Züge von *De vita solitaria*. Daß Petrarcas Furcht vor eventuellen Gegnern nicht unbegründet war, zeigt z. B. der Angriff eines Avignoner Arztes aus dem Jahre 1352–1353, der, ausgehend von aristotelischen Prinzipien, die petrarkische *vita solitaria* heftig kritisierte.[4]

Bei einer diachronen Betrachtung fällt auf, daß die verteidigende Vortragsweise einen wesentlichen Unterschied zu den mittelalterlichen Behandlungen des *vita activa—vita contemplativa*—Themas darstellt: In diesen geht man ohne weiteres vom Primat der *vita contemplativa* aus und kann sich deshalb ganz dem Lobpreis der *solitudo* widmen. Zu einer besonderen Rechtfertigung fühlt man sich nicht genötigt. Anders Petrarca: Er bezieht eine Defensiv-Position, die soweit geht, daß er einmal sogar der *vita activa* den ideellen Primat einräumt.[5] Für die *vita activa—vita contemplativa*—Debatte hat diese Haltung jedoch einen entscheidenden Vorteil: Die Diskussion wird, verglichen mit den mittelalterlichen Traktaten, offener, das Spektrum breiter. Diese Öffnung ist für die humanistischen Traktate der Folgezeit richtungsweisend geworden, unter welchen sich auch Plädoyers für die *vita mixta* und für die *vita activa* finden.[6]

Öffnung und Verbreiterung des Spektrums: *De vita solitaria* ist kein herkömmliches Plädoyer für die *vita contemplativa*: In fast 2/3 der Argumentation setzt sich Petrarca mit der entgegengesetzten Lebensform, der *vita activa*, auseinander. Dieses Phänomen läßt sich in der Hauptlinie der Argumentation erkennen: Petrarca will die Vorteile der *vita solitaria* v. a. dadurch zeigen, daß er das Elend und die Nachteile der *vita activa* hervorhebt.[7] In der mittelalterlichen kontemplativen Literatur hingegen wurden die Vorteile der *vita contemplativa* keineswegs vom Nachteil der gegenteiligen Lebensform abhängig gemacht: man war so sehr vom unvergleichlich hohen Eigenwert der *vita contemplativa* durchdrungen, daß eine Vorgangsweise wie die petrarkische undenkbar gewesen wäre.

Diese nachdrückliche Schilderung der *vita activa* findet sich gleich im ersten Schwerpunkt von *De vita solitaria*, einer Typologie der menschlichen Lebensweisen (= 2. Kap.). Petrarca schildert dort den typischen Tagesablauf eines Vertreters der *vita activa*, des sog. *occupatus*, und eines Vertreters der *vita contemplativa*, des sog. *solitarius*. Petrarca zielt hier nicht auf die Darstellung zweier spezifischer Menschen, sondern auf nichts weniger als Allge-

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[4] Es handelt sich um das 4. Buch der *Invective contra medicum* (ed. P. G. Ricci, Romd, 1978); zu dem Streit über die *solitudo*-Frage in der Invektive s. Enenkel 1990, 131, 146–48, 157–59 und zahlreiche andere Stellen (vgl. Sach- und Personenindex, 664).

[5] S. Enenkel 1990, 346–47.

[6] Hierzu hofft der Verf. mit einer Monographie *Die Vita activa-vita contemplativa-Diskussion im Renaissance-Humanismus* in absehbarer Zeit einen Beitrag zu liefern.

[7] Vit Sol. 1:1.7, Z. 54–58 (Enenkel 1990, 62).

meingültigkeit ab: Das in der Typologie Beschriebene soll für alle Menschen und allezeit gültig sein.[8]

Die Typologie stellt in literarischer Hinsicht einen der geschliffensten Textabschnitte von *De vita solitaria* dar, sie zeichnet sich durch hohe Prägnanz und sprachliche Anschaulichkeit aus. Besonders einprägsam ist die Darstellung des *occupatus*: Wir erblicken hier einen durch und durch verdorbenen Städter, einen Advokaten, Betrüger, Geschäftemacher; einen Mann, den üble Pläne und zugleich heftige Gewissensqualen überallhin verfolgen, der sich in ständiger innerer Aufregung befindet, der widernatürlich lebt, der an Rhythmusstörungen leidet, einen *luxuriosus*, einen Dekadenten.

Auf der anderen Seite steht der *solitarius*: Alles ist Ruhe und innere Gefaßtheit. Der *solitarius* lebt mit und in der Natur, sein Lebensrhythmus folgt dem Lauf der Gestirne. Innerlich gereinigt und seelenruhig gibt er sich seiner Hauptaufgabe hin, dem *opus Dei*.[9] Indem das Hauptgewicht seiner Verrichtungen auf dem religiösen Gebiet liegt, schließt er sich eng an den christlichen Mönch an. Jedoch gibt es einige Unterschiede, die den Stempel der Persönlichkeit Petrarcas tragen: Der *solitarius* verfügt über freien Ausgang, und er hält sich den Großteil des Tages draußen in der freien Natur auf, lustwandelnd, im Grase sitzend, auf Hügeln oder an einer Quelle. Außerdem beschäftigt er sich sowohl rezeptiv als auch aktiv mit literarischen *studia*. Hier werden die Schwierigkeiten ersichtlich, die Petrarca bei der Legitimierung seiner humanistischen Studien hatte. Deren Präokkupation mit der antiken Literatur vermeldet er bewußt nicht, sondern nennt sie—sehr diplomatisch—*honesta*,[10] was sich ebensogut auf die religiöse wie die humanistische *lectio* beziehen kann.

Das wichtigste Resultat der Typologie ist, daß in der Schilderung von *occupatus* und *solitarius* Petrarcas Beweisziel überall erfüllt wird: Die *vita solitaria* erscheint durchgehend als glückliche und erstrebenswerte, die *vita occupata* als unglückliche und elende Lebensform.

Aufgrund von Petrarcas starkem persönlichen Engagement für die *vita contemplativa* spricht es fast für sich, daß seine Typologie in hohem Maße als arbiträr und subjektiv zu bezeichnen ist. Wenigstens zum Teil war dies dem Autor auch bewußt; er befürchtete, daß die von ihm behauptete universelle Gültigkeit den Zeitgenossen in bezug auf den *occupatus* nicht einleuchten werde, hatte er doch zwei der wichtigsten Typen der damaligen *vita activa* nicht behandelt: das Hofleben (*vita aulica*) und das Seelsorgeamt (kirchliche *vita activa*). Gerade in bezug auf sein Beweisziel war dies in verstärktem Maße peinlich: Der christliche Dienst am Nächsten ließ sich kaum als *miseria*

[8] Vit Sol. 1:1.8 (Enenkel 1990, 63): quod in illis [sc. occupato et solitario] vides, in cuntis existima; 1:3.1 (Enenkel 1990, 75): En, pater, unius occupati et unius otiosi hominis unum diem ante oculos tuos posui; omnium hominum dierumque omnium una ratio est.

[9] S. Enenkel 1990, 234–37.

[10] S. Vit Sol. 1:2.3 (Enenkel 1990, 65) honeste cuiuspiam . . . lectionis studium.

darstellen, und das Hofleben galt immerhin traditionell als die glückliche Lebensform par excellence (gehobener Lebensstatus, Ehre, materieller Luxus, Fröhlichkeit und Genuß). Mit einer eindringlichen Hofkritik hat Petrarca den ersten Einwand antizipiert:[11] In den schwärzesten Farben malt er die Unfreiheit des Hoflebens, den Persönlichkeitsverlust, den moralisch Untergang des Individuums, bei gleichzeitigem Verzicht auf alle Freuden. Wichtig ist v. a., daß das Hofleben als Lebensform des Intellektuellen nicht in Frage kommt. Hier muß man sich vor Augen halten, daß die *vita aulica* für zahlreiche Humanisten die wichtigste, und zugleich eine problematische Einkommensquelle darstellte. Interessant ist es, Petrarcas Ausführungen mit Enea Silvio Piccolominis *De curialium miseriis* zu vergleichen, in welchem Werk sich der spätere Papst die Frustration vom Leibe schrieb, mit der ihn das Leben am Hof Friedrichs III. in Wiener Neustadt erfüllte.[12]

Kaum möglich war es für Petrarca, das Seelsorgeamt als elend und unglücklich darzustellen. Es war im Gegenteil im christlichen Denken tief verankert, daß der Dienst am Nächsten als etwas Glücklichmachendes und Befriedigendes erfahren wurde. So muß Petrarca zugeben, daß der Dienst am Nächsten gerade ein doppeltes Glück bedeute.[13] Dies unterminiert seine Beweisführung beträchtlich. Hier liegt zugleich der Schlüssel für die verwirrte Struktur des 3. und 4. Kap.; in Schwierigkeiten geraten, kommt Petrarca stets weiter von seinem ursprünglichen Argumentationsziel ab und verliert es im Laufe des 3. und 4. Kap. sogar ganz aus den Augen.[14] Es ist in diesem Rahmen unmöglich, alle Winkelzüge und Ausweichmanöver Petrarcas zu beschreiben;[15] es möge hier genügen, auf den interessantesten Rettungsversuch der *vita contemplativa* hinzuweisen, auf den Gedanken von der Verschiedenartigkeit der menschlichen Lebensweisen, bei prinzipieller Gleichberechtigung: Welche Lebensweise man wählt, ist von der individuellen Prädisposition abhängig.

Auf diesen Gedanken läßt sich auch der letzte wichtige Gegenstand des 3. Kap., die Lebenswahl, zurückführen.[16] Wenn die individuelle Prädisposition das Kriterium der Lebensform darstellt, dann gerät die Lebenswahl zu einem entscheidenden Punkt des menschlichen Lebens, an dem das Individuum die Aufgabe besitzt, die zu seinem persönlichen Charakter passende

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[11] S. Enenkel 1990, 351–56.

[12] S. R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini* (Wien, 1909), 1:1. 453–87 (= Ep. 166).

[13] S. Vit. Sol. 1:3. 8 (Enenkel 1990, 77): Quod ubi accidit, ingens, fateor, et inextimabile bonum est ac geminata felicitas, duplici, de qua multa diximus, obiecta miserie. Quid enim felicius, quid aut homine dignius aut similius Deo est quam servare et adiuvare quam plurimos?

[14] Eine Rückkehr findet erst am Anfang des 5. Kap. statt, s. Vit. Sol. 1:5. 1 (Enenkel 1990, 89): Tempus est, ut his iam digressionibus modus sit: ad me igitur et ad solitudinem revertor.

[15] Man s. hierfür Enenkel 1990, 343–51; 362–84.

[16] S. Enenkel 1990, 81; 385–86.

Lebensform zu finden. Dieser Gedanke wird im nächsten Kapital fortgesetzt, in einer eindrucksvollen Behandlung des Mythos von Herkules am Scheidewege.[17] Mit diesem Lebenswahlmythos will Petrarca dasselbe aussagen wie schon im dritten Kap.: Der Mensch müsse bei der Lebenswahl v. a. seinen persönlichen Charakter berücksichtigen. Davon ausgehend kommt Petrarca auf *seinen* Charakter zu reden: Er zählt dabei eine Reihe von "Vorzügen des Stadtlebens" auf, die für seine Person nicht gelten würden; die tolerante Haltung, die dem Gedanken von der Verschiedenartigkeit der menschlichen Bestrebungen potentiell innewohnt, verläßt er, indem er als "Vorzüge des Stadtlebens" ausschließlich wenig Hochstehendes und sogar moralisch Verwerfliches anführt, wie Geschlechtsverkehr, Wucher, Bäder und Theater, was für Zeitgenossen eo ipso nicht die Grundlage einer moralisch verantworteten Lebenswahl bilden konnte.

Mit diesem—etwas zweifelhaften—Manöver ergibt sich eine neue Zielrichtung der Argumentation: Petrarca versucht nunmehr zu zeigen, daß die *vita solitaria* die moralisch höherstehende Lebensform sei. Dazu gehört die verherrlichende, hymnische Schilderung der moralisch hochstehenden Eigenschaften der *solitudo*.[18] Unter Verarbeitung zahlreicher Topoi der mittelalterlichen kontemplativen Literatur wird die *solitudo* als "reiner," "unverdorbener" und "heiliger" Lebensbereich geschildert.[19] Dem entspricht der Seelenzustand des *solitarius*: eine christliche Form der Seelenruhe (*tranquillitas animi*), resultierend aus einem tiefen Vertrauen auf Gottes Gnade und Barmherzigkeit. Das Ergebnis dieses Abschnitts bildet eine weitgehende Aufwertung der *vita solitaria* als Voraussetzung der Seelenruhe. Der Primat der *vita contemplativa* liegt nunmehr in greifbarer Nähe.

Den entscheidenden Schritt vollzieht Petrarca mit Hilfe neuplatonischen Gedankengutes, welches für die humanistische *vita activa—vita contemplativa*—Diskussion der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jh. große Bedeutung erhalten sollte. Petrarca bezieht die für ihn wichtigen Gedanken aus der sog. "plotinischen Tugendhierarchie," die er in Macrobius' Kommentar zum *Somnium Scipionis* antraf[20] und die in der *vita activa-vita contemplativa*—Debatte des folgenden Renaissance-Humanismus wiederholt aufgegriffen werden sollte, z. B. von Matteo Palmieri, Landino und Ficino.[21] In der "plotinischen Tugendhierarchie" nehmen die Tugenden der *vita activa* den niedrigsten Rang ein; übergeordnet sind diesen die drei Tugendarten der *vita contemplativa*, wobei sich die Seele des Menschen, in ständigem Aufstieg gemäß einem stets

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[17] S. hierfür K. A. E. Enenkel, "*Hercules in bivio* und andere Scheidewege: Die Geschichte einer Idee bei Petrarca," in *Acta of the 7th International Congress of the IANLS, Toronto 1988* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991), 307–17.

[18] S. Enenkel 1990, 431.

[19] S. Vit. Sol. 1:4.9 (Enenkel 1990, 86).

[20] In Somn. Scip. 1:8.5–11.

[21] Für die einschlägige Literatur und eine Diskussion des Konzeptes s. Enenkel 1990, 434–41.

höheren Reinigungsgrad, dem Höchsten, Gott, nähert. Seine Position als Befürworter der *vita contemplativa* hat Petrarca im Laufe des 4. Kap. verstärkt: Während er im 3. Kap. noch den ideellen Primat der *vita activa* zugegeben hatte, ist das Endergebnis des 4. Kap. der ideelle Primat der *vita contemplativa*.

Nach all diesen mühevollen Scharmützeln, in denen die ideellen Schwierigkeiten ersichtlich werden, mit denen der Humanist kämpfte, kehrt er im 5. Kap. endlich zu seinem ursprünglichen Argumentationsziel zurück. Er widmet sich jetzt den spirituellen Aspekten der *vita solitaria*, indem er den erhabenen, glücklichen und entrückten Seinszustand der *solitarii* zeigt. Hier konnte er wieder den sicheren Boden der Tradition betreten: Er entwickelt vor den Augen des Lesers in prägnanter und sprachlich ausgefeilter Form ein ganzes Arsenal von Gedanken und Bildern des mittelalterlichen kontemplativen Schrifttums: den spirituellen Kampf vor Gottes Augen, die *compunctio lacrimarum*, den nächtlichen Psalmengesang auf Jerusalems Zinnen, die künftigen Freuden des ewigen Lebens, das intime Verhältnis zu Christus, die ekstatische Schau Gottes und der Himmlischen.

Angesichts dieses Textteils wurde öfter behauptet, daß sich Petrarcas *vita contemplativa* im Grunde nicht von der der mittelalterlichen Mönche unterscheide.[22] Jedoch ist hier Vorsicht geboten; Petrarcas Haltung ist komplexer, nuancierter, zurückhaltender; es ist notwendig, die Präsentation zu berücksichtigen: Der Humanist schreibt die genannten Vorteile nämlich ausschließlich gewissen "heiligen Seelen" (*sancte anime*) zu, von welchen er sich selbst nachdrücklich ausklammert. In bezug auf seine persönliche Erfahrung verwendet er hier die grammatische Form des Irrealis.[23] Petrarca hat hier ein schwieriges Interpretationsproblem geschaffen: wirkliches Gefühl spiritueller Schwäche und Bescheidenheit als Formel zur Selbst-Präsentation des Individuums, vorgetäuschtes und tatsächliches Anders-Sein gehen hier Hand in Hand. Wie kompliziert und doppelsinnig Petrarca seine Haltung präsentiert, zeigt nicht zuletzt folgender Umstand: Er zieht aus seiner Unfähigkeit zur religiös-spirituellen *vita solitaria* die Schlußfolgerung einer begrifflichen Neudefinierung: Den Begriff der *vita solitaria* reserviert er nunmehr für die erhabene Lebensform der Spirituellen, seine persönliche Lebensweise verdient dagegen nur die Bezeichnung "*solitudo*." Selbst etwas so augenscheinlich Klares wie eine selbst aufgestellte Definition wird zum Rätsel: Betrachtet man die weitere Verwendung dieser Begriffe in *De vita solitaria*, so stellt sich heraus, daß sich Petrarca überhaupt nicht an diese Neudefinierung gehalten hat. Diese Widersprüchlichkeiten spiegeln die

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[22] Z. B. G. Constable, "Petrarch and Monasticism," in *Francesco Petrarca Citizen of the World. Proceedings of the World Petrarch Congress Washington, April 6–13 1974* (Padova, 1980), 63–65; H. Schmelzer, *Petrarcas Verhältnis zur vorausgehenden christlichen Philosophie des Abendlandes* (Bonn, 1911), passim.

[23] Vit. Sol. 1:5. 6 *Vidissem* . . . , wovon der gesamte Abschnitt 5. 6–7 grammatisch abhängt.

profunden Schwierigkeiten wider, die sich bei der Abgrenzung der humanistischen *vita contemplativa* gegenüber der herkömmlichen religiösen *vita contemplativa* ergaben. Eine Hauptrolle spielt wieder die Legitimierungsfrage. Je besser im Laufe der Renaissance die *studia humanitatis* als solche eingebürgert waren, desto selbständiger konnten die Humanisten ihre Lebensform definieren. Petrarca war hier jedoch noch ein Pionier, der sich erst mühevoll seinen Weg bahnen mußte.

Die Legitimierungsprobleme der *studia humanitatis* werden auch im nächsten Kapitel (=6. Kap.) ersichtlich: Dort finden wir ein humanistisches Programm. Bemerkenswert ist die wenig selbstbewußte Haltung, mit der Petrarca die humanistische Tätigkeit präsentiert—als "gewöhlichen," als "allgemein zugänglichen" Wert der *vita solitaria*. Die Tätigkeit als solche wird mit einer Rechtfertigung versehen: Der Mensch /Humanist habe gegenüber dem Erbgut der Vergangenheit die moralische Verpflichtung, das, was er empfangen habe, an die Nachwelt weiterzureichen. Die literarische Beschäftigung des *solitarius* wird dabei im Sinne der Funktion der Historiographie definiert. Gegen Ende des Kapitels kann Petrarca die für ihn günstige Schlußfolgerung ziehen: Er stellt fest, daß die literarische Tätigkeit, welche ab jetzt einen moralischen Imperativ bildet, am besten in der *solitudo* ausgeübt werden kann. Als Resultat des 6. Kap. kann er somit buchen, daß der Intellektuelle die Lebensform der *vita solitaria* zu wählen habe.

Obwohl Petrarca nunmehr seine persönliche, humanistische Lebensform unterbaut hatte, hatte er sich dennoch nicht von allen Schwierigkeiten gelöst. Petrarca wollte im folgenden, 7. Kapitel zwei Einwände aus dem Wege räumen, die man gegen seine *vita solitaria* erheben konnte: zum einen, daß sie bildungsfeindlich, zum anderen, daß sie tugendfeindlich wäre. Den Vorwurf der Bildungsfeindlichkeit führte Petrarca auf Quintilian zurück, der im zehnten Buch seiner Inst. or. die Sitte, draußen im Freien zu studieren bzw. sich schriftstellerisch zu betätigen, als wenig seriös und wenig zweckmäßig verurteilt hatte.[24] Wie aus Petrarcas Quintilian-Exemplar hervorgeht, empfand er, daß die Stelle gegen ihn gerichtet sei (*contra Silvanum*) und notierte sich, in *De vita solitaria* zu antworten ("respondebis in tractatu Vite Solitarie").[25] Er entkräftet den Angriff, indem er wenigstens *eine* günstige Auswirkung eines Aufenthalts in freier Natur auf den Schriftsteller aufzeigt, nml. die der Erholung nach vollbrachter Schaffenstat. Darüberhinaus vertritt er die Auffassung, daß jedenfalls zwei Gruppen von Intellektuellen, namentlich Dichter und Philosophen, ihre kreative Tätigkeit unbehindert im Freien ausüben könnten. Sie bezögen beträchtlichen Vorteil aus der Inspiration, die die freie Natur dem Geist vermittle. Die Beziehung zu Petrarcas

[24] Quint., Inst. or. 10.3.23–24; Enenkel 1990, 540–45.

[25] S. Par. Lat. 7720 ad loc.; die Noten wurden publiziert von P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1907²), 2.92 und von M. Accame Lanzillotta, *Le postille del Petrarca a Quintiliano* (Florenz, 1988), 104.

Aufenthalten in der Vaucluse wird in diesem Abschnitt deutlich; sogar ein gewisser "couleur locale" ist vorhanden, z. B. wenn er die Insel in der Sorgue vor seinem Haus erwähnt oder, wenn er sein "Berglied" mit einem aus den Alpen herabgekletterten Bock vergleicht: "Unde sepe montanum carmen, quasi edum e toto grege letissimum atque lectissimum, vidi et nitore insito admonitus originis dixi mecum: 'Gramen Alpinum sapis, ex alto venis.' "[26] Die Verteidigung der persönlichen Lebensweise hat hier zu einer der schönsten Stellen von *De vita solitaria* geführt.

Durch den Angriff des Avignoner Arztes war Petrarca gezwungen, eine Erklärung in bezug auf den Stellenwert der Freundschaft in der *solitudo* abzugeben.[27] Dieser hatte Petrarca wegen seiner vermeintlich asozialen, den Kontakt mit Mitmenschen verschmähenden Lebensweise angegriffen: Petrarca verstoße damit gegen die Grundgesetze der *humanitas*. Wie ein Schwamm sitze er an der Sorgue, die er langsam aufsauge, wie eine Nachteule hocke er im Gehölz; alles Menschliche wäre ihm fremd. Zurecht hat sich Petrarca über diese Vorwürfe geärgert. Pikiert, jedoch mühelos kann er aufzeigen, daß er immer die Freundschaft gepflegt habe, daß er niemals *inhumanus* gewesen sei.

Mit der Bekämpfung dieser Vorwürfe hat der Humanist endlich die letzten Hürden genommen, die sich ihm bei der Verteidigung seines *solitudo*—Ideals in den Weg stellten. Im Folgenden kann er sich zuversichtlich geben, und dies äußert sich in zunehmendem literarischen *ornatus*: Ein hoffnungsvoller Ausblick auf die Freuden nach überstandener Gefahr wird reichlich mit Aeneis-Stellen geschmückt. Sodann beschließt Petrarca seine Abhandlung, wie er sie begonnen, mit einer Typologie, einer literarisch beeindruckenden Psycho-Typologie, eigentlich Psycho-Pathologie der Städter. Deren zentrales Element bildet eine Art Lebensekel, der in einer fundamentellen geistig-sittlichen Orientierungslosigkeit und in dem Fehlen fester Zielvorstellungen begründet sie. Die städtischen *occupati* litten an Willenschwäche, am Mangel innerer Festigkeit und Konstanz, bis hin zum Individualitätsverlust. Damit korrespondiere ein krankhafter Trieb zur Nachahmung, am augenfälligsten in der Mode-Versklavung zu erkennen, und ein profundes Gefühl der Langeweile.

Durch Vergleich mit anderen Petrarca-Werken läßt sich vermuten, daß der Humanist bei der Beschreibung der Städter im 9. Kap. das Leben und Treiben von Avignon vor Augen hatte, der Stadt, die er in seinen Schriften mit blindem Haß verfolgte. Vieles in dem Abschnitt ist denn auch als Zeitkritik formuliert: Das haltlose Betragen der Zeitgenossen wird polemisch der *virtus* der antiken Römer gegenübergestellt, wodurch Dekadenz und Aberration noch stärker hervortreten sollen. Nachdrücklich geht daraus hervor, von welchem Bereich sich der Humanist abzugrenzen wünscht und warum

[26] S. Vit. Sol. 1:7.10 (Enenkel 1990, 102).

[27] Se. Enenkel 1990, 566–78.

für ihn die *vita solitaria* eine solche Bedeutung hat: Es handelt sich um einen räumlichen und einen geistigen Rückzug von den Zeitgenossen. Hier sehen wir die negative Motivation von Petrarcas *solitudo*-Ideal: eine Fluchtreaktion vor der verhaßten Gegenwart. Jedoch ist hiermit bei Petrarca sofort eine positive Motivation verbunden; er weiß genau, wofür und mit wem er leben will: mit den Menschen der Antike, besonders mit den antiken Autoren, mit Cicero, Vergilius, Horatius u. s. w. Im hohen Geistergespräch[28] überbrückt er Raum und Zeit. Die *solitudo* in der Vaucluse ist der Ort dieses Gespräches, sozusagen das Konferenz-Zentrum, in welchem der Humanist die Größen des Geistes trifft.

In dieser Konzeption findet sich *in nuce* Petrarcas humanistisches Programm. Nicht zuletzt damit hat er in bezug auf spätere Humanisten Schule gemacht: So geht es auf Petrarcas *De vita solitaria* zurück, daß ein Lombardo della Seta,[29] ein Pier Paolo Vergerio, ein Enea Silvio Piccolomini oder noch Niccolò Machiavelli als die richtige Ambiance ihrer Zwiesprache mit den antiken Autoren die *vita solitaria* bestimmten.

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[28] Für die einschlägigen Angaben und die Literatur s. Enenkel 1990, 506–16.

[29] Zu Lombardo della Setas *solitudo*-Ideal vgl. die Arbeit des Verf. "Ein Delfter Priester als Imitator italienischer Humanisten: Cornelius Musius, Lombardo della Seta und Francesco Petrarca," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 72 (Leiden, 1992): 13–36.

Die Konzeption der "anima rationalis" im dritten Buch von Landinos Dialog De Anima

MANFRED LENTZEN

Landinos Dialog *De anima* wurde im Jahre 1471 oder 1472 veröffentlicht, aber aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach bereits in den frühen sechziger Jahren abgefaßt. Die Gesprächsteilnehmer sind Carlo Marsuppini, Paolo Toscanelli und Cristoforo Landino; Marsuppini ist zweifellos die Hauptgestalt, ist er es doch, der die verschiedenen Theorien über die Seele entwickelt und zugleich auch zum Sprachrohr Landinos wird. Der Dialog, der in die frühen fünfziger Jahre verlegt wird und an drei Ostertagen stattfindet, besteht aus drei Büchern; werden im ersten Buch zunächst die Lehren der "prisci philosophi" vorgetragen, im zweiten die "anima vegetativa," "anima sensitiva" und "anima motiva" erörtert, so ist im dritten und vielleicht wichtigsten Buch die "anima rationalis" Gegenstand ausführlicher Diskussion.[1] Dieser Teil des Dialogs ist insofern von großer Wichtigkeit, als hier bereits Konzepte entwickelt werden, die sowohl für die *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (ca. 1472) wie für den *Dantekommentar* (1481) von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung sind. Landinos Schrift *De anima* hat bisher kaum die Aufmerksamkeit erfahren, die sie verdient. Wir wenden uns primär dem dritten Buch zu, werden doch hier Kategorien diskutiert, die im allegorisch-platonisierenden Deutungssystem des Autors einen zentralen Stellenwert besitzen.[2]

Insgesamt werden in Buch 3 drei große Themenbereiche erörtert, die aufs engste miteinander verknüpft sind. Zunächst versucht Marsuppini eine Definition von "mens," "ratio" bzw. "animus" zu geben, sodann wendet er

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[1] Zur Datierung von *De anima* vgl. jetzt Arthur Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence* (Princeton, 1988), 238 u. 256.

[2] Ausgabe des Dialogs in *Annali delle università toscane*: Buch 1 (ed. Alessandro Paoli), 34 (1915) 1–50; Buch 2 (ed. A. Paoli), N. S. 1, fasc. 2 (1916) 1–138; Buch 3 (ed. Giovanni Gentile), N. S. 2, fasc. 3 (1917) 1–96. Nach dieser Ausgabe wird zitiert.

sich dem Tugendsystem zu, und schließlich behandelt er den Komplex der "immortalitas" der Seele. Was die Definition von "mens" und "ratio" angeht, so werden in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem die verschiedenen Fähigkeiten und Kräfte der Seele abgehandelt. Die "mens" (gr. νοῦς) ist zunächst einmal der göttliche Teil (divina pars) der menschlichen Existenz, die "sensus" hingegen sind der Materie zugeordnet. "Animus" (oder auch "mens," "ratio") wird von "anima" in der Weise unterschieden, daß der zweite Terminus mit dem Körperlichen in Zusammenhang gebracht wird ("qua corpus alitur, qua crescit, qua gignit, qua sentit, qua cupit"), der erste hingegen mit dem Bereich des Erkennens und der Erkenntnis ("quo scimus, quo intelligimus, quo sapimus") (9). Interessant und wichtig ist nun, daß innerhalb der "mens" (oder "ratio") stets verschiedene Kräfte wirksam sind, die in einer Abstufung zueinander stehen. So umfaßt die "ratio" sowohl den "intellectus activus" wie den "intellectus speculativus," wobei der letztere auf dem ersten aufbaut (12). Weiterhin unterscheidet Landino (durch den Mund Marsuppinis) die "ratio inferior" (die vom Körperlichen ausgeht) von der "ratio superior" (oder "intellectus"), eine Differenzierung, auf die später noch einmal eingegangen werden soll. Das Wesen des "intellectus" (oder auch "mens") liegt in der Spekulation, d. h. in der Suche nach der Wahrheit begründet. Die Unterscheidung von "ratio inferior" und "ratio superior," von "intellectus activus" und "intellectus speculativus" macht deutlich, daß Landino bezüglich der Erkenntnis ein Aufstiegskonzept im Auge hat. Eine derartige Konzeption zeigt sich auch noch in einer Reihe weiterer Klassifizierungen: so gelangt der "animus" mittels der Kräfte "sensus," "imaginatio," "ratio," "intellectus," "intelligentia" (hierbei sind die beiden letzten Begriffe nahezu identisch) zur höchsten Stufe der Erkenntnis (21); der Akt der "cognitio" erfolgt über drei "gradus": "intellectus in habitu," "intellectus in effectu" und "intellectus accomodatus" (27). Die "mens" kann durch das von Gott ausgehende Licht (lux) auch das Unkörperliche schauen und damit zur "cognitio veritatis" gelangen; hier führt der Weg der Erkenntnis über folgende Stufen: "inventio" ("inquisitio veritatis per se"), "iudicium" ("discussio quaedam et animadversio eius veri"), "memoria" ("retinemus quae iam cognovimus"), "interpretatio" ("in cognitionem ducit") (36), wobei diese einzelnen "gradus" wiederum in eine Vielzahl von Unterstufen aufgeteilt werden.[3] Schließlich gibt es eine dreifache Bewegung (motus), die zum "bonum" hinführt: "mens," "amor" und "notitia" (39).

Nach einer derartigen eingehenden Erörterung der verschiedenen "facultates" der "ratio" (bzw. "mens," "intellectus," "animus") wendet sich Landino dem Tugendsystem zu, das einer ähnlichen ausführlichen Betrachtung unterzogen wird. Durch den Mund Marsuppinis werden zwei verschiedene Schemata entworfen, die allerdings in Verbindung miteinan-

[3] Siehe die Schematik am Ende des Beitrags.

der stehen. Die dreifache Auffächerung der "mens" in "mens speculativa," "mens activa" und "mens effectiva" führt zu verschiedenen Tugendformen, die aus den jeweiligen Bezirken der "mens" resultieren. Durch die "mens speculativa" erwirbt der Mensch "intellectus" (oder "intelligentia"), "scientia" und "sapientia"; der "intellectus" stellt sich dann ein, "si principia ipsa animadvertimus," die "scientia" dann, "si conclusiones investigamus," die "sapientia" schließlich, "si et principia simul et quae a principiis sunt, connectamus" (41). Die "mens activa" stattet den Menschen mit der "prudentia" aus, die wiederum in vier Einzeltugenden zerfällt: "bona consultatio," "solertia," "sagacitas" und "sententia" (48). Aus der "mens effectiva" resultiert die "ars," die als "recta ratio rerum efficiendarum" (49) zu verstehen ist. Diese bisher genannten Tugendbereiche wird man wohl—obwohl dies nicht eindeutig aus dem Text hervorgeht—insgesamt als "virtutes intellectuales" zu bezeichnen haben; sie werden noch ergänzt durch die "virtutes," "quae ad rectum honestumque dirigunt et vitam moresque emendant" (49), also die "virtutes morales," bestehend aus "iustitia," "fortitudo" und "temperantia." Es wird deutlich, daß Landino eine Aufstiegskonzeption von den moralischen zu den intellektuellen Tugenden vorschwebt und innerhalb dieser letzten Gruppe von der "ars" über die "prudentia" hin zu "intellectus," "scientia" und "sapientia."

Ein ähnlich aufsteigendes Schema macht ein anderes Klassifizierungsmodell deutlich, in dem vier verschiedene Tugendstufen unterschieden werden: die "virtutes politicae" (oder "civiles"), die "virtutes expiatoriae" (oder "purgatoriae"), die "virtutes animi iam purgati" und die "virtutes exemplares" (52ff.). Jede Stufe setzt sich aus den vier Kardinaltugenden "prudentia," "fortitudo," "temperantia" und "iustitia" zusammen, die jeweils eine höhere Qualität gewinnen. Der "virtutes politicae" (oder "civiles") bedarf der Mensch im Zusammenleben mit seinesgleichen, ist er doch für die Gemeinschaft geschaffen ("Nam, cum homo neque solivagus neque a reliquorum hominum consortio alienus sit, sed ad coetus conciliaque celebranda natus, id in primis ad suum officium pertinere existimat, ut urbes incolat, ut reipublicae consulat, ut suorum civium salutem tutetur, ut socios protegat, ac denique ab omni iniuria manus animumque continens et animi et corporis viribus in commune consulat") (52). Die zu ihnen gehörenden Kardinaltugenden gliedern sich wiederum jeweils in eine Vielzahl von Teiltugenden.[4] Was die "virtutes expiatoriae" (oder "purgatoriae") betrifft, so wird der Mensch ihrer teilhaftig, wenn er sich von allem Körperlichen reinigt; die "virtutes animi iam purgati" gewinnt er im Zustand des Freiseins vom Körper, und die "virtutes exemplares" schließlich sind nicht

[4] Siehe die Schematik am Ende des Beitrags. Im Vergleich zu den Übersichten in meinem Beitrag von 1991 (in *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen* 15 [1991]: 113) wird eine Korrektur vorgenommen. Die Aufgliederung des Tugendsystems ist nahezu mit der identisch, die Landino in seiner späteren Schrift *De vera nobilitate* (nach 1487) vornimmt. Vgl. meine Ausgabe dieses Dialogs, Genf 1970, 24f.

mehr vom Menschen zu erreichen, befinden sie sich doch "in mente Dei" und stellen sie dadurch gleichsam die Idee der Tugenden dar ("Nam quartum quod ponunt earum, quas vocant exemplares, nihil ad praesentem disputationem pertinet. Non enim in hominum animis, de quibus nunc agitur, reperiuntur; sed in mente Dei, in qua si ceterarum omnium rerum ideas esse oportet, multo magis virtutum ideae erunt, a quarum exemplo reliquae omnes per ordinem fluunt") (59).[5]

Man hat sich zu fragen, in welcher Beziehung die beiden Tugendsysteme zueinander stehen. Der Aufstieg von den moralischen zu den intellektuellen Tugenden und innerhalb dieses Bereichs von der "ars" über die "prudentia" zur "sapientia"—dies ist das Konzept des ersten Schemas—korrespondiert mit der aufsteigenden Linie "virtutes politicae" bis hin zu den "virtutes exemplares," wobei mit den "virtutes animi iam purgati" der Bereich der intellektuellen Tugenden betreten wird.[6] Wichtig ist, daß für Landino das Wesen der menschlichen Existenz in einer Verbindung von moralischen und intellektuellen Tugenden besteht, d. h. letztlich in einer Verknüpfung von "vita activa" und "vita contemplativa." Nicht nur der Weise (sapiens) ist der Tugend teilhaftig, sondern auch derjenige kann sie erreichen, der im öffentlichen Leben tätig ist. An einer Stelle des Dialogs liest man: "Sunt autem qui negent in quemquam nisi in sapientem cadere virtutes. Sapientem autem eum diffiniunt, qui, caducis mortalibusque omnibus contemptis, sola divina sapiat, et ad eorum exemplar, quoad imbecillitatis humanae facultas patiatur, vitam instituat. Et est profecto in iis solis perfecta absolutaque virtus; verum si illis assentiamur, raro, ne dicam nunquam, in homine aut repertae sunt aut reperientur virtutes. Itaque clementius agamus cum genere humano; atque eos quoque, qui, si non recta, saltem media officia tueri possunt, veluti studiosos et virtutibus praeditos, amplectamur; qua quidem in sententia et divinum illum Platonem fuisse crediderim. Is enim eas omnes, quas paulo ante enumeravi virtutes, ita diversorum generum posuit, ut alia quadam ratione ab iis coli ostenderet, qui coetus ac civitatem adamarent; alia ab iis, qui omnem mortalitatem dediscere cupientes et humanarum rerum odio moti ad sola divina speculanda erigerentur; alia postremo ab iis, qui omni iam contagione tersi in solis divinis versarentur" (51f.). Ähnlich—und zugleich noch expliziter—drückt sich Landino im ersten Buch der *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (ca. 1472) aus, in dem der Problemkomplex "vita activa"—"vita contemplativa" abgehandelt wird. Hier koppelt Leon Battista Alberti in seiner zweiten Rede die "vita activa" in der Weise an die "vita contemplativa," daß die praktische Tätigkeit ohne die Suche nach der Wahrheit erfolglos ist. Das Ideal der menschlichen Existenz wird

[5] Der letzte Teil des Zitats findet sich nahezu wortwörtlich auch im dritten Buch der *Disputationes Camaldulenses*; vgl. ed. Peter Lohe (Firenze, 1980), 153.

[6] Vgl. hierzu Lentzen, *Studien zur Dante-Exegese Cristoforo Landinos, mit einem Anhang bisher unveröffentlichter Briefe und Reden* (Köln-Wien, 1971), 77ff., speziell 84f.

in einer Verbindung beider Lebensformen gesehen, so wie Maria und Martha als Schwestern miteinander verbunden und beide Gott wohlgefällig sind. Landino knüpft an die platonische These an, daß der Philosoph, der sich der Kontemplation hingibt und damit die intellektuellen Tugenden in sich verwirklicht, immer wieder in die politische Gemeinschaft zurückkehren muß, um das Leben der Mitbürger zu teilen und durch die Praktizierung auch der moralischen Tugenden die Polis teilhaben zu lassen an der Erkenntnis der Wahrheit.[7]

Im letzten Teil des dritten Buchs des Dialogs *De anima* wird die Frage der Unsterblichkeit der Seele diskutiert. Landino versucht hier, durch mehrere Argumentationsstränge die "immortalitas" der "anima" zu erweisen ("videamus deinceps quibus argumentationibus aeternam animis vitam vendicare possimus") (65). Zuvor wird allerdings die Frage geklärt, ob es nur eine "mens" für alle Menschen gibt oder ob jeder einzelne seine eigene "mens" besitzt. Dieses Problem wird im letzteren Sinne entschieden, denn wie ein Steuermann immer nur ein Schiff zu lenken imstande ist, so kann auch immer nur eine Seele einen einzigen Menschen durch die Wirren des Lebens geleiten. Also: ". . . non unicam omnibus, sed singulis singulas mentes adesse . . ." (74f.). Die Unsterblichkeit der Seele nach dem Tod des Menschen wird zunächst mit Hilfe traditioneller Vorstellungen, Riten und Zeremonien verfochten. Auf die verschiedenen Totenkulte der Völker wird hingewiesen sowie auf das Streben des Menschen, durch außergewöhnliche Werke unsterblich zu werden; dieses Verlangen hat nur einen Sinn, wenn das Weiterleben der Seele nach dem Hinscheiden des Körpers angenommen wird. Eine weitere Stütze dieser Vorstellung findet Landino in der platonischen Idee der Bewegung der Seele. Der "animus" bewegt sich durch sich selbst, er hat seinen Anfang in sich selber; das, was nicht geschaffen worden ist, kann auch nicht untergehen. "Nunquam enim occidet, quod exortum non est. Videmus igitur rem gradatim illuc deduci, ut quod se ipsum moveat, id aeternum sit. Movet autem se ipsum animus: est igitur animus aeternus. Si aeternus, nunquam a vita cessabit; nunquam igitur in interitum cadet: erit ergo immortalis" (80). Die Körper hingegen können sich nicht aus sich selber heraus bewegen, sie empfangen vielmehr die Bewegung von einer höheren Instanz; deswegen unterliegen sie der Sterblichkeit. Demgegenüber sind die "animi" die "causa suarum actionum" (85); sie sind göttlich und haben deshalb nur am Leben, nicht am Tode teil: "Igitur et immortales" (88). Einen weiteren Beweis für die "immortalitas" der Seele sieht Landino darin, daß die "mens" die "vis intelligendi" besitzt und dadurch ihr Ziel auf die Erkenntnis der Wahrheit gerichtet ist. Da die "veritas" aber ewig und unsterblich ist, muß auch die "mens"—so folgert der Autor—unsterblich sein ("Ergo et vis intelligendi et mens, in qua est illa vis, erit

[7] Hierzu Lentzen, "Zur Problematik von 'vita activa' und 'vita contemplativa' in . . . Landino," *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen* 14 (1990): 57–64.

immortalis") (90). Weiterhin sucht der Mensch mit Hilfe der "mens" das "summum bonum"; da er dieses nicht in hinfälligen Dingen finden wird, hofft er auf die Unsterblichkeit, durch die er zur Anschauung der "res divinae" gelangt. "Animus" und "corpus" sind die beiden Bestandteile der menschlichen Natur, sie verhalten sich wie "gubernator" und "navis" zueinander; der "animus" ist als "dux" und "rector corporis" zu bewerten, der nicht—wie der Körper—dem Untergang anheimfällt (92). Da die Seele schließlich auf das "honestum" und auf "religio" gerichtet ist, muß sie—wie eben diese beiden Ziele auch—unsterblich sein; "corpus" hingegen ist an "utilitas" und "voluptas"—zwei vergängliche Bereiche—gekoppelt. Nach diesen vielfältigen Überlegungen zur "immortalitas" schließt der Dialog mit einer Verherrlichung Platons ("... eum iam non ut hominem excellentissimum illum quidem, sed ut aliquid supra hominem ...") (95), dessen Lehre in die Nähe der christlichen Doktrin gerückt wird. Man spürt im dritten Buch von *De anima* bereits etwas von der Idee einer "docta religio" und "pia philosophia," die für Ficino so charakteristisch ist; die antik-heidnische Philosophie und die christlichen Vorstellungen gründen auf einer gemeinsamen Gedankenwelt und verschmelzen nahezu zu einer Einheit. Marsuppini empfiehlt dem Menschen, sich seiner Seelenkräfte bewußt zu werden, um mit ihrer Hilfe zur "quies" und "tranquillitas" zu gelangen, die die Anschauung Gottes und damit den Genuß des "sempiternum bonum" ermöglicht (96). Diese Vorstellung ist nicht allzu weit entfernt von der christlichen Idee der Schau Gottes im Jenseits.

Man wird wohl festhalten dürfen, daß Landino in seiner Schrift *De anima*—speziell im dritten Buch—im wesentlichen bereits die philosophischen Kategorien erarbeitet, die für seine exegetischen Werke von so großer Bedeutung sind. Die zu Beginn erwähnte Differenzierung zwischen "ratio inferior" und "ratio superior" bestimmt weite Teile der Deutung des Dante'schen *Infernos* im Kommentar zur *Divina Commedia* (1481). Vergil, die "ragione superiore," steht dem Wanderer Dante, der die "ragione inferiore" repräsentiert, in der entscheidenden Stunde bei und geleitet ihn durch das Reich der Finsternis, damit er sich reinigt und zur Anschauung Gottes im Paradies gelangen kann.[8] Vor allem auch die vier Stufen der Tugenden werden zu konstitutiven Elementen der Exegese erhoben. Im dritten Buch der *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, in dem die Auslegung der ersten Hälfte der *Aeneis* beginnt, unterscheidet Landino die "virtutes civiles," "purgatoriae," und "animi iam purgati"; die "virtutes exemplares" bleiben unerwähnt; sie tauchen allerdings im Kommentar zu *Purg. I* (im Dantekommentar) auf, wobei sie jetzt gar als eine Tugendstufe angesehen werden, die durchaus

[8] Zu "ratio inferior" und "ratio superior" vgl. Manfred Lentzen, *Studien zur Dante-Exegese Cristoforo Landinos*, 59ff. ; auch Paolo Procaccioli, *Filologia ed esegesi dantesca nel Quattrocento; l' "Inferno" nel "Comento sopra la Comedia" di Cristoforo Landino*, premessa di Giorgio Petrocchi (Firenze, 1989), 155ff.

noch ihren Bezug zum Menschen aufrechterhält.[9] Die ersten drei Stufen kann Landino jeweils auf das *Inferno, Purgatorio* und *Paradiso* beziehen, so daß sich mit diesem Begriffsinstrumentarium die drei Teile der *Divina Commedia* fassen lassen: Dante strebt zur Anschauung Gottes über die "virtutes politicae," "virtutes purgatoriae" und "virtutes animi iam purgati"; dabei steht er stellvertretend für die unsterbliche Seele eines jeden Menschen, der zum göttlichen Ursprung zurückzukehren trachtet. Daß Landino seiner Schrift *De anima* in Hinsicht auf seine philosophische Entwicklung eine besondere Bedeutung beimißt, zeigt sich daran, daß er mehrmals in seinem Dantekommentar auf sie Bezug nimmt. Vor allem in den Erläuterungen zu *Inf.* 10.13ff. gibt er eine kurze inhaltliche Zusammenfassung der drei Bücher des Dialogs.[10] Hinweise auf die verschiedenen Stufen der Tugenden finden sich auch bereits in den Vergilvorlesungen von 1462–63.[11] Diese Denkkategorien sind Landino somit bereits seit den frühen sechziger Jahren vertraut; es sind ja auch die Jahre, in denen er aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit der Abfassung der Schrift über die Seele beginnt.

Woher hat nun Landino dieses Begriffsinstrumentarium bezogen? Zunächst wird man diesbezüglich festzuhalten haben, daß die Diskussionen im Rahmen der Accademia Platonica (gegründet 1462) unter der Leitung Marsilio Ficinos für ihn von entscheidender Bedeutung sind. Die Differenzierung zwischen "virtutes morales" und "virtutes intellectuales" wird z.B. in Buch 8 von Ficinos *Theologia Platonica* (1474) behandelt und geht auf Aristoteles und Thomas von Aquin zurück. Die vier Tugendstufen werden u. a. in Buch 14 der *Theologia Platonica* diskutiert; dieses Hauptwerk Ficinos ist zugleich als Summe der Symposien der Akademie von Careggi zu bewerten. Schon im *Argumentum* zur Übersetzung von *Alkibiades II* (aus dem Jahre 1464) findet sich die vierfache Aufgliederung der Tugenden in "virtutes civiles, purgatoriae, animi iam purgati" und "exemplares."[12] Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach hat Ficino dieses System von Macrobius übernommen, der es in seinem Kommentar zu Ciceros *Somnium Scipionis* entwickelt (1.8.5ff.). Macrobius seinerseits dürfte wohl von Plotin und Porphyrios abhängig sein.[13] Interessant ist, daß auch im dritten Buch von Matteo Palmieris Schrift *Città di vita* drei Tugendstufen unterschieden werden ("virtutes civiles, purgatoriae, animi iam purgati"), die mit dem Aufstieg der Seele zum göttlichen Ursprung hin in Verbindung gebracht werden; dieses Werk datiert aus den späten fünfziger oder den frühen

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[9] Vgl. Lentzen, *Studien zur Dante-Exegese Cristoforo Landinos*, 77ff.

[10] Eine Ausgabe dieses Textabschnitts findet sich am Ende des Beitrags. Dem Text liegt folgender Kommentardruck zugrunde: *Dante con l'espositioni di Christoforo Landino et d'Alessandro Vellutello* (Venezia, 1596), 60v-61r.

[11] Vgl. Arthur Field, "Cristoforo Landino's First Lectures on Dante," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986): 16ff., speziell 39ff.

[12] Vgl. Arthur Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence*, 192.

[13] Hierzu Lentzen, *Studien zur Dante-Exegese Cristoforo Landinos*, 87ff.

sechziger Jahren. Man wird demnach insgesamt davon auszugehen haben, daß Landino diese Gedankengänge in den Disputen der Zeit, speziell in den Diskussionen der Platonischen Akademie von Florenz kennenlernte und sie als geeignete philosophische Kategorien für seine exegetischen Bemühungen betrachtete. Besonders im dritten Buch des Dialogs *De anima* wird das Begriffsinstrumentarium entwickelt und vorgestellt, das dann die Basis der Dante und Vergilerklärungen bildet.

Universität Münster

Kommentar zu Inf. 10, 13ff. (Dantekommentar)

Varie sono l'opinioni dell'anima secondo diversi Filosofi, perchè molti credettero quella esser corpo, molti esser cosa corporea, & prolisso sarebbe narrar di tutti.

Ma io nel primo de' tre libri, che 'n lingua Latina scrissi dell'anima, di ciascun posi l'opinioni, & dopo le confutai, dimostrando quella non esser corpo, nè cosa corporea, ma incorporea. Posi dopo la diffinition d'Aristotele, & perchè quella è commune, & non propria dell'anima humana, presi della dottrina Platonica, nella quale tanto Filosofo investiga prima <perchè> sia l'anima, dopo che cosa sia, se fu innanzi al corpo, o dopo il corpo, se si può divider in più parti, se in uno medesimo huomo son più anime, cioè che altra anima sia la vegetativa, altra la motiva, altra la sensitiva, altra la rationale, overamente sia una sola, la qual abbracci in sé tutte queste quattro potentie, & finalmente posi la diffinition sua, la qual è che l'anima sia sostantia incorporea rationale, la qual muova sé medesima.

Dopo tal diffinitione provai, perchè è sostantia, & non accidente, & perchè è incorporea, & non corporea, & quello, che intende Platone quando dice, che l'anima move sé medesima, & che cosa sia moto attivo, & passivo, & come a torto questa diffinitione è impugnata da' Peripatetici. Dissi ancora l'anime non esser state create tutte insieme, come scrive Platone, nè venire ne' corpi, o perchè sieno aggravate dalla cupidità delle cose terrene, come piace al medesimo Platone, o che vogliono rifuggire gli duri Imperi degli Dij, & l'assidue revolutioni c'hanno a far pe 'l voltar de' Cieli, come scrive Eraclito, o per sostener pena, & tormento ne' corpi de' peccati, c'hanno commesso in Cielo, come crede Empodecle, & ancora Origene, & aggiunsi, che l'anime son create di tempo in tempo, & in un medesimo punto create, & messe nel corpo. Et son create da Dio, non della sua sostanza, come affermarono gli Stoici, & dopo molti heretici Spagnuoli, i quali seguitaron Manicheo, & Priscilliano. Nè ancora son create del suo alito, come vuole Vincenzo Vittore; ma son create di niente[14] rationali, & immortali, & con

[14] Druck: mente.

libero arbitrio, pe 'l quale conseguita, che 'n man nostra è la vita, & la morte, cioè, il poterci salvare, & dannare.

Dopo nel secondo libro trattai della potenza vegetativa, & come nudrisce il corpo, e come lo cresce, & con che seme ne genera più. Trattai della motiva, trattai de' sensi esteriori, & interiori, trattai dell'appetito, & delle perturbationi, che da quello nascono, trattai di tutte le virtù intellettive, & morali. Nè solamente descrissi tutte queste parti & potenze, ma ancora dimostrai tutti gl'istrumenti del corpo, che l'anima usa in essa.

Nel terzo aggiunsi la rationale, & distintamente narrai dell'intelletto passibile, & agente, & che cosa sia ragion inferiore, & ragion superiore, & che intelletto, & l'intelligenza, & confutai l'opinion d'Averrois, & di molti altri, dimostrando, che tante son l'anime, quanti son gli huomini, & essere falso, che sia un solo, & universal intelletto. Et nell'ultimo posi molte argumentationi, per provar l'immortalità dell'anima. Adunque per tutte queste cose intendiamo l'anima non essere stata mai innanzi al corpo. Intendiamo l'essenza sua, & le sue parti, & potenze. Intendiamo quello, ch' opera nel corpo, & con che instrumenti, & come rimane, poi ch'è uscita del corpo. Nè allegai miei libri, perchè sia sì arrogante, ch'io mi proponga a gli altri; ma perchè in quelli sono raccolte molte cose, che non si trovano altrove insieme, perchè congiunsi la Platonica, con l'Aristotelica, & Stoica disciplina, & quelle ho sottomesse alla Christiana verità, & narrando l'ho tratte delle spinose argumentationi della Dialettica, & fattole perspicue, & aperte con oratorio stile, in forma, che non solamente gli huomini esercitati in Filosofia, ma ancora i civili, pur c'habbino alcuna cognition di lettere, facilmente l'intendono, & quello basti dell'anima.

Schemata

A. *Mens, ratio, animus*

1. Die "facultates" ("vires") des "animus":

sensus
imaginatio
intellectus ——— (fast identisch)
intelligentia ———

(21)

2. Die "mens" erfaßt die Dinge über die Stufen:

intellectus in habitu
intellectus in effectu
intellectus accomodatus

(27)

3. Weg der Erkenntnis über:

- inventio
  - ingenium
  - experientia
  - apprehensio
  - conceptio
  - ratiocinatio
- iudicium
  - dubitatio
  - opinio
  - fides
  - scientia
- memoria
  - retinere
  - reddere
  - reminiscentia
- interpretatio
  - excogitatio
  - significatio

(35 ff.)

4. Die "motus" zum "bonum":

mens
amor
notitia

(39)

B. *Virtutes*

1. *virtutes intellectuales* (nach Aristoteles und Thomas v. Aquin)

"mens speculativa" führt zu: intellectus (oder intelligentia)
scientia
sapientia

"mens activa" führt zu: prudentia
- bona consultatio
- solertia
- sagacitas
- sententia

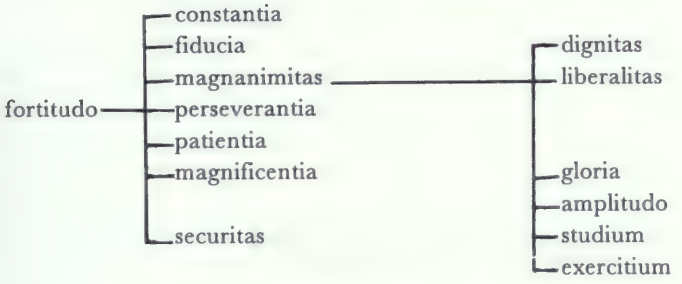
"mens effectiva" führt zu: ars

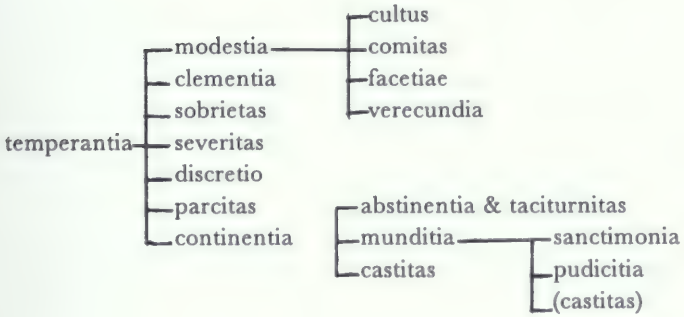
virtutes morales
iustitia
fortitudo
temperantia

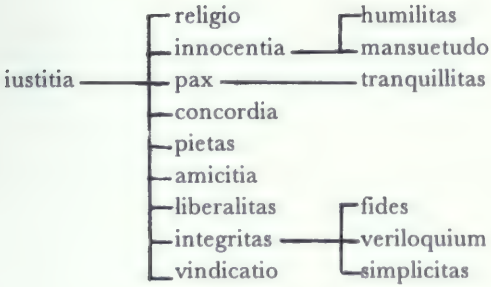
(41ff.)

2. *virtutes politicae* (oder *civiles*) (nach Macrobius)

- prudentia
  - ratio
  - intellectus
  - circumspectio
  - providentia
  - cautio







virtutes expiatoriae

prudentia
fortitudo
temperantia
iustitia

virtutes animi iam purgati

prudentia
fortitudo
temperantia
iustitia

virtutes exemplares

prudentia
fortitudo
temperantia
iustitia

(52ff.)

Communications

Swedish War Propaganda in Latin, German, and Swedish

HANS AILI

The early seventeenth century marked the rise of Sweden to the position of a major power in Europe. The nation's importance grew during the Thirty Years War, when the soldiers of King Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632) gave Sweden a warlike reputation all over the continent. The peace treaty of 1648 named Sweden, along with France, the guarantor of European peace. Under Queen Christina (1632–1654), King Charles X Gustavus (1654–1660), and King Charles XI (1660–1697), Sweden's position was secure, despite occasional military setbacks. The reign of King Charles XII (1697–1718) meant some years of sensational victories and after that a series of defeats, culminating with the king's own death on the field and the peace treaty with Russia in 1721, when all Swedish dreams of power came to an end.

Although a short period of time historically speaking, this century or so of international prominence coincided with a veritable golden age of Swedish literature in Latin. Many reasons may be cited for this flowering of Latin literature, but possibly the most important ones are the improved conditions of the educational system, the recruiting of university alumni to the service of the king, and the sensitive national prestige of this new military power.

With the geographical expansion of Sweden into the Baltic states of Carelia and Livonia, into north Germany, and the former Danish provinces of Bohuslän, Halland, Skåne, and Blekinge, the new administration used one culturally productive way of winning over the population to Swedish rule, namely the founding of schools and universities. At the outset of its expansion, Sweden had but one university, at Uppsala. After its founding in 1477, academic activities had from time to time been conducted at a very low level, particularly in the decades after the Reformation, which formally started in 1527. In the year 1632, a new university was founded at Dorpat in the province of Livonia (present-day Tartu in Estonia). In 1640, Finland, which

had been a province of Sweden since the Middle Ages, saw the founding of the University of Åbo (or Turku). In 1648, Sweden gained control of Pomerania, and the medieval University of Greifswald was also numbered among Swedish universities until the end of the Napoleonic wars. Finally, in 1668, the University of Lund was founded in Skåne. In that year, Sweden therefore had five universities, whose professors and students came from many nations, not only from the Swedish provinces. Thus, for example, Uppsala University profited greatly from the learning of Johannes Schefferus, a native of Strasbourg, while Lund University could boast of having the great authority on natural law, Samuel Pufendorf, among its pro fessors. The alumni of these universities were furthermore generally very well read in ancient literature, and naturally turned to Latin as a vehicle for their own literature, while serving the Swedish Crown as clergymen, administrators, or diplomats. Finally, Swedish national prestige was very sensitive and, although the Swedish language could not compete with French or Italian as a vehicle of communication, the Swedish Crown (in this case represented by Axel Oxenstierna, chancellor to King Gustavus Adolphus) could not accept the failure of foreign diplomats to understand Swedish, hence Swedish diplomats were not officially allowed to understand these languages. The solution to this impasse lay in the extensive use of Latin in diplomatic communication.

During its years of power, Sweden had a great need to present its view of all military or political events to the outside world, and to keep its enemies guessing about its strategies. The Swedish chancellery favored two methods for the dissemination of propaganda, both employing the printed word. The method hitherto best documented involved the use of letters, purporting to be by the hand of citizens of the regions under dispute. A number of pamphlets of this kind were raced through the presses, arguing for whatever stance the Swedish Crown had taken. To lessen the impression of partiality, they were generally published anonymously, often by printing houses on the Continent.

A less well documented means of propaganda was the use of poetry, written in many languages and dealing with various aspects of the war. One of the very first Swedish propagandists was in fact a Dutchman, Johan van Narssen (Johannes Narssius), who published two famous epics on Gustavus Adolphus. The Great Nordic War, which lasted from 1700 to 1721 and marked the end of Swedish power, is a period characterized by a veritable plethora of poems congratulating King Charles XII and his army on their glorious victories. A considerably lesser number deplore their eventual defeats. Just like the propaganda letters, much of this poetry was published anonymously. Quite a lot of the more controversial pieces, such as an anonymous poem[1] criticizing Charles XII after the defeat at Poltava in 1709,

[1] Uppsala (Sweden) Universitetsbiblioteket, (hereafter UUB) *Collectanea Palmsköldiana* (hereafter Palmsk.) 57, 517 (MS).

were not even published in print, for fairly obvious reasons. On the other hand, there were at times reasons for not printing even congratulatory poetry. Examples of the latter type are a couple of poems[2] celebrating Swedish field marshal Rehnschiöld's resounding victory over a Saxon and Russian army at Fraustadt in 1706. These verses exist only in manuscript form; the reason for this appears to be that the poets compared this victory with the battle of Höchstädt in 1704, where the duke of Marlborough defeated an imperial Austrian army. Inevitably, the Swedish poets found in favor of Rehnschiöld's victory, a comparison that could not have failed to annoy Marlborough himself when he visited King Charles's headquarters, and possibly disrupting the negotiations that were going on between Sweden and Britain.

The first work to be discussed in this paper is a longish dramatic play, entitled *Cento satyricus in hodiernos motus Septentrionis*, and written by Johan Bergenhielm (1629–1704), whose lifetime coincided with the height of Swedish power. A former professor of history at Uppsala, he had turned to politics and diplomacy and was court chancellor in 1700. In 1699, he had been sent by his young king with an embassy to Czar Peter I in Moscow to negotiate the confirmation of the existing peace treaties between Sweden and Russia. The czar, who had already secretly allied himself with Saxony and Denmark in planning a three-front war against Sweden, managed to deceive Bergenhielm and the other Swedish statesmen into believing that peace was secure. All through 1699, the Danes maneuvered against Sweden's ally, the duchy of Holstein, tearing down fortifications; Sweden replied by sending troops in Holstein's support. In this part of the world, Sweden's position was strengthened by her alliance with the Netherlands and Great Britain.

The threefold attack on Sweden began in February 1700 when Augustus II, elector of Saxony, sent troops across the river Dwina without warning, attempting to capture Riga. Then in March, Denmark struck openly against Holstein. And finally, in the autumn, Russian forces invaded northern Livonia, where they besieged Narva, the most important Swedish fortress in that area. The Swedish reply to this three-pronged attack was both quick and successful. While the Saxons attacking Riga were held at bay, other Swedish troops under King Charles, aided by their allies, quickly forced the Danes into surrender. When the Russian attack came, the main Swedish forces were shipped to Livonia and marched quickly to Narva in the November snows to defeat the numerically much superior Russian forces. In the spring of 1701, the army marched south against the Saxons and routed them on the shores of the Dwina.

These three rapid victories, won by a fairly green army under the personal command of an eighteen-year-old king, caused a great sensation in Europe. Not unnaturally, the Swedish propagandists made the most of this situation, and this period of the Great Nordic War has been the subject of

[2] Olof Hermelin, *De Proeliis ad Hogstediam et Frawenstadiam*, 1706 (UUB, Palmsk. 57, 494f.); Johannes Paulinus Lillienstedt, *In proelium Fraustadensem*, 1706 (UUB, Palmsk. 387:a, unpaginated).

many poems and orations. Bergenhielm's *Cento satyricus* is one of the longest and possibly most original in its conception. As the title states, it belongs to the genre of the *cento*, introduced in Roman literature only in the third century AD, the rules of the genre being given by Ausonius in the fourth century. According to his definition (given in the introduction to his *Cento nuptialis*), a *cento* is a poem composed entirely out of snippets of classical verse; if it is in hexameter or in elegiac couplets, the writer must borrow half lines, or one and a half lines at a turn, and the division between the snippets must always be at the caesura. The task of the listener is then to use all his learning in order to enjoy the effect of the source poems in their new setting. Ausonius himself wrote the *Cento nuptialis*, where the most heroic lines of Vergil are used to describe a wedding and the details of the wedding night.

The *Cento satyricus*, which is the subject of this paper, falls rather short of these requirements. It only really lives up to the basic notion of borrowing every line from the classics, whether poetry or prose. Nonetheless, it is in its own way quite an impressive piece of work, where the fundamental principle of the genre is employed to produce a would-be stage play in which European heads of state, generals, and other important contemporary persons enact a historical drama. The *Cento satyricus* is divided into two equal parts; the first describes the events in Holstein, and the second, the Saxon campaign on the Livonian border and the subsequent Swedish victory. The most glorious part of the campaign (from the Swedish point of view), namely the battle of Narva, is not described at all. The reason for this appears to be that a wholly separate work, entitled *Lusus verbalis in motus serios Septentrionis,* which also adheres to the *cento* principle, was published anonymously, just like the *Cento satyricus,* without giving year or place of printing, but probably very close to the historical events described.

Appendix I presents some parts taken from the first half of the *Cento satyricus*. The classical sources identified so far are given in the notes. The text has been divided into sections for easy reference. Section 1 is made up of four fairly close quotations from Cicero and Sallust (notes 3, 4, 6, and 7). Bergenhielm was not averse to mixing different sources, as is demonstrated by sections 14 (Vergil and Silius Italicus) and 15 (Seneca and Suetonius). A few proverbs are used (section 9, n. 18). Vergil is the favorite source for the verse parts, while the *Historiae Alexandri Magni* by Q. Curtius Rufus, a work much admired by King Charles XII himself, is the main prose source, just ahead of the works of Cicero and Sallust.

Besides the Latin *Cento satyricus,* Bergenhielm also published a Swedish version, *Then Nordiske Krigs Lösen.* The full title is not very grammatically composed, but means, approximately: "The Ransom of the Nordic War, as it appears to be dealt out according to the individual advantages, conditions, and purposes of the parts, fetched from the ancient writers in Latin and thus interpreted and put into the following Swedish rhymes." The wording clearly states the author's dependence upon ancient Roman sources. Although both of these works were published anonymously, Bergenhielm's au-

thorship is well attested by contemporary, or at least very well informed, librarians' notes.

Even a cursory glance reveals that Bergenhielm's Swedish version differs considerably from the Latin one. The latter is a prosimetre, partly hexameters, partly elegiac couplets, partly prose; the Swedish version is all in alexandrine verse. The sources of the *Cento satyricus* can be identified by means of modern concordances. In the Swedish version, on the other hand, the classical sources are nearly completely hidden from a modern reader and must have been rather subtle even for the best read among Bergenhielm's contemporaries. In the Swedish version of section 1, we may notice the author's very free handling of the subject matter: a great part of the counsellors' argument is in fact gone, while the wording of their conclusion is much simplified. On the other hand, the Swedish version is a much better literary piece of work than the *Cento satyricus*, where the joints between the quotations are often but imperfectly hidden. Glaring examples are to be found in sections 14, where half a line has been left out, leaving a difficult hiatus, and 33, where the second line does not connect very well at all with the preceding one.

It seems that Bergenhielm either did not know of or did not care about Ausonius's rules for a *cento*: he used the technique in a much simpler manner, culling whatever suited his purpose from whatever source he wished, joining the loans very freely. I have found nothing to indicate that he used the original context of a loan to make a humorous point of the kind that abounds in Ausonius's *Cento nuptialis*. In section 1, for example, the first quotation (n. 3) would appear to be rather aptly chosen, expressing the desperation of the counsellors; but the rest of the quotations (notes 4, 6, and 7) are taken from Catiline's speech to his fellow conspirators, exhorting them to rebellion. Bergenhielm has thus borrowed the words of a Roman rebel to provide arguments for the heroes of the play, a fact which we may take to show that Bergenhielm did not care about the context of the sources. He apparently regarded the classics as a storeroom of Latin tags, using them where they fit his own piece of reasoning, but without much concern for their original context.

With regard to dramatic action in this play, it must be said that all the actual events are shown by means of the voices—not the stage actions—of the persons involved; stage instructions are rather few in number, which means that we are given very few clues as to the progress of the war, except for what we understand from the actors' words. The narrator enters the scene only three times: in section 38, where he transfers the action from Holstein to Livonia; in section 58, where the *Scriptor centonis,* by the aid of four Vergilian hexameter lines, describes the carnage of the battle at the town of Dünamünde (a part which could just as easily have been assigned to one of the actual protagonists); and in the concluding prayer for peace.

Moreover, the statesmen and generals, in the best fashion of Roman history, describe themselves and their characters by their own words: in the

sections given, the duke of Holstein appears as a thoughtful fellow, slow to anger but firm of purpose (sections 1–2, 10); the king of Denmark seems a very foolhardy monarch of a peace-loving people (sections 11, 14, and 37). The king of Sweden speaks only once in this part (section 9), displaying a sense of fair play and adherence to legal principles. He gives many more examples of these traits in a long discussion with the king of Saxony in the second half of the play (sections 45–53), while the various princes or kings of Europe show themselves to be good neighbors or opportunists, as the case may be (sections 25–28).

A *cento* is, by its very definition, completely un-original in its wording, every line of verse or prose being a loan from an ancient author; whatever originality there is resides in the way the loans are arranged. Nonetheless, Bergenhielm did succeed in producing a play with some literary qualities as well as a great deal to say about the way the Swedish Crown saw this war and its progress and the way it wanted the war to be seen abroad. The fact that Bergenhielm, a high official in the king's council with considerable experience as a diplomat, expressed his views in this literary form rather than in a pamphlet or in a diplomatic note adds a new dimension to our knowledge of the literature of this time. Finally, Bergenhielm's own translation of his *Cento satyricus* into rhymed Swedish verse, drastically loosening the connection between the Roman *auctores* he had borrowed from and the new verse drama, gives us a clear indication of the familiarity with which the learned men of his time regarded these *auctores* and the extent to which the ancients were still a living influence on the thoughts and actions of men of power.

As mentioned above, the Swedish war propaganda was, indeed, often published anonymously, often even printed on the Continent. One reason for this could be that this made these pamphlets less obviously partisan; another is that the authors were often men of such high rank within the Swedish administration that the pamphlets might be accorded the importance of notes of state rather than of literature if the identities of their authors were known. We know for certain, for instance, that the very title of a poem by Magnus Rönnou, entitled *Hercules genuinus, Carolus duodecimus, Magnae Scandinaviae imperator*, published in 1707, was officially cited by the Danes as one of the reasons for their resuming the war in 1709. It is possible they connected the territorial claim expressed by this title with the activities of their most notorious traitor, Corfitz Ulfeld, who had defected to King Charles X Gustav some fifty years earlier, cherishing the ambition that this monarch would recreate the united Scandinavia of the Middle Ages, but under a Swedish, not a Danish, crown.

The second example of Swedish literature to be discussed here, dealing with this war and published in more than one language, is a small poem by the same Magnus Rönnou who wrote the *Hercules genuinus*. Thanks to years of study at Lund, Uppsala, Wittenberg, Utrecht, and Leiden, Rönnou was a noted Orientalist and had many influential friends. When the court of

Charles XII was stationed at Lund (1715–1718), Rönnou was appointed secretary of protocols and made part of the king's chancellery. It is this role as courtier that seems to be reflected in his poem (reproduced in Appendix II), entitled *Ad augustissimum Svionum et Gothorum regem Carolum XII* and dated 3 December, 1716. Its subject is the king's long illness in the winter of 1716/1717. Rönnou assumes the part of an anxious servant, reminding the king that his father, King Charles XI, had lain ill in Rönnou's father's home, the vicarage of Åhus in the north of Skåne, and exhorting Charles XII to take all due care in regaining his health.

The king was almost certainly capable of understanding this poem (if it ever reached his eyes), for it is known that he did quite often attend Lund University lectures, which were regularly held in Latin. And even though he might not have understood the Latin poem perfectly, he certainly did understand the German version, German being his second language.

The two versions of the poem give the same general impression, but to my mind they differ significantly in the impression they produce of the poet's relation to his king. First of all, we may consider the poet's ways of expressing his concern for the king's health. The Latin version, with its note of friendly and respectful anxiety, such as could be offered by a devoted family servant, underlines the dangers of the strenuous life of this king, who rarely gave himself time off: "Hinc certe gloria nulla fluit." The impression we receive from lines 1–10 is that of a king laboring under the hardships of winter, poor lodgings, and overwork. The German version, on the other hand, appears to put a much stronger emphasis on the king's suffering hardship voluntarily ("beliebtes fasten, frost und arbeit"), forgetting thereby the quest for glory. The latter version gives a picture of adoration offered to the king by a loyal and deferential servant, rather than the deep but friendly concern of a trusted courtier. In effect, the distance between the king and Rönnou appears greater in the German poem.

The secret girlfriend, who has a claim to one third of the king, as Rönnou maintains in lines 15–16, is something of a problem, as most sources emphasize that Charles XII was not at all a ladies' man. On an allegorical level of interpretation she might represent the king's *Patria*, waiting impatiently for his return; but bearing in mind the very concrete tenor of the poem as a whole, I do not believe that this interpretation is the only one intended by Rönnou. On the other hand, it is hardly likely that Rönnou unwittingly disclosed a sensational, amorous secret, as the poem was after all published in print. If it had hinted at something too delicate for publicity, it could easily have been suppressed by the censors. Nonetheless, this goddess, inflamed with a wholly earthly passion for the king, was not intended for general notice. The German version, which could and would be read by a greater public, is much more discreet on this point, since "Die schöne Heldin" who is to be betrothed to the king might be taken to refer to the Danish royal princess Sofia Hedvig, with whom a betrothal had been officially discussed in the years after the king's crowning in 1697, until the war

made all negotiations impossible. If this surmise is correct, the reference might even be construed as a veiled plea on Rönnou's part for renewing peace negotiations with Denmark. Such hopes were not at all uncommon at this time.

In the two respects discussed above, the Latin poem appears more outspoken than the German one. This is perfectly in line with a fairly general tendency among learned men, from the Middle Ages onward, to speak openly in Latin on sensitive matters but only discreetly in the vernacular.

To sum up, these instances of parallel Latin and vernacular texts, the *Cento satyricus* and *Then Nordiske Krigs Lösen*, and the two versions of the poem on the King's illness, illustrate the way a poet could use different languages to present the subject matter in different lights. For the vernacular translations are not equivalent to the Latin originals. The *Cento satyricus* was not slavishly translated; it was interpreted into Swedish alexandrines, and in this process the close connection between Bergenhielm's sources and his own drama—the whole conception of a *cento*, in fact—was completely broken. The result is that the Swedish drama appears as a fully independent work, and if we could not read the Latin version, we would never be able to understand much of the literary background to the Swedish text. Magnus Rönnou's Latin poem and his German translation, on the other hand, appear at first sight to be fairly similar; in my opinion, the Latin version is more intimate and familiar, showing the king in a less heroic, but in some respects more interesting light, while the German poem gives a more deferential and therefore more distant picture.

Stockholm

Appendix I

[Johan Bergenhielm (1629–1704)]: *Cento satyricus in hodiernos motus Septentrionis.* Anonymously published, s. l., s. a. (1700). Cf. Josef IJsewijn, *A Companion to Neo-Latin Studies.* 2d ed. (Leuven, 1990), I:277.

1. Consiliarii ducis Holsato-Gottorpiensis. Quousque tandem abutetur rex Daniæ patientia tua, serenissime princeps?[3] Libertas et anima tua in dubio sunt,[4] nec alius, quo salvum præstare te possis, modus, quam quem sæpe suggessimus.[5] Tantummodo incepto opus est; cætera res expediet.[6] Emori certe per virtutem præstat quam alienæ superbiæ perpetuo ludibrio esse.[7]

2. Dux Gottorpiensis. Deliberandum est diu quod statuendum semel.[8]

9. Rex Sveciæ. Qui iure suo utitur, nulli iniuriam facit.[9]

10. Dux. Iacta alea est, Rubiconem transivimus.[10]

11. Rex Daniæ.
Tanta ne vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?[11]
Tanta animi? Tantas audetis tollere moles?[12]

14. Subditi regis Daniæ.
Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes.[13]
Pax optima rerum,
quas homini novisse datum est: pax una triumphis
innumeris potior.[14]

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[3] Cicero *Cat.* 1.1.1.
[4] Sallust *BC* 52.06.
[5] Cf. Cicero *Imp. Pomp.* 18.55.
[6] Sallust *BC* 20.10.
[7] Sallust *BC* 20.9.
[8] Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae.* Deliberandum est saepe, statuendum semel.
[9] Hans Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters und frühen Neuzeit in alphabetischer Anordnung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963–67) (hereafter *LSSMFN),* 24157C.
[10] Suetonius *Caes.* 32.
[11] Vergil *A.* 1.132. Tanta *e* tanti *corr. Aili.*
[12] Vergil *A.* 1.134.
[13] Vergil *A.* 11.362.
[14] Silius It. *P.* 11.592.

15. Ordines generales foederati Belgii. Non expedit concutere felicem statum[15] aut aureo piscari hamo.[16]

25. Elector Hannoveranus. Ubi conflagrarit Holsatia, ad nos traiecturum est incendium;[17] præstat prævenire quam præveniri.[18]

26. Dux Cellensis. Ad commune exstinguendum incendium concurram us.[19]

27. Ordines generales foederati Belgii. Qui non repellit a socio, si potest, iniuriam, tam est in vitio quam ille, qui facit.[20]

28. Elector Brandeburgensis. Quum in hoc rerum statu id quemque, quod occu pet, habiturum arbitrer velut certo iure possessum,[21] iuvat ex ancipiti mutatione temporum pendere et qua Fortuna rem dederit, ea inclinare vires.[22]

33. Dux Wirtembergius obsidio excussus.
Frangimur, heu, fatis miseri ferimurque procella![23]
Ex illo fluere, ac retro sublapsa referri
spes Dani, fractæ vires, aversa Dei mens.[24]

37. Dani ad regem suum.
Quid temere miseros in aperta pericula cives
Proicis? O Danis caput horum et causa malorum![25]
Princeps, heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum![26]

[Johan Bergenhielm]: *Then Nordiske Krigs Lösen/ Som then för tijden synes skifftas effter Parternes åtskilliga Fördehl/ tillstånd och Ögnesyffte/ hämtad af the gamle Scribenter på Latin/ och således uttålckad och satt uti följande Swenske Rijm.* Anonymously published, s. l., s. a. (1700).

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[15] Seneca *Oed.* 833.

[16] Suetonius *Aug.* 25.4.

[17] Livy 7.30.13.

[18] Hans Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963–67), 14604a; *LSSMFN* 38186.

[19] Livy 28.42.11.

[20] Cicero *Off.* 1.23.

[21] Curtius *Hist.* 4.1.27.

[22] Curtius *Hist.* 4.1.27.

[23] Vergil *A.* 7.594.

[24] Vergil *A.* 2.169.

[25] Vergil *A.* 11.360.

[26] Vergil *A.* 4.267.

1. Hertigens af Hollsten Råd:
Ach! huru länge will dock Hollstens Hertig lijda
At Danske Konungen hans Frijhet slår om kull?
Will han then wäg/ wij wijst/ ey till revange skrijda?
Fast bättre wore döö för Land och Frijhets skull.

2. Hertigen:
Hwad en gång skal bestå/ bör man först wäl betänckia;

9. Konungen i Swerige:
Hwen will then skylla/ som sin Lag och Rätt utför?

10. Hertigen:
Iag wåger thet; thet går!

11. Konungen i Dannemarck: Så swäller tig nu Blodet.
Af skyldskap? at mot mig tu drijstigt repar Modet.

14. Danske Undersåtare:
Ei föder Kriget godt; Wij alle fred begära:
I Fredstijd finner man/ Hwad som godt nämnas kan;
Mehr gifwer hålla Fred/ än öfwerwinna/ ähra.

15. General Staterna:
Thet är ei rådeligt/ at Freden skal förstöras;

25. Chur-Försten af Hannover:
Then torde löpa bort/ at wij sielf' måste fasa.

26. Hertigen af Zelle:
Så lähne till i tijd/ at släckia/ hwar sin Hand!

27. Gen. Stat:
Then icke bijstår/ är så god/ som then som stielper:

28. Chur-Försten af Brandenb:
Iag seer/ at thenna gång then rår'/ som Lyckan hielper;
Och torde hwar och en behålla/ hwad han får:
Therför' jag wänter nu/ men sidst med Lyckan går.

33. Hertigen af Würtenb. drager tilbaka ifrå Festningen:
På klippan haa wij stött och falla nu tillbaka:
Så går thet/ när Gud will wårt Hopp och Magt försaka.

37. The Danske Undersåtare til sin Konung:

Wår Konung till Förswar wårt Hufwud skulle wara
Och kommer på oss sielf then store örligs fahra:
O! Konung tänck på oss/ om tu framhärdar så/
Hwad skal med tig och oss thet för en Ända få?

Appendix II

Magnus Rönnou: *Ad augustissimum Svionum et Gothorum regem Carolum XII.* Lund, 3rd Dec. 1716.

Tussis anhela tuos cur quassat, o optime regum,
artus? Cur divo pallor in ore sedet?
Frangit iniqua fames et hyems nimiusque volentem
te labor. Hinc certe gloria nulla fluit.
Vis ferrum, vis saxa terit, vis dura leonum
enervat constans indomitumque genus.
Inclytus (hem! memini) genitor non impare fato
pæne tuus Scanicis, rex, periisset agris.
Ahusii testes amnisque laresque geluque
non bene contemtum. Dum licet, ante cave!
Tempora da coenæ, da tempora rebus agendis,
tempora da somno: tempore disce frui!
Non tuus es totus. Nam partem vindicat orbis
integer, et partem, Carole, regna tua.
Vindicat et partem, quæ clam suspirat amica,
molle accensa tui pectus amore Dea.
Te tormenta parum curare tonantia, coeli
cura sit, et recte posse valere, tua!

Magnus Rönnou: *Uebersetzung eines Freundes*

Wie quählt ein scharffer husst/ mein König/ deine glieder?
Was machet/ grosser held/ doch deine lippen bleich?
Beliebtes fasten/ frost und arbeit schlägt dich nieder/
Und macht dich warlich nicht an deinen ruhme reich.
Gewalt bricht stahl und stein der löwen feste sehnen/
Die werden durch gewalt doch endlich schwach gemacht.
Dein Vater (ach! ich sahs und muss es hier so wehnen)
Wär fast auf gleiche ahrt in Schonen umgebracht.
Ahus/ der helga eyss und unser haus kan singen/
Was dort gescheh'n/ Nim dich doch/ weil du kanst/ in acht
Nim dir zum essen zeit/ zum schlaff/ zu andern dingen:
Und sey behutsam auff der zeiten brauch bedacht.
Du bist nicht dein allein. Es hat der kräiss der erden/

Und dann dein grosses reich/ mein König/ theil an dir.
Die schöne heldin/ so dir soll vermählet werden/
Und die nach dir sich sehnt/ sagt/ du gehörst auch ihr.
Las der Carthaunen blitz von dir den himmel lencken/
Du selber aber must auf die Gesundheit dencken.

Lund/ den III. Januar 1717

Marcantonio Flaminio's Voyage to Naples: On Carmen *2.7* *

FOKKE AKKERMAN

The theme of this paper was suggested to me a few years ago when I read some of the poetry by Marcantonio Flaminio (1498–1550) with my students in Groningen. Since there is no complete modern edition and our university library does not possess one of the older ones, I had to be content with the poems of Flaminio included in the familiar anthologies by Laurens/Balavoine, Perosa/Sparrow, and Nichols,[1] which fortunately do not overlap too much. Our *Carmen* 2.7[2] is to be found only in *Renaissance Latin Verse*, edited by Perosa and Sparrow, but not in its entirety. The elegy is rather long—in fact it is the longest poem Flaminio wrote—and the editors have thought it necessary therefore to omit a passage consisting of thirty lines. My students and I admired Flaminio's clear and fluent verses, we found the subject interesting, but we did not quite understand the meaning of the poem. Some time later, when I visited the Royal Library in The Hague, I looked it up in the first *editio Cominiana* of 1727.[3] Thus I could re-

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* I am grateful to Dr. J. P. Guépin for his readiness to comment upon a first draft of my paper. I also made use of his magnificent book on Janus Secundus, Neo-Latin poetry in general, its *imitatio*-character and its technique, which appeared recently in the Netherlands: J. P. Guépin, *De kunst van Janus Secundus. De kussen en andere gedichten. Met een bijdrage van P. Tuynman* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1991). I also express my gratitude to my colleague Dr. A. J. Vanderjagt for his willingness to correct my English.

[1] Pierre Laurens and Claudie Balavoine, eds. *Musae Reduces. Anthologie de la poésie latine dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1975); Alessandro Perosa and John Sparrow, eds. *Renaissance Latin Verse. An Anthology* (London: Duckworth, 1979); Fred. J. Nichols, ed. *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979).

[2] The number according to Francesco Maria Mancurti's editions, which were published in 1727 and 1743 by Josephus Cominus in Padua.

[3] The Royal Library in The Hague has a rich collection of Flaminiana, including most of the older editions: 1515 (Fano), two copies; 1546 (Venice); 1548 (Venice); 1549 (Florence); 1551 (Paris); 1552 (Florence); 1727 (Padua, two copies); 1743 (Padua); lacking, though, is the

integrate the missing thirty lines and make a slow beginning in understanding the poem.

Perosa and Sparrow entitled Flaminio's *carmen* "Sailing to Naples." Perhaps they wanted to refer to Yeats's "Sailing to Byzantium"; in this way they may have wanted to indicate that according to them, Flaminio's poem has a general cultural-historical significance. I prefer, however, the old title "De se proficiscente Neapolim,"[4] which is more precise, since it says that the poem has as its subject a voyage which the poet himself is about to make from Verona, in his native country in Northern Italy, to Naples. Flaminio's voyage is sufficiently attested in his biography: he traveled to Naples in the autumn of 1538. In the biographical literature various motives are given for this journey: Flaminio wished to break away from the strict lifestyle Giberti, the bishop of Verona and his patron, imposed upon his court; he could no longer bear the cold climate of Northern Italy, since he was always sickly and his health had recently worsened; he longed for economic and social independence; and he was attracted by the religious, reform-minded circle gathered at Naples around the Spanish nobleman Juan de Valdés (c. 1500–1541). Flaminio is even said to have hidden away in Naples because he was suspected of holding heretical opinions.[5] For each of these motives evidence of some sort can be found in Flaminio's letters or in other contemporary testimonies. The books by Cuccoli (1897) and Pastore (1981) set forth these biographical details with great care, without specifically connecting them with our poem.[6] Carol Maddison, however, in her biography of 1965, does go through the poem in some detail in an effort to elucidate Flaminio's feelings at the time. She interprets the poem in terms of Flaminio's biography and illustrates this period of his life by the poem.[7] But our *Carmen* 2.7 does not breathe a word of all these biographi-

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one of 1529 (Venice). For the editions of Flaminio, see Cuccoli (n. 6), 151–65.

[4] This title already appears in the oldest edition of 1548.

[5] A scholiast in the copy of Mancurti's edition of 1727, which I saw in The Hague (Royal Library, sign. 393 J 20) wrote the following note beside the title of our poem: "Flaminium pro ratione temporum paullo liberius de nonnullis Ecclesiae Romanae dogmatibus sentientem eo animo se Neapolim contulisse, ut ab omni adversariorum prosecutione tutus lateret, colligo ex Epist. Italic. pag. 198 et 299". But in his letter of 1540/1541 to Francesco Anisio, in which he discusses the immortality of the soul, Flaminio does not express himself so openly on suspicions of heresy or persecution; what he says is: "Benché io sia venuto a Napoli per starmi nascosto et tacito, pur ho voluto questa volta mutar proposito et dir la mia opinione in questa materia a V. S." (ed. A. Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio, Lettere* [Roma: Ediz. dell' Areneo & Bizzarri, 1978], 108).

[6] Ercole Cuccoli, *M. Antonio Flaminio* (Bologna: Nicola Zanchelli, 1897), 71–74; Alessandro Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio. Fortune e sfortune di un chierico nell' Italia del Cinquecento* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1981), 90–116.

[7] Carol Maddison, *Marcantonio Flaminio. Poet, Humanist and Reformer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 95–96.

cal motives for leaving Verona and going to Naples, at least not in any manifest, tangible way. Here follows the complete text of the poem:[8]

Marcantonio Flaminio, *Carmen* 2.7

De se proficiscente Neapolim

Pausilypi colles et candida Mergillina
et myrteta sacris consita litoribus,
si mihi post tantos terraeque marisque labores
contigerit vestrae limina adire deae,
limina quae vates specula fundavit in alta
Actius Eois clarus et Hesperiis,
his ego pilleolum figam et calcaria et ensem
et quaecumque vagus arma viator habet;
nec mihi iam quisquam vel prudentissimus ullas
aut pelagi aut terrae suaserit ire vias,
non mihi Persarum si detur regia gaza,
non mihi si rubri serviat unda maris.
Quis furor est, nullis unquam requiescere terris
atque alia ex aliis semper adire loca,
nec vitare graves aestus nec frigora saeva
nec timuisse vagae mille pericla viae?
Felix, qui parvo contentus vivit agello
nec linquit patriae dulcia tecta domus;
quem versare iuvat fecunda ligonibus arva
et nitidam vitis fingere falce comam,
aut gelidam summo lympham deducere clivo
aestibus ut mediis arida prata bibant,
aut tondere gregem lucenti vellere amictum
et tonsum liquidis mergere fluminibus.
Hic laribus certis certisque sodalibus utens
magnorum vita caelicolum potitur;
nec violentus eum crudeli vulnere latro
nec fera caeruleo perdidit unda mari.
Ille suis moriens suprema dat oscula natis
deficiens casto coniugis in gremio;

[8] As there are no manuscripts of this poem, the basic text is its first edition of 1548 in *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum* . . . (Venetiis, ex officina Erasmiana Vincentii Valgrisii, 1548), 187–191. For my edition of the text I compared it with the editions of 1552 (Florence), 1727 and 1743 (Padua). The only textual variant is in l.109, where the edition of 1743 has mistakenly *ministras*. For the rest there is a gradual "modernization" of spelling and punctuation (Pausylipi—Pausilypi; ceruleo—coeruleo—caeruleo; iuuat—juvat; foemina—faemina—femina, etc.). In matters of orthography, capitals and punctuation I have followed modern usage.

illa viri fugientem animam dulci excipit ore,
et claudit tenera lumina cara manu;
dehinc tumulum viridi componit margine fontis,
qua vetus arboreis decidit umbra comis.
Huc madefacta piis lacrimis fert liba quotannis
cum pueris veniens maesta puella suis,
et magna manes compellat voce mariti
spargens fictilibus lac niveum calathis;
nec potis est dulci tumulo se avellere donec
Hesperus invitam cogit abire domum.
O fortunati cineres umbraeque beatae,
morte obita si quem talia fata manent!
At me, dum terras et vasta per aequora curro,
si vocet in Stygiam pallidus Orcus aquam,
quis tumulum faciet? tumulo quis tristia libans
dona peregrinas flebit ad inferias?
Iam valeant Alpes et nimbifer Apenninus,
tuque maris nostri litus utrumque vale!
Me iuvat umbrosis vitam nunc degere in hortis
et Phoebo et Musis otia digna sequi;
tum rerum causas eventaque dicere, qua sint
lege colenda homini nomina sancta deum,
qui deceant mores, faciat quae vita beatum,
quid verum falsis distet imaginibus.
In primis celebrare Patrem fidibus iuvat, a quo
ex nihilo vates omnia facta canunt;
caelicolae quem Tergeminum venerantur et Unum,
qui mare, qui terras, qui supera alta regit.
O utinam ille suo me sistat numine sancto
ad fortunati litora Pausilypi,
litora divino quondam celebrata Maroni
et patrio Minci flumine cara magis,
litora quae toties viderunt Calliopeam
dictantem vati carmina docta suo!
Sirenes illis stupuerunt versibus, illis
carminibus omnis Nereis obstupuit.
Ipse pater Tegeaeus amoena vireta Lycaei
linquens insolitis cautibus intererat;
quem comitabantur silvarum numina Fauni,
et Nonacrinae maxima turba deae.
Ille coronatus viridanti tempora myrto
dicebat laudes, candide Daphni, tuas;
et quae Maenalius dulci cantarat avena,
dum pascit niveas Alphesiboeus oves.
Tum miseros Galli consolabatur amores,

duritiam incusans, pulchra Lycori, tuam.
Hinc laetas segetes et Bacchi dona canebat
et pecus et liquidis dulcia mella favis.
Mox sese attollens numero graviore sonabat,
Troiani referens horrida bella ducis;
erroresque vagos et diruta Pergama flammis
visaque Tartarei pallida regna dei;
tum patri celebrata prius certamina, paene
femina cum Phrygias perdidit una rates.
In primis fatum miserae deflebat Elisae,
quam tulit heu diro vulnere saevus amor.
Siste ratem, Aenea, properas quid funus amanti?
Per Veneris quaeso numina siste ratem.
Quod si forte tuae mors est tibi cara puellae,
ah saltem in gremio concidat illa tuo.
Vos, o caeruleae formosa Doride natae,
vos dominum ad litus quaeso referte meum.
Sic vestro nulli veniant in amore dolores,
sic vobis semper mutuus adsit amor.
Ille canit: celso properant de vertice lauri
et prata omnigeno flore colorat humus.
Tune sacrum felix aluisti terra Maronem?
tune pio celas ossa beata sinu?
Anne etiam, ut fama est, vatis placidissima saepe
inter odoratum cernitur umbra nemus?
Felices oculi, fortunatissima silva,
et quicquid sancto nascitur in nemore!
Cui non sit dulci patria tua dulcior ora?
quis non te lucis praeferat Elysiis?
Iam mihi Benaci laetissima litora sordent,
iam formosus aquis Mesulus irriguis.
Me tibi, terra beata, dico; tu meta laborum,
iamque senescentis grata quies animi.
Tu, dum fata sinunt, lucemque auramque ministra,
tu precor extincti corporis ossa tege!

Let me now first paraphrase the main contents of the elegy in a few lines: The poet is on the brink of leaving for Naples, which in the context of this poem means the poetical landscape of the Posilipo and Mergillina where Sannazaro had lived (lines 1–6); he is mentioned by his poetical name Actius in line 6 and in relation to the chapel which he had built there for the Holy Virgin (4). So we are led to think of his epic, *De partu Virginis*. If the poet reaches his goal, he will there hang up the attributes of his traveling days in the shrine of the Virgin; according to the poem, Flaminio has decided never again to travel (7–12). He curses its unrest and danger (13–16) and

compares it with the bliss of simple country life (17–42), which is broadly pictured as a contrast to the cruel death that awaits many a traveler at the hands of robbers or in the waves of the sea. The poet also imagines these risks for himself (43–44). But he pulls himself together and bids farewell to the Alps, the Apennines, both the coasts of Italy he knew so well, (i.e., Genoa and Venice), where he had friends and had stayed (47–48)[9] and looks forward to Naples, where he is going to devote his life to Apollo and the Muses (49–50). He enumerates the disciplines he is going to study there and of which he is going to sing (51–58). He prays to God to bring him safely to the coasts of the Posilipo, where not only Sannazaro had lived and worked but also Vergil (59–61). Vergil, inspired by Calliope, is now evoked in a long passage by brief designations of all his works (65–94);[10] this passage has been left out by Perosa and Sparrow. A few of the *Eclogues* are alluded to, to wit nos. 5, 8, and 10 in lines 77–78, the *Georgics* in two lines (77–78), and finally the *Aeneid*, in an elegant order, in lines 79–94: first the wars (80), next the wanderings of Aeneas (81), then the destruction of Troy (81), the visit to the Underworld (82), the games in Sicily in honor and commemoration of Anchises (83), the attempted destruction of the ships (84), and finally the laments of Dido, on the beach of Carthage, calling back her lover (85–94). The order in which the books of the *Aeneid* are reviewed is thus: 7–12, 1, 3, 2, 6, 5, 4. In the next *passus* (95–102) Vergil has become, after his death, a living, magical force in the landscape of Naples, personified as the hero-poet Orpheus. Toward the end there is the final farewell to the fatherland and an expression of devotion to the blissful land of Naples (103–110).

It would not be difficult to fill the remaining space of this paper with an enumeration of classical quotations, allusions, and references in *Carmen* 2.7. As so often in Neo-Latin poetry, the classical references hang around the poem in thicker or thinner veils. They conceal and at the same time reveal deeper layers of contemporary ideas and meanings peculiar to the poet.

In Flaminio's *Carmen* we recognize immediately words, formulae, images, and ideas borrowed from Vergil, Ovid, Propertius, Horace, Catullus, and Tibullus.[11] It is not my aim to present here an exhaustive *apparatus fontium*. A few random samples will suffice: Flam. 17, "felix, qui parvo contentus vivit agello," reminds us of Tib. 1.1.25, "iam modo, iam possim contentus vivere parvo," and also of line 43 of the same poem, "parva seges satis est." The formula "felix, qui"[12] had, of course, become famous through Verg.

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[9] Cf. *Carm.* 5.29: "Ad Christophorum Longolium" (in *Renaissance Latin Verse*, 283–84); Maddison, 28–29.

[10] This art of summarizing poems was very popular in Neo-Latin poetry. J. P. Guépin in his book on Janus Secundus (see introd. note), 450f., cites several instances of it. He supposes that it was learned at school.

[11] The same six poets are extolled in six lines by Sannazaro: *Eleg.* 2.1.5–10.

[12] "felix, qui (cui, quae etc.)" as the opening of a line is also dear to Sannazaro: *Eleg.* 1.1.41; 1.2.11; 1.6.6; 1.9.53 and 57; *Epigr.* 1.10.7; *DPV* 2.45; 3. 446.

Georg. 2.490, "felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas," from which line the words "rerum causas" return in Flam. 51. The opening of Flam. 41, "o fortunati," is an echo of Verg. *Georg.* 2.458, "o fortunatos nimium." Compare further Flam. 13, "quis furor est": Tib. 1.10.33, "quis furor est atram bellis arcessere mortem"; Flam. 15, "nec vitare graves aestus": Tib. 1.1.27, "sed Canis aestivos ortus vitare sub umbra." Horace's *Epode* 2 is also present, but there are not many verbatim borrowings: Flam. 20, "et nitidam vitis fingere falce comam": Hor. *Ep.* 2.13, "inutilisque falce ramos amputans"; Flam. 23, "aut tondere gregem lucenti vellere amictum": Hor. *Ep.* 2.16, "aut tondet infirmas ovis." Flam. 29, "Ille suis moriens suprema dat oscula natis": Verg. *Georg* 1.523 "interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati"; Flam. 45–46, "tumulo quis tristia libans / dona peregrinas flebit ad inferias?": Catull. *Carm.* 101.1–2, "multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus / advenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias," and also line 8, "tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias." Ovid was not popular with Flaminio and his Northern Italian fellow poets. He is clearly there, but conspicuous references are shunned. Perhaps Flaminio did not realize that the adjective *Nonacrinus* for Arcadian in line 70 was typical of Ovid and Statius, both of whom he severely criticized along with Martial and Claudian.[13] The scene of the *supremus clamor* by his mistress or wife, which he will never know, having perished in a foreign country far from home (Flam. 37–46), appears to have been taken from Ovid *Tristia* 3.3.43ff., but there is no literal reminiscence. Even for the technical terms *conclamare* and *conclamatio* Flaminio substitutes *compellare*, which in this sense is unclassical.[14] Of course, there are also some borrowings from Vergil in the passage where Flaminio is reviewing his works, e.g., line 77, "laetas segetes," from Verg. *Georg.* 1.1. There is even an amusing contest, so it seems, in which Flaminio and Vergil compete as to which of the two can summarize the *Georgics* in the fewest words: Flaminio needs only one distich, whereas Vergil used four hexameters. Toward the end of Flaminio's poem there is suddenly almost an entire line taken from Propertius: Flam. 91, "vos o caeruleae formosa Doride natae": Prop. 1.17.25, "at vos aequoreae formosa Doride natae." In the following lines there is also some borrowing of the situation from Propertius.

Besides imitation of specific places, there is a pervasive classical flavor in words and their *iuncturae*: "terraeque marisque labores"(3); "limina adire deae"(4); "lympham deducere clivo"(21); "dum terras et vasta per aequora curro"(43); "dum fata sinunt"(109). In these cases and in many others it is not so easy to attribute the expression to a particular source passage in classical poetry, or, even where one can, the quotation is of no real significance to Flaminio's poem. But however they may be classified, all these borrow-

[13] Letter to Galeazzo Florimonte of February 22, 1549; text in Pastore, *Lettere*, 166–69; cf. Maddison, 184–85.

[14] But see also Sannazaro, *Eleg.* 1.3.19 "vocares"; 22 "clamares." A further *locus classicus* for the death and burial in a foreign country is Tibullus 1.3.

ings flow easily from a pen that was steeped in the great Roman poets.

The imitation of the classics does not end with words, formulae, and specific places. Topical situations are also borrowed: a vow before undertaking a dangerous task (7–8), the horror of an adventurous life full of dangers (13–16), the praise of the simple country life (17–41), the representation of one's own death and burial, be it within one's own family (29–40) or in a foreign country (43–46), the farewell to one's own loved country (47–48), the departure to a foreign town for education and study (49–58), the call after someone who is leaving and whom one would have preferred to keep at home (87–94): all these situations are traditional from classical literature onwards. One of Flaminio's friends (Galeazzo Florimonte) criticized him for being common and trite in his subject-matter, for lacking invention and poetic spirit. Flaminio answers amicably that he is well aware of this, that his friend is right, but that his criticism is not important. He is no different from Homer, he says, and Sophocles and Euripides and all the other great poets of the Greeks and Romans.[15]

The genre of the poem as a whole is the *syntaktikon*,[16] the farewell of a departing traveler. The making of an address *to* somebody who is leaving, the *propemptikon*, is also present in the poem, viz. in the complaint of Dido to Aeneas when he leaves Carthage. Taking a somewhat closer look at ancient rhetorical precepts and literary examples, we become conscious of the specific qualities and meanings of the modern poem we are studying. The poet Flaminio, for instance, in lines 47ff. addresses his own environment, bids it farewell and follows this up by telling what he is going to do in Naples. Flaminio here imitates Propertius 3.21 on his leave-taking from Rome in order to pursue his studies in Athens. Propertius's elegy is thus also a *syntaktikon*. There is no borrowing of words, except for the detail that Flaminio praises the shady gardens of Naples (49), and Propertius mentions the garden of Epicurus which he is going to visit (26). Both poets enumerate the disciplines they are going to study, their *ratio studiorum*. For Propertius these are Plato, Epicurus, Demosthenes (rhetoric), Menander (poetry), and the visual arts, a program true to type for an Italian humanist. That may have held true for the fifteenth century, but it is precisely the program Flaminio no longer wants; *his* studies will include physics (51), theology (51–52), ethics (53), dialectics (53–54)—all this means a lot of Aristotle—and, first and foremost, Christian poetry (55–58). So it is a change of scholarly pursuits and cultural and religious aims that has incited the poet to make his journey.

Another peculiarity strikes the modern reader: Propertius starts his journey with companions ("socii," 11) and he says good-bye to friends ("Romanae turres et vos valeatis, amici," 15) and even to the girl, who has rejected

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[15] See the letter quoted in n. 13.

[16] This section owes much to Francis Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1972); cf. index s. vv. syntaktikon and propemptikon.

him and caused his departure: "qualiscumque mihi tuque puella, vale" (16). This bidding of farewell to friends is expressly prescribed for the *syntaktikon* by Menander the Rhetor, so it comes as a surprise that in the entire long poem by Flaminio there does not appear another single living soul besides himself. He, however, is the poet of warm friendships *par excellence*.[17] So nobody will conclude from this elegy that Flaminio had no friends. *Carmen* 2.7 is not so much an autobiographical reflection on a real life experience as an instance of what we might characterize as programmatic academicism.

Another element in Flaminio's poem is the description of country life. In classical poetry, the simple country life stands always in the context of a choice between something good and something bad. The bad side is represented by commerce, moneymaking, long journeys full of danger, military life, lawsuits, and politics. The poet himself invariably chooses the Arcadian, pastoral life and associates it with poetry, literature, and the *otium litteratum*. In Flaminio's *Carmen*, country life is indeed opposed to traveling with all its dangers, yet this does not mean very much in the poem.[18] Traveling here has a goal; the poet chooses to pursue the reformulated *otium litteratum* of Naples. The *laus vitae rusticae* is opposed to the *laus Vergilii* in the poem. Both passages are of the same length (24 lines) and in the structure of this poem they are each other's exact, symmetrical counterparts. This again strengthens the impression of formal, arranged beauty.

Menander the Rhetor prescribes the sequence of praises in the *syntaktikon*. One should always, he says, first praise the fatherland one is about to leave and only then the town to which one is traveling, with the reasons for going there. Flaminio's *Carmen* begins and ends with a longing eye on Naples, the ideal in the future. The praise of Northern Italy is limited to lines 103–106, towards the end of the poem, where the "dulci patria," the "Benaci laetissima litora" (105) and the "formosus Mesulus" (106) express real love, but nevertheless are ultimately simply rejected (cf. 105 "sordent").

The two long passages, which I have called *laus vitae rusticae* and *laus Vergilii* are both subdivided into three sets of eight lines as is indicated on my scheme. Each subdivision again corresponds more or less with the similar passage in its counterpart. This is not surprising: what is possible in musical composition, architecture, and painting is also possible in literature. Similarly, the *Carmen Didonis* (87–94) stands parallel with the piety for her deceased husband shown by the "puella" in 33–40. Dido is also called "puella" (89). Her behavior, of course, is very un-Vergilian. In Vergil, Dido does not beg Aeneas to come back after he has left. It is from Ovid's letter written by

[17] "He mentions one hundred and twenty-seven of them [his friends], and most of these people were recipients of whole poems" (Maddison, 179).

[18] That is to say, the real opposition in the poem is not between the literary and non-literary life, but between two different kinds of literature. Flaminio describes the same transition from pastoral to philosophical and religious poetry in *Carm.* 4.25.

Ariadne (*Her.* 10) that Flaminio has taken this begging attitude and substituted it for the grim, silent suicide of the Vergilian version. In the Ovidian letter we read twice the words spoken by Ariadne: "flecte ratem" (36 and 149), varied by Flaminio to twice "siste ratem" (87 and 88). This Ariadne substitution seems to have been traditional in the Renaissance or earlier; it is also found in Chaucer. Shakespeare, too, has it in *The Merchant of Venice* 5.1.9–12:

> In such a night
> stood Dido with a willow in her hand
> upon the wild sea-banks, and waft her love
> to come again to Carthage.

The willow and the wild sea-banks do occur in Ovid's Ariadne letter, as well as the begging (cf. Ov. *Her.* 10.41).[19] Should we push our interpretation further still? Is Aeneas here a symbol for Flaminio himself, leaving what is his dearest, for what he sees as his destination?

As I have said before, Flaminio, in the complaint of Dido, uses Propertius's lines in 1.17, but with a curious reversal of position: with Propertius it is not the deserted girl who calls and prays for the safe return of her lover, but the treacherous lover who repents of his leaving her behind and prays to the Nereids to help him return home safely.

It may well be possible to point out several other parallelisms and antitheses, but I limit myself to one more aspect of the ingenious structure of the poem, to wit the transition from realistic to fictional passages and images. Of course, everything here is literature, but there are various levels of fictionality. The first sixteen lines are realistic: the departure and the desired arrival of the poet. So are the final sixteen lines. The *laus vitae rusticae* and the *laus Vergilii* are both literature and fiction, but the transitions from these scenes to the next ones differ. From Vergilian literature (71–94) the transition to the real poetry of the Neapolitan landscape (95–102) is a smooth one, as the poet Vergil becomes a magical force after his death, an Orpheus, in the real nature of Naples. But from the pastoral life (17–40), there is no natural way out to reality. It has become a dearly remembered Arcadia (see line 41 "o fortunati cineres umbraeque beatae"—"blessed ashes and shades!").

Therefore, it is abruptly, with a jump, that the poet has to leave this ideal Arcadian landscape where he has stayed for a while, but only in his dreams. Perhaps it is on purpose that the transition from the *laus vitae rusticae* to the middle section of the poem, the passage 41–46, is a syncopated leap of six lines instead of the required eight, producing the only numerical irregularity in this otherwise strictly symmetrical design, which is entirely built up from

[19] Cf. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1944), 2:419–21.

groups of four, eight, sixteen and twenty-four lines. The couplet 41–42, which should have counted four lines instead of two is responsible.

The middle section, (47–62), the heart of the poem, again begins with a farewell to his native country, and a longing for the destination (four lines) and ends with a prayer for safe arrival (also four lines). Now these two essential elements of the *syntaktikon* are in reverse order if we compare it to the poem as a whole, and in a shortened form. In the middle are eight lines (51–58) describing the aims of the journey, the motives for leaving home, subdivided into two sections of four lines each. The main target is first, modern science and philosophy, and then, in the other four lines, the renewed life of the Christian poet. This is the form of poetry that connects with Vergil and Sannazaro: may God bring me to the land of Sannazaro and Vergil! In these innermost eight lines literature and reality are fused together. In the middle of the whole poem—the precise dividing line being between 55 and 56, in the middle of the first couplet on God—is 55: "in primis celebrare Patrem fidibus iuvat, a quo." This is the crux and the turning point. The metrical and rhythmical structure underlines the special character of 55: it is a line in which the formal caesurae after *primis* and *Patrem* are pushed to the background by the sense caesura after *iuvat*, and one of two hexameters in the poem with a monosyllabic final word. It is as if the poet wants in this way to illustrate the unity of God, who, however, by the "celestials" is believed to be a threefold unity: cf. line 57 "caelicolae quem Tergeminum venerantur et Unum." The two caesurae in this hexameter after *caelicolae* and *Tergeminum*, divide the line into three parts standing in the proportion 6:8:10 to each other. [20]

To conclude: in my view this complex poem illustrates in its sophisticated structure several tendencies of sixteenth-century culture. It is therefore better not to consider it as autobiographical on a simple factual level, as Maddison has done, nor should one omit passages, as Perosa and Sparrow did. [21] It is, instead, a programmatic poem on the course of humanist culture in the sixteenth century. In this regard it stands in the tradition of the great al-

[20] For this metrical pattern the term "geometric verse" is in use in Dutch schools; I could not trace it further back, however, than to the book of E. Slijper, *Vormleer voor Homerus en Herodotus* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1931, 14th ed. by J. A. Schuursma, 1960), 14; and to P. Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses en elegische gedichten*, eds. J. J. Hondius and E. Slijper, 2 vols. (Groningen and Djakarta: J. B. Wolters, 6th ed., 1955), 2:5. Varro says of the *caesura semiquinaria* (the only one he mentions), that it divides the line "ratione geometrica" (Aulus Gellius, 18.15).

[21] Prof. Walther Ludwig has already criticised the practice of publishing fragments only of Neo-Latin poems: Walther Ludwig, *Litterae Neolatinae. Schriften zur neulateinischen Literatur*, herausgegeben von Ludwig Braun, Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers, Paul Gerhardt Schmidt, Bernd Seidensticker (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1988), 200–201, in a review of Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*.

legorical, geographical-historical poem as we encounter it in the work of Sannazaro, in his fourth eclogue, and in that of Pontano, in his first one. Both of these poems are also eulogies of Naples. That Vergil inspired these two Neo-Latin poets in this direction was something of which Flaminio was keenly aware.

University of Groningen

Appendix

Marcantonio Flaminio, *Carmen 2.7*

1–8	Votum for a safe arrival in the land of Sannazaro		
9–16	Decision never to travel again; horror of traveling		
17–40	*Laus vitae rusticae*	17–24	the farmer and his work; country life
		25–32	life and death in the family
		33–40	piety for the deceased
41–46	Contrast	41–42	final praise for the country life
		43–46	fate of the poet, if he perishes in a foreign country
47–62	farewell to home; goal of the journey; prayer for arrival	47–50	farewell and goal of the journey
		51–54	science and philosophy
		55–58	life as a Christian poet
		59–62	prayer for a safe arrival
63–70	Inspiration	63–64	first praise for the country where the Muse inspired the
		65–70	poet Vergil to conjure up the mythical forces of nature

71–94 *Laus Vergilii*	71–78	Eclogues and Georgics; country life
	79–86	Aeneid; struggle and ordeals; piety for the deceased father; love and separation
	87–94	song of Dido

95–102 The poet Vergil lives on as a magical force in the landscape of Naples; he conjures up the real forces of nature

103–110 Final farewell; devotion to the new fatherland

Project for Scholarly Publication: "Latin in Poland—a Collection of Literary Texts and Documents"[1]

JERZY AXER

The project was the subject of preliminary consideration by the Neo-Latin Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences in spring 1990. Later, a smaller group worked on a more precise definition of the project. We were given great assistance from the president of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, Professor Walther Ludwig. We had the pleasure of having him as our guest in the fall of 1989, when he became acquainted with the intentions and plans of Polish Neo-Latin scholars; moreover, he was kind enough to devote much of his time and attention to helping me elaborate the plan of the proposed publication in 1990, in Hamburg. We are most obliged to him for his interest.

Our project aims at making Latin texts which are of major significance for the knowledge of the history and culture of Eastern Europe available to international circles of scholars by collecting such texts in a comprehensive anthology. The region covered by the anthology represents the eastern limits of Latin culture. The territorial scope of the project will correspond to the lands which directly or indirectly, through unions or feuds, belonged to the Polish Republic in the past, and those belonging to it now. Thus, it will extend from the Oder river in the west to Smolensk in the east, from the Baltic coast, including Lithuania and Kurland, in the north to the Dniester and Podolia in the south. In delimiting the area of interest in this way we are not moved by any nationalist ideology or any intention to claim a Polish right to these lands by supporting it with historical argument. Nor do we by any means intend to revive imperial memories. The Poloniocentrism is justified only by the fact that the first Polish Republic was a center of Latin tra-

[1] The project presented at the Business Meeting on the occasion of the affiliation of the Neo-Latin Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences to the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies.

dition in East Europe that no other in the region could match. Both the political structure of that republic, the ideology underlying the system—known as Sarmatianism—and, what is probably most important, the role of Latin as the second national language, make such a choice legitimate.

As for the temporal scope, we intend to cover the full range of Latin writings from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. In some justifiable cases we shall go back to the fourteenth century. Such temporal limits leave outside the field of immediate interest almost all of the medieval period, only scantily documented anyway, but they allow us to concentrate instead on the Polish Latin culture of pre-Humanism, Renaissance and Baroque, which in our opinion is quite unique, though little known.

What we consider to be the essence of our project and a novelty as against other enterprises aiming at the introduction of the European Latin heritage into a wider scholarly circulation, is its radical departure from the tradition of giving special preference to literature, and particularly to poetry. We propose a survey of writings in a broad sense of the word, and not of literature only. Out of the seven volumes into which our material will be divided, only one, the sixth, is to be devoted to poetry. Almost eighty percent of the material consists of texts and documents which very seldom, if ever, find their way into Neo-Latin anthologies. Our publication is designed to serve as a guide for those wanting to acquire a better knowledge of historical, cultural and political experience in our part of Europe, and to shed light on various sociological processes, social changes and the history of *mentalités*. Therefore, we attach the utmost importance to an appropriate presentation of strictly historical sources—in a broad sense of the term—as well as to epistolography and oratory on the one hand, and to adequate documentation in the sphere of law, philosophy and natural science on the other. The project seems to have several conspicuous merits. If it succeeds it will result in a collection of texts edited with the use of modern apparatus and provided with competent commentaries, giving modern scholars of various specialties an insight into a heritage that is part of the common Mediterranean tradition. But to start with, the project offers very attractive prospects for work in interdisciplinary teams, a new challenge for philologists, historians, archivists and historians of ideas. This will make an essential contribution to the integration of studies focusing on the Neo-Latin thread in the history of our civilization. Specialists with various academic backgrounds interested in the problem can easily see the advantages and profits of such cooperation.

Finally, it is to be noted that an experiment of this sort requires intensive collaboration with scholars from many countries, especially from Germany, the Baltic countries, the Ukraine, and Hungary, as well as Sweden and—in a slightly different mode—Italy, Spain and France. An international editorial board, consisting of scholars from several countries, is envisaged. The cooperation must include not only the exchange of information, archival research, and joint editorial work, but also, if not chiefly, concerted efforts in

the sphere of interpretation and ideology. For what is a prerequisite to the project is the elaboration of a common perspective which would help to avoid one-sidedness or any biased distortion. I think that such an enterprise can be particularly interesting and topical in the context of present changes in Europe, as those changes are favorable to deeper and more intensive studies on the European community of the past, once formed by Neo-Latin culture.

I find it necessary to add some remarks on the financial and organizational aspects of the project. The preliminary work has till now been granted some assistance by the Polish Academy of Sciences. We have also been awarded a separate grant by the Committee for Scientific Research to assist us in the next three years.[2] We are, moreover, looking for resources within the framework of scientific and cultural cooperation with other countries, especially with Italy. Interest and support from the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies would be of vital significance for the future of the project. We do not, however, expect any direct financial commitment on its part. What we would regard as particularly valuable is a kind of patronage and the widest participation possible in the project on the part of the scholars grouped in the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies.

Another major assistance would be the Association's mediation in organizing a subscription. Such a subscription seems to be an extremely important factor in negotiations with publishing houses and sponsors.

In conclusion, I would like to reflect briefly on what struck me as I worked on the project. While I realized with increasing clarity the worth and significance of the information about the past contained in Neo-Latin writings—both about the local past, and about a wider past, that of our common cultural heritage—I also saw more and more clearly that this immensely rich field is undervalued because of its limited accessibility for the modern reader, even a professional, scholarly one. Moreover, it became evident to me that the efforts of those who wish to preserve the Latin tradition are very diffuse, their effectiveness being incommensurate with the potential of the resource. Consequently, the project that I outlined first as a response to my own interests and passions and those of my colleagues, has gradually come to seem an important enterprise which makes sense also in a broader context.

Warsaw

[2] On 18 December, 1991 Warsaw University decided to organize a "Center for Studies in the Classical Tradition in Poland and Eastern Europe," with myself as its head, and this Center is to support the edition.

Latin in Poland

Outline of the Proposed Publication

Volume I:	*Historiography*—selected historical treatises, biography, hagiography; memoires, itineraries. Appendix: theory of historical writing.
Volume II:	*Epistolography*—selected letters of the Polish political and cultural élite, including correspondence with prominent European personages, diaries. Appendix: treatises on epistolary theory.
Volume III:	*Oratory*—speeches and addresses. Appendix: theory of rhetoric, studies on language.
Volume IV:	*Law and Official Documents. Inscriptions.*
Volume V:	*Philosophy*—ethics and political thought; theology and religious polemics; social and pedagogical thought.
Volume VI:	*Poetry and Theatre.* Appendix: poetics and philology.
Volume VII:	*Natural Science*, with astronomy and mathematics.

Each volume will contain about 400 pages of selected texts, taken both from manuscripts and from printed matter in Latin, and about 100 pages of introduction and commentary in English, or, in special cases, in Italian, German or French. Introductions and commentaries will also include extensive bibliographical and biographical information which will help international circles of scholars in the future development of appropriate studies. The essential aim of the introductions will be to present the significance and usefulness of the texts for studies on Polish and European culture.

Un Emule heureux de Valère Maxime: Marc Marule de Split

CHARLES BÉNÉ

Marc Marule (Marcus Marulus Spalatensis) malgré la diffusion et l'influence de ses oeuvres aux XVIe and XVIIe siècles, dans l'Europe et même aux limites du monde connu, reste un auteur étranger à beaucoup. La plupart des ouvrages consacrés aux oeuvres néo-latines de la Renaissance, même actuels,[1] ont ignoré son nom, et c'est l'essor des études maruliennes en Yougoslavie, mais aussi en France et en Espagne, qui nous invite à mieux connaître cet illustre citoyen de Split, devenu aussi, par son oeuvre poétique, le père de la littérature croate.[2]

Je me propose de montrer la diffusion du plus célèbre de ses ouvrages: *l'Institutio bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum* à la lumière des derniers travaux. Elle s'inscrit dans la vogue exceptionnelle que connut l'oeuvre de Valère Maxime en Italie pendant les premières années du XVIe siècle.[3]

Battista Fregoso, doge de Gênes déposé, s'affirme explicitement en continuateur de Valère Maxime. Il reprend exactement le plan de son modèle, se contentant de l'actualiser en y ajoutant de nouveaux exemples empruntés, soit à l'antiquité, soit surtout à l'époque moderne, profanes et chrétiens. Composé d'abord en italien, il est traduit en latin par Camillus Glinus et édité à Milan en 1509: il connaîtra six rééditions à Paris, Bâle, Anvers, et Cologne entre 1509 et 1604.[4]

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[1] Ainsi en est-il des ouvrages de P. Van Tieghem (1944), Bolgar (1954), M. P. Gilmore, mais les *Musae Reduces* (1975) l'*Anthology* de Perosa et Sparrow (1979) et surtout le "*Companion*," dans ses deux éditions, lui rendent justice.

[2] Evoquons rapidement le Cercle Littéraire de Split, qui achève l'édition complète des oeuvres de Marulić, et le *Marko Marulić* de Mirko Tomasević (Zagreb, 1989).

[3] L'oeuvre de Valère Maxime n'a cessé d'être rééditée depuis son édition de Strasbourg, 1470.

[4] Battista Fregoso, *De Dictis factisque memorabilibus Collectanea* (Milan, 1509). Cf. Préface.

Plus original se présente le livre de Marc Antonio Coccio Sabellico qui paraît à Venise en 1507. Prenant ses distances avec Valère Maxime, cet historien, doublé d'un maître d'éloquence et bibliothécaire de la Marciana, qui s'était déjà rendu célèbre par ses ouvrages sur l'histoire de Venise, compose ses *Exemplorum Ethnicorum et Christianorum Libri X*. Ses Préfaces marquent nettement le but spirituel qu'il s'est fixé, car "associant dans une admirable brièveté l'histoire sacrée et l'histoire profane, il veille toujours à ce que les exemples sacrés précèdent les exemples profanes."[5] Son livre aborde les différentes situations qui peuvent affecter les hommes dans le cours de la vie: naissance, éducation familiale, amour conjugal, vie politique des princes, vie militaire, problème de la mort; c'est là une véritable somme où, dans chaque chapitre, sont proposés des *exempla*, d'abord empruntés à la tradition chrétienne (Jésus est souvent le premier nommé), évangélique, patristique, médiévale et moderne; puis, dans chacun des chapitres, une deuxième partie est réservée aux *ethnicorum exempla*. Chaque modèle est présenté très brièvement, l'évocation se limitant aux paroles ou aux actions (quatre ou cinq lignes pour chaque exemple).

L'Institutio per exempla sanctorum, parue un peu plus tôt (Venise 1506) nous offre avec Marule un auteur qui s'est nettement distingué, tant de Valère Maxime que de ses imitateurs. Il rejette délibérément les exempla tirés de l'antiquité païenne, et se limite strictement aux faits et dits des saints de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament: "Qu'ils suivent donc, s'ils le veulent, les Catons, les Scipions, les Fabricius, les Camilles; qu'ils imitent Socrate, Pythagore, Platon, et les autres maîtres de la sagesse humaine: nous, ce sont la vie et les hauts faits des Patriarches, des Pères et des Prophètes, du Christ et de ses Apôtres, des saints de l'un et l'autre Testament que nous cherchons à apprécier et à imiter ... " écrit-il dans sa préface à Jérôme Cippicus, archidiacre de l'Eglise de Split.[6]

Ce parti-pris s'explique naturellement par l'accueil de Marulić au mouvement de la *Devotio Moderna*, qui, dans les dernières décades du XVe siècle, s'est répandu en Italie du Nord. Lui-même, avait dès 1500, composé une traduction complète de l'*Imitation de Jésus Christ*, traduction croate qui représente un des premiers monuments de cette langue; il porte un jugement très réservé sur les héros de l'antiquité: son *Dialogue sur les louanges d'Hercule*, publié en 1524, en fournira un nouvel exemple.[7]

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[5] Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus: la préface de Beatus Rhenanus insistera elle aussi sur le but spirituel de Sabellicus.

[6] Ad Hier. Cippicum: "Sequantur igitur, qui volent, Catones, Scipiones, Fabritios, Camillos: imitentur Socratem, Pythagoram, Platonem: nos Patriarcharum Patrumque et Prophetarum, nos Christi et Apostolorum, nos utriusque Testamenti sanctorum gesta moresque perpendere et aemulari studeamus. . . ." Cf. *Institucija*, ed. Glavičić (Split, 1986), 278.

[7] Le texte et la traduction de l'*Imitation* ont été édités par *Mogus* (Split, 1989); le *De Laudibus Herculis* dans les *Marci Maruli Latinska Djela* par Branimir Glavičić (Split, 1979), 229–63. Voir aussi C. Béné, *Hercule, figure du Christ, dans la littérature dalmate* (Clermont-Ferrand, *Hommage à Guy Demerson* [Genève, 1993]).

Cette *Institutio*, qui se termine, dans ses dernières pages, par un poème en forme de dialogue entre Jésus crucifié et un chrétien, introduisant ainsi, après les exemples des saints, l'autorité de Jésus lui-même, se répandra d'abord dans les pays germaniques. Ce gros volume de six cent pages connaîtra une dizaine d'éditions entre 1506 et 1540 (Bâle, Cologne, Solingen) qui se bornent à reproduire le texte original. On notera cependant que, si la première édition a une présentation assez dépouillée, l'édition de 1513, et surtout celle de 1530 (Cologne) se présentent avec une richesse d'ornementation qui témoignent du succès de ce nouveau livre.[8] Il n'est pas jusqu'au *Carmen de Doctrina*, ce dialogue entre Jésus et le chrétien, qui, présenté toujours sans aucune illustration, ne connaisse, fait unique dans l'histoire de l'*Institutio*, une édition séparée, ornée d'une impressionnante "crucifixion" singulièrement tourmentée et de facture médiévale.[9]

Le volumineux recueil in-folio d'*Exempla virtutum et vitiorum* publié à Bâle en 1555, fait date. Pour la première fois, le *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* de Valère Maxime est présenté, en même temps que ses trois émules, et d'autres beaucoup moins importants, dans le même volume. Valère Maxime occupe naturellement la première place; les neuf livres de la *Dictorum factorumque Collectanea* de Fregoso suivent naturellement leur modèle; puis viennent les dix livres d'*exempla* de Sabellicus, et pour clore et couronner cette livraison, l'*Institutio* de Marulić est présentée avec ses six livres.[10]

L'intérêt de cette publication est de faire apparaître à l'évidence la parenté de ces quatre ouvrages et le lien des trois derniers avec leur modèle; le prestige dont jouissait Valère Maxime au milieu du XVIe siècle; mais aussi le goût du public cultivé pour ces "sommes," ici d'exemples de vices et de vertus, qui tenaient lieu de bibliothèques. On comprend qu'un Rabelais, ou un Montaigne, pour ne citer qu'eux, aient largement tiré parti de ces ouvrages, toujours assortis de tables et d'index qui en facilitaient la consultation.[11]

Mais, alors que les ouvrages de Fregoso, et même de Sabellicus comptent très peu d'éditions à partir de 1555, et ne seront jamais traduits en langues vernaculaires,[12] l'*Institutio per exempla Sanctorum*, connaît, entre 1577 et 1609, une nouvelle diffusion, grâce à l'action d'un éditeur anglais, John Fowler,

[8] La comparaison des éd. de 1506 et 1513 est parlante. (Cf. doc. 1.)

[9] Cf. *Carmen de Doctrina* (Erfordiae, 1514). (Voir doc. 2.)

[10] Sur neuf auteurs cités, Valère Maxime occupe 172 pp.; Fregoso, 108 pp.; Sabellicus, 176 pp. (481–657); Marulus, 266 pp. (1176–1442).

[11] Ainsi, l'édition Pierre Constant de Valère Maxime (Garnier), relève, 441–42, une cinquantaine de rapprochements entre les *Essais* et Valère Maxime.

[12] Les *Exemplorum Libri X* de Sabellicus comptent une dizaine d'éditions jusqu'en 1555; celles de Fregoso sont beaucoup moins nombreuses.

originaire de Bristol et master of Arts de l'Université d'Oxford, mais que sa fidélité au Saint-Siège, sous le règne d'Elisabeth I, avait contraint à l'exil sur le continent.

Soucieux d'apporter son aide à ses compatriotes restés fidèles à Rome, soit en exil, soit sur le sol anglais, il traduit et publie des ouvrages spirituels susceptibles de les soutenir. Ainsi en est-il du *Dialogue of Comfort* de Thomas More, qu'il publie dans une édition plus maniable que celle qui a cours. Mais, conscient des services que peut rendre l'*Institutio* de Marulić, largement utilisée dans les collèges (et spécialement jésuites) mais dont les exemplaires se font de plus en plus rares (aucune nouvelle édition séparée depuis 1540) il entreprend une nouvelle édition de l'*Institutio*. Pendant plus de quatre ans, il reprend, page par page les éditions précédentes, corrigeant leurs erreurs, ajoutant surtout en marge pour chaque exemplum, ses références bibliques, patristiques ou médiévales. Il lui donne un nouveau titre "*Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri sex*," pour le placer exactement dans la tradition de Valère Maxime, et un huitain, composé par John Fowler lui-même, évoque explicitement l'abréviateur latin pour noter que Marule lui aussi mérite aujourd'hui, l'épithète de "Maximus."[13]

A ces remaniement de caractère technique, John Fowler ajoute le souci d'offrir à ses lecteurs les plus beaux caractères d'imprimerie qu'il a pu trouver. Le *Carmen de Doctrina* est imprimé en tête de l'ouvrage, et pour la première fois, illustré par un bois gravé à trois personnages (le Christ: Marie et Jean, l'apôtre bien-aimé). Il ajoute enfin à la préface primitive deux nouvelles préfaces: la première est adressée au Cardinal Borromée, qui situe exactement cette publication dans le sillage du Concile de Trente: l'autre aux pères jésuites, dont il fait un vibrant éloge: c'est à eux surtout qu'est destiné ce livre.

Cette édition aura un incroyable succès. Malgré la mort de l'auteur, survenue en 1578, c'est cette édition seule qui s'imposera désormais partout: en moins de vingt-cinq ans, ce sont dix éditions nouvelles qui voient le jour. D'abord à Paris, où la maison Marnef reproduit fidèlement l'édition Fowler, en renouvelant le bois gravé (crucifixion à six personnages). Puis à Anvers, Stelsius d'abord, Nutius ensuite, assurent de nouvelles éditions en 1484, 1593, et 1601. Nutius mérite une mention particulière: c'est lui qui réellement reprend le flambeau: même souci d'exactitude, même beauté des caractères choisis (on peut même se demander si ce n'est pas le même matériel), et les bois gravés, à deux personnages, me paraissent surpasser tous les précédents. Nutius publiera même la première édition complète de Marulić (1601) en assurant, dans un deuxième tome, la publication de l'*Evangelistarium* et

[13] *M. Maruli Spalatensis dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri* VI, Antverpiae, apud Iohannem Foulerum, M.D.LXXVII. Dans le poème de John Fowler, 11 v°, comme dans la préface au Cardinal Borromée, l'éditeur affirme que Marule mérite, lui aussi, l'épithète de Maximus: "Vel Maximi appellatione quoque dignissimum"; "merito vel Maximus alter."

des *Quinquaginta Parabolae*. Une différence cependant: le nom de John Fowler est soigneusement effacé partout où il risque d'attirer l'attention, d'abord de façon rudimentaire[14] (éd. de 1593) puis de façon systématique. Cologne enfin, qui avait déjà assuré deux éditions de l'*Institutio*, en 1530 et 1531, en assurera deux nouvelles, l'une en 1609, l'autre en 1686, en reproduisant exactement cette fois, le texte et les références de Fowler, mais aussi la dédicace aux Pères jésuites.

§ § §

Comme l'a noté Léo Košuta, dans un article récent,[15] une telle diffusion n'est pas allée sans aléas. Et de fait assez tôt, semble-t-il, l'ouvrage a fait l'objet d'une censure ecclésiastique. Bien limitée, à vrai dire, puisqu'elle portait sur quelques lignes d'un des soixante et onze chapitres du livre. Tout en affirmant dans l'ensemble du chapitre, que le mensonge est toujours répréhensible, Marulić disait que, dans certaines circonstances, il était permis, et même nécessaire de mentir: "Haec sunt quidem iustae et interdum etiam (ut diximus) necessariae fingendi et mentiendi causae. . . ."[16] La censure n'a guère affecté les éditions latines, et l'*Institutio* aura encore une édition fidèle à la fin du XVIIe siècle. Elle a affecté par contre la plupart des traductions en langues vernaculaires.

Car, à l'opposé des ouvrages de Fregosus et de Sabellicus, les *Dictorum factorumque mirabilium Libri VI* du Marulić ont poursuivi leur carrière et leur succès, tant par les traductions d'ensemble que par les traductions partielles qui ont été publiées dans les grands pays européens, et même jusqu'aux limites du monde connu.

§ § §

Des traductions d'ensemble qui nous sont parvenues, nous évoquerons rapidement:

La traduction italienne de 1563, suivie elle-même de onze rééditions. Fait curieux, cette traduction, une des seules à respecter le texte latin malgré la censure, est parue l'année même où l'ouvrage de Marulić était brûlé à Sienne.

La traduction portugaise, parue à Lisbonne en 1579, et certainement rééditée, suit, au moins partiellement, les indications de la censure en supprimant quelques-unes des lignes condamnées.[17]

[14] Il est facile de comparer les pages de titre des éditions de 1577 et de 1593, où la mention "per Joan. Foulerum Bristoliensem" (ligne 11) a été supprimée en hâte, semble-t-il. (Voir doc. 3.)

[15] Voir Léo Košuta, in *Les Croates et la civilisation du livre* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1986), 55–66. Les censures figurent 63 n. 27.

[16] Cf. L. Košuta, 64–65. Les censures ne concernent que le L. 4, ch. 4.

[17] Cf. *Circa l'institutione del buono, e beato vivere, secondo l'esempio de' samti, del Vecchio e Nuovo*

Plus curieuses apparaissent les deux traductions allemandes, puis les deux traductions françaises qui confirmeront le succès de l'*Institutio*.

La première traduction allemande, parue à Cologne sous le titre *Der Catholischer Christen Spiegel* dès 1568 est loin d'être complète: elle réduit à quatre livres les six livres du modèle; le nombre total des chapitres passe de soixante et onze à trente-deux et ceux qui restent sont largement abrégés. Au contraire, la seconde traduction allemande, parue quinze ans plus tard, reproduit l'ensemble des six livres (son titre, *Sechs Bücher*, est explicite): plus complète, respectueuse de la censure, elle connaîtra cinq rééditions qui témoigneront du succès populaire de l'*Institutio* en Allemagne jusqu'à la fin du XVIIe siècle.[18]

On ne connaissait, jusqu'en 1989 qu'une seule traduction française, celle de Du Mont, parue à Douai, donc en terre "Belgeoise," en 1585. Malgré, ou plutôt à cause de ses défauts (elle est la seule à offrir du chapitre "sur le mensonge" une version entièrement falsifiée pour se conformer à la censure) elle ne connut pas moins de cinq rééditions.[19] Depuis 1990, on sait qu'il existe une deuxième traduction française, réalisée à Laon, par Geoffroy de Billy, abbé de Saint-Vincent lès Laon, et publiée à Paris, par Guillaume Chaudière, en 1587. La localisation, à Varsovie, du tome ler a permis de constater que cette traduction est une des seules à être totalement fidèle à l'original latin, rendant exactement tous les passages censurés. Est-ce pour cette raison qu'elle n'a connu, semble-t-il, qu'une seule et unique édition, et que les exemplaires ont pratiquement disparu de toutes les bibliothèques?[20]

En évoquant enfin les traductions partielles, ou adaptations actuellement connues nous constaterons que le livre de Marulić a servi véritablement de guide spirituel en temps de persécution.

En Angleterre d'abord. Car si les oeuvres de Marulić ont été lues, et même annotées de la main même du roi Henri VIII au temps où, polémiquant contre Luther, il avait reçu de Léon X le titre de "defensor fidei," elles ont surtout servi d'aide spirituelle à un martyr célèbre, Philip Howard, comte d'Arundel. C'est en effet dans la Tour de Londres, où il fut emprisonné jusqu'à sa mort par Elisabeth I en raison de sa fidélité au Saint-Siège (comme son aîné Thomas More), qu'il composa la première traduction an-

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Testamento (Venetia, 1580), et *Livro insigne des flores e perfeiçoes das vidas dos gloriosos sanctos do Vehlo e Novo Testamento* . . . Em (Lisboa, 1579).

[18] "*Sechs Bücher. Von Gedächtnuswürdigin Reden und Thatten.*" Von Mar. Spalatensis, Dilingen, 1583, 1594, 1602, 1614. München, 1694.

[19] La traduction de Du Mont est présentée par L. Košuta, 58–62. Il évoque Pierre Bayle et l'article de Jean Dayre sur cette traduction.

[20] Geoffroy de Billy, *Les vies, faicts et dicts mémorables des saincts et sainctes tant du vieil que du nouveau Testament* (Paris: Guillaume Chaudière, 1587) (tomes I et II). Voir, BHR 52 (1990): 617–22: *Nouveaux documents sur la diffusion en France de l'oeuvre de Marulić*; Mogućnosti 12 (1990): 1391–92.

glaise du *Carmen de Doctrina*, ornée comme dans l'édition Fowler, d'une crucifixion.[21]

Que l'*Institutio* ait été le livre de chevet de saint François Xavier, pendant toute sa mission en Extrême-Orient, nous en avons la confirmation par la correspondance qui nous est restée.[22]

Plus émouvantes sont ces deux éditions, ou adaptations partielles, parues à la fin du XVIe siècle au Japon, et au début du XVIIe siècle à Prague: le choix des chapitres indique que les auteurs en faisaient une véritable préparation au martyre.

C'est à Katsusa, en 1591, que paraît une adaptation japonaise qui a pour titre "*Extraits des Actes des Saints*": il offre la curiosité de présenter les mêmes exemples de martyrs (hommes et femmes) que ceux que propose le Livre cinq de l'*Institutio*. D'autres ouvrages, publiés à Nagasaki entre 1591 et 1612, sont consacrés à la préparation au martyre et aux exemples des saints: nous attendons qu'un chercheur japonais se consacre à cette question pour lui donner une solution définitive.[23] En tout cas, ce choix n'a pas de quoi surprendre, quand on sait les menaces qui pesaient sur les jeunes chrétientés japonaises, menaces qui aboutiront, quelques années plus tard, aux exécutions collectives de Nagasaki.[24]

On retrouvera, à peu près à la même période, un choix analogue dans le *Cesta do Nebe* ("Chemin du Ciel") de Simon Lomnicky z Budce, paru à Prague en 1621. Il s'agit là de la traduction de la plus grande partie du Livre cinq de l'*Institutio*, consacrée à la patience et aux exemples masculins et féminins de martyrs. Elle se situe à un moment où les oppositions religieuses, particulièrement violentes, devaient aboutir au célèbre combat de la Montagne Blanche, et à la victoire des Impériaux en 1620.[25]

Si l'on ajoute à ces publications le *Die himmlische Weisheit*, édité à Augsbourg en 1697, et qui, sous ce titre de "La Sagesse céleste," reprenait les derniers chapitres du Livre six consacrés aux fins dernières (quattuor novissima: mort, jugement, Ciel et Enfer), ouvrage attesté mais qui reste à localiser, on comprendra que l'*Institutio*, malgré la censure, ait joué un rôle de premier plan pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle, et même jus-

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[21] Cf. *Marulić et l'Angleterre*, Table Ronde Split (mai 1991) et *Vecernji, List* "Le doigt d'Henri VIII sur un Livre de Marule," 14.7 (1991).

[22] Cf. Schurrhammer, "St. Francis Xavier," 4 vols. (Freiburg: Basel, Wien, 1963), surtout 2: 225.

[23] "*Sanctos no Gosagueo non uchi Nuqigaqi* (Extraits des actes des saints) (Katsusa, 1591). Cité dans Johannès Laurès, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 1940.

[24] L'histoire nous dit que cette chrétienté fut décimée dans les persécutions de Nagasaki. L'imprimerie, fut installée à Amakusa, puis à Katsusa et à Nagasaki, où elle édita non seulement des livres spirituels, tels l'*Imitation* ou les livres de Louis de Grenade et d'Ignace de Loyola, mais aussi des oeuvres classiques, telles les *Fables* d'Esope, Virgile et Cicéron (quelques oeuvres).

[25] Le *Cesta do Nebe* reproduit, en traduction tchèque les chapitres 2 à 6 du Livre 5 de l'*Institutio*.

qu'aux dernières années du XVIIe siècle.[26] Mais ces quelques exemples ne doivent pas faire oublier que l'enquête est loin d'être close: des recherches sont en cours en Angleterre, en Allemagne, dans la Péninsule Ibérique, et d'autres devront être poursuivies en Extrême-Orient et dans le Nouveau Monde.

Ce simple exemple d'un ouvrage publié au début du XVIe siècle fait apparaître à l'évidence les recherches, les travaux qui restent à réaliser pour mieux connaître les chefs-d'oeuvre publiés pendant l'âge d'or de l'humanisme, mais aussi leur influence, à travers leur diffusion et leurs traductions en langues vernaculaires. Il montre surtout l'intérêt de ces travaux pour mieux connaître l'histoire de la pensée et de la vie religieuse aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Et cela à travers le rayonnement du plus illustre des citoyens de Split, Marc Marule.

Grenoble

[26] *Die Himmlische Weisheit*, signalé par Jöcher, *Gelehrte Lexicon*, reste toujours introuvable.

The Languages of Natural Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth Century: Bodin's Universae naturae theatrum *and its French Translation*

ANN BLAIR

A few months before his death in 1596, the celebrated political philosopher Jean Bodin published a little-known encyclopedia of natural philosophy, the *Universae naturae theatrum*. Composed as a dialogue between an ignorant pupil Theorus and his learned master Mystagogus, the text covers "all of nature" in 633 octavo pages: starting with the principles of physics, then ascending the chain of being from the elements to minerals and metals, plants, animals, souls and the heavenly bodies. The Latin text was reedited twice, by Wechel in Frankfurt, 1597, and Hanau, 1605. It also spawned two vernacular works: a French translation by a medical doctor from Lyon named François de Fougerolles (Lyon, 1597) and a German vulgarization by one Damian Siffert of Lindau, first published in Magdeburg in 1602 and reedited with minor modifications four more times until 1679.[1] The success of this vulgarization, which was explicitly drawn from Bodin's original but involved a complete overhaul and drastic reduction of the Latin text, contrasts with the single printing of the French translation which, in being fairly faithful to the Latin text, failed to acquire a specifically French readership. The different versions of Bodin's *Theatrum* and their reception raise many questions concerning the position of traditional natural philosophy in the period just preceding and concurrent with the Scientific Revolution, which I try to address in my dissertation.[2] Here I will examine Fougerol-

[1] For a complete bibliography of this text and of Bodin's works see Roland Crahay, Marie-Thérèse Isaac and Marie-Thérèse Lenger, *Bibliographie critique des éditions anciennes de Jean Bodin* (Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1992).

[2] Ann Blair, "Restaging Jean Bodin: the *Universae naturae theatrum* in its Cultural Context," Ph. D. dissertation Princeton University 1990, and forthcoming Princeton Univ. Press.

les's French translation for what it reveals about the emergence of French as a language of science in various fields of natural philosophy in the late sixteenth century.

The Purpose and Reception of the Latin Theatrum

Jean Bodin's first two published works, cast in the humanist mold, were written in Latin: a poetic translation with commentary of Oppian's *Cynegetica* in 1555 and the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* in 1566—a difficult text (despite its title) which offers advice and judgments on the reading and writing of histories. These works addressed an international community of humanist scholars and were not translated before this century. Bodin's next major works, which propelled him to wide national and international fame, were first written in French. The *République* (1576) and the *Démonomanie* (1580) treated issues of immediate political relevance and were especially targeted to reach the greatest possible number of his countrymen, as Bodin wrote,[3] in particular the nobility and the lawyers and judges of France respectively. In both cases their national success soon warranted translations into Latin and other vernaculars. Bodin translated the *République* into Latin himself in 1586 with significant revisions, including changes designed to increase its international appeal (reducing nationalist statements, adding examples from other countries and more general conclusions).[4] The fact that Bodin had experience in writing in both French and Latin adds all the more weight to his choice of language for his last published work, the *Universae naturae theatrum*. As I will show, Latin was indeed the appropriate choice for the subject and structure of the work he wrote.

Bodin presents the *Theatrum* as a work of physics or natural science the goal of which is to uncover the causes of natural phenomena and in so doing to lead the reader ineluctably toward God. Although he claims that he has adopted the "method of questions and answers because none is easier nor more efficacious for the memory,"[5] the *Theatrum* is not in fact easy of access, let alone for memorization. Erudite marginal notes refer to over 250 authors (many of them second-hand). Above all, the questions that Bodin poses make sense only against the background that he takes for granted of an extensive reading in classical sources like Aristotle, Pliny and Theophrastus. "Why is the goat dumbfounded in front of an *eryngius* thistle? Why are fish not subject to epidemic diseases?" (Bodin, 294, 394) Bodin does not first

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[3] Jean Bodin, *Les Six Livres de la République*, preface (Paris: Fayard, 1986), I:10.

[4] Kenneth McRae tr. and ed., Jean Bodin, *Six Books of a Commonweale*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), introduction section A.

[5] Jean Bodin, *Universae naturae theatrum* (Lyon: Jacques Roussin, 1596), 7. All further references to this text will be given in parentheses in the text as "Bodin."

establish the facts which underlie these questions but only offers causal explanations, which seem puzzling to readers unfamiliar with Pliny's *Natural histories* VIII, 50 and Aristotle's *History of animals* VIII, 19 where these facts are discussed. In other cases the phenomena Bodin tries to explain might be well known (like earthquakes or underground springs) but his detailed criticisms of existing Aristotelian theories could be appreciated only by readers familiar with them.

Even if novices in natural philosophy could learn from the questions that Bodin poses as well as from his answers, the *Theatrum* does not offer the systematic coverage of "all of nature" that the title announces. A table of contents of the five books at the beginning of the work delineates sections defined by topic but which do not appear in the text itself. Each book thus comprises over one hundred pages of continuous prose. Except in books I and part of IV where Bodin argues coherently against the eternity of the world and for the immortal and corporeal nature of the soul, Bodin's questions flow smoothly but often arbitrarily from one topic or theme to the next, dwelling on some sections and barely mentioning others, asking different questions of different topics at will. I have argued elsewhere that the unsystematic structure and the knowledge-laden questions characteristic of the *Theatrum* can be understood as the result of Bodin's reliance on a book of commonplaces about nature, which he advocated keeping in the *Methodus*. At the end of a life-long reflection on natural phenomena, Bodin provides his causal explanations to an idiosyncratic array of subjects, motivated more by the abundance of his *copia* than by the desire to appeal to a specific audience.

Although it is difficult to determine Bodin's intended audience, some of his actual readers can be identified through citations of the *Theatrum*, which are particularly numerous in the works of university professors of natural philosophy in the German-language area. Clemens Timpler, Bartholomäus Keckermann, and Rudolph Goclenius, for example, were all quick to cite the *Theatrum* (as early as 1598) for its unusual positions, particularly on questions standard in the curriculum like Aristotelian meteorology. For example, Goclenius has high praise for Bodin's refutation of the Aristotelian theory of the origin of underground springs, but he ridicules Bodin for thinking that the animals with the finest skin like spiders and worms have the finest sense of touch. Keckermann cites Bodin's theory, advanced against Aristotle's, that earthquakes and storms are caused by demons, but remains non-committal as to its validity. Or Timpler attacks Bodin for his belief in the animate nature of the celestial bodies.[6] Whether they were considered

[6] Rudolph Goclenius, ed. and annot., *Physicae . . . institutiones Cornelii Valerii Ultrajectini* (Marburg: Paulus Egenolphus, 1598), 85, 130 (see Bodin, 191, 463); Bartholomäus Keckermann, *Systema physicum* (Danzig: Andreas Hunefeld, 1610), 871–2 (see Bodin, 177); Clemens Timpler, *Pars altera Physicae* (Hanau: Gulielmus Antonius, 1609) as cited in Joseph Freedman, *European Academic Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seveteenth Centuries: The Life, Significance and Philosophy of Clemens Timpler*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1988), I:144.

praiseworthy or ridiculous, Bodin's positions in the *Theatrum* were gathered as worthy additions to the learned doxographies of these German writers of natural philosophy. These university professors and their students had the background to appreciate Bodin's contribution to the voluminous Latin literature on the subjects he treated. It was no doubt the inclusion of Bodin's *Theatrum* in the reading lists of German university courses which accounted for the two Wechel reeditions of the Latin text in 1597 and 1605.

The Nature and Fate of the French Translation

It is noticeable that no significant academic citations of Bodin occurred in France, where university teaching of physics was relatively weak and where there was no equivalent to the German academic boom in the early seventeenth century.[7] Given this lack of even a French university audience, it is not surprising that Fougerolles experienced difficulties in finding a French vernacular audience for his translation and in some cases in determining appropriate French equivalents for Bodin's technical terms. His diligent efforts to adapt the text to a French audience reveal the different states of the vernacular in the various subdisciplines of natural philosophy.

Exceptional archival evidence and a lengthy translator's preface shed light on the circumstances of the translation. A thirty-seven-year-old doctor of medicine, employed as preceptor and librarian in a recently ennobled family in Grenoble, Fougerolles was a novice writer full of ambitions who saw his translation as a first step toward literary glory. After dismissing with self-aggrandizing modesty the translation as a minor task, Fougerolles announced his intentions to publish a textbook of physics and a work of mathematics of his own vintage before long. In fact his later publications would include only medical works and translations from the Greek of Diogenes Laertius's *Lives* and of Porphyry's *On not killing animals*. Throughout twenty-five pages of liminary material, including his own dedication, preface, and six odes of praise, Fougerolles flaunts his friends and patrons, who range from professors of medicine at the university of Montpellier to local dignitaries in Montpellier and Die, to his dedicatee and primary patron Artus Prunier de Saint André. If liminary material is sometimes dismissed of little weight, it should not be: the archives in Lyon record that, after finishing his translation in six months, in "forty cahiers of four pages each," Fougerolles took his publisher to court in May 1597 seeking not only more payment (beyond the 25 *écus* in books that he had been promised), but also the right to do what he wished with the "liminary epistle." The presidial court in

[7] Bodin's *Theatrum* is cited by Scipion Dupleix, the French royal historiographer, in his *Physique* (1640) (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 462, 486. I am grateful to Roger Ariew for these references.

Lyon denied the first request but gave him control of the liminary matter, enabling Fougerolles to make it a rich display of his social and professional standing. In his deposition the publisher reveals furthermore that he had promised Bodin himself to have the work translated into French.[8] It seems likely therefore that the project of translating the *Theatrum* stemmed from Bodin's own request and that Fougerolles was commissioned for the task through the dedicatee of Bodin's original, a Lyonnais nobleman and political ally of Fougerolles's patron. The French translation was not prompted by market demand, to speak in today's terms.

While Fougerolles no doubt welcomed the opportunity to get into print on the coattails of a famous author, he was also aware of the problem of finding an audience for a work which, as we have seen, was not easy of access, and he justifies his translation at length. Fougerolles first invokes national glory and patrimony to explain his translation into French of the work of a Frenchman of international stature: "so that those who already have the rest of his works in the same language not be deprived of this one which is no less common to the other nations than to the French who have raised the author, like a plant adorned with such beautiful flowers." Fougerolles easily incorporates natural philosophy into the program of the "défense et illustration," as he concludes that "it seems entirely reasonable that the works of a Frenchman be read in French."[9]

As a doctor of medicine, Fougerolles was well aware of the added political implications of translating a work of natural philosophy, a field generally reserved for specialists. Like many of those who argued for the increased use of the vernacular, including Ambroise Paré, Fougerolles first invokes ancient precedent for writing in one's own language "even on subjects that cannot be understood without training" (sig. ++v). But Fougerolles also tries to conjure up a real audience:

> Several of my friends, who ... could not satisfy ... their minds with those things which they desired to know in Philosophy because they were not familiar with the languages, but were otherwise very studious in French books and especially in those which treated elevated questions worthy of their minds ... have often begged me in letters as well as in person to give them some book in French to attain knowledge of the secrets of nature. (sig. ++3r)

Beyond these personal friends Fougerolles identifies an audience in surgeons and apothecaries, whose gradual rise to prominence throughout the sixteenth century was a constant sore point with contemporary medical doc-

[8] Arch Dept Rhône, BP 400 (31 May 1597) and 3E3705 (4 June and 23 July 1597).

[9] Fougerolles tr., *Le théâtre de la nature universelle* (Lyon: Pillehotte, 1597), sig. ++4r. All further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.

tors. Fougerolles welcomes them as readers of such a learned work, if only in order to spite some of his colleagues:

> I have given great pleasure to some surgeons and apothecaries who would only need to wear the doctor's robe to put some ignorant [doctors] to shame who, because they cannot understand Bodin when they read him nor why I translated him, do not stop speaking evil both of him and of my translation. (sig. ++3r–v)

In fact the *Theatrum* was not likely to provide apothecaries or surgeons with much of use, but Fougerolles does the best he can to present it as a useful pedagogical work. To complete his program, Fougerolles recommends other philosophical works in the vernacular—Ramus' *Dialectic* and a summary of Aristotle's *Organon* in French by Philippe Canaye, sieur du Fresne (sig. ++4r–v). Fougerolles is conscious nonetheless of the failings of the *Theatrum* as an introductory textbook when he describes his intention to write a book of his own in which he would "treat methodically and briefly [contrary to Bodin!] of everything that pertains to natural science" and in which he would "dispute against certain of [Bodin's] opinions which do not seem appropriate and in which he quite often attacks Aristotle" (sig. ++4v).

Despite his misgivings about Bodin's original, Fougerolles expounds, as Glyn Norton has pointed out,[10] a literalist theory of translation in which "one must change the words from one language into another word for word if possible, or if that is not possible, use a paraphrase." Even if the translator is further submitted to the requirements of elegant language, he must, like an ambassador, "faithfully express the spirit (*âme*) of the author, without changing anything, without diminishing or adding to the meaning" (sig. ++4v–5r). Fougerolles acquits himself of this commitment respectably, although his florid sentences at times embellish on Bodin's terse Latin in such a way as to distort the original emphasis. Fougerolles expatiates in particular on the theme of the divine origin of knowledge and reason and on the incontrovertibility of scripture—themes which Bodin heartily supported too but which Fougerolles occasionally reiterates in passages where Bodin emphasized rather natural reason.[11] Heavy emphasis on divine providence was perhaps considered especially salutary for vernacular and philosophically unsophisticated readers.

Fougerolles also departs occasionally from Bodin in emphasizing the marvelous aspects of nature, which Bodin consistently shunned in favor of explaining the regular and "ordinary" in nature. For Fougerolles the metaphor of the theater evokes the marvelous and the rare put on display, as in

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[10] Glyn Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva: Droz, 1984), 154–58.

[11] Compare for example Fougerolles, 261 and Bodin, 190; or Fougerolles, 688 and Bodin, 476, as discussed also by Paul L. Rose, *Bodin and the Great God of Nature* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), 132–33.

ancient times by city governors to entertain the people. In the same vein he excitedly flags in the margin the *reversus* (*revers*) as an "admirable fish of the Indies" known for hunting other fish (463, cf. Bodin, 324). Fougerolles taps more than Bodin did the well-known interest of contemporaries for marvels and singularities in nature, which generated a large vernacular literature in the sixteenth century.[12]

Fougerolles worked hard at his translation, which is (by contemporary standards especially) remarkably faithful. In some cases Fougerolles did research in order to correct errors in the text and in the marginal references.[13] Fougerolles gives only Latin transliterations for Bodin's Hebrew terms, probably out of his ignorance of Hebrew rather than from a policy of avoiding foreign languages in his translation; indeed he even adds expressions in Greek, a language which he was proud to have mastered.

Above all Fougerolles labored to find the appropriate terms to translate Bodin's original: "I taught myself . . . to seek, as if by feeling my way (*comme qui diroit à taston*), the words of this language most suited to express the Theater of Nature in its simplicity" (sig. ++2v). In practice Fougerolles experienced varying degrees of difficulty in finding French translations depending on the subject matter. It seems that those areas in which university teaching was most developed posed the fewest problems. Indeed, even if formal teaching occurred only in Latin, classroom notes and published treatises show that vernacular equivalents were also given for various technical terms; these crutches for students could thus unwittingly contribute to establishing a technical vernacular vocabulary.[14] Thus when Jean de Champaignac, a barrister at the Parlement of Bordeaux, composed the first French textbook of physics, his *Physique françoise* (1595, reedited in 1597), he treated only those topics standard in the French university curriculum: the principles (place, time, motion, the infinite and so on), the subjects of Aristotle's meteorology (the elements, metals and stones, earthquakes, and the like) and the organic soul. Champaignac was conscious of breaking new ground in his project of publishing a summary (*sommaire*) in French of the "four parts of philosophy" (as typically taught at the university) that is, logic, physics, ethics, and metaphysics, which he successfully completed in 1606.[15] Unlike Fougerolles, who coped with a much more complex array

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[12] See Jean Céard, *La nature et les prodiges: l'insolite au XVIe siècle en France* (Geneva: Droz, 1977).

[13] For example a reference to Theophrastus's *De causis plantarum* I:19 is corrected to V, 19. Fougerolles, 284, cf. Bodin, 205.

[14] For an example of classroom notes which include vernacular translations, see Ann Blair, "*Ovidius Methodizatus*: the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid in a Sixteenth-Century Paris College," *History of Universities* 9 (1990): 73–118. University textbooks of natural philosophy such as the various *Systemata* by Bartholomäus Keckermann also include vernacular equivalents for technical terms.

[15] Jean de Champaignac, *Physique Françoise* (Bordeaux: S. Millanges, 1595 and 1597), dedication. He also wrote a *Traité de l'immortalité de l'âme* (Bordeaux: S. Millanges, 1595) and his

of topics, Champaignac does not mention any difficulties in writing in French or make any special appeals to establish an audience. Indeed by keeping close to the university curriculum Champaignac assured himself a readership—whether students who could use a vernacular summary alongside their class notes or those who aspired to attend the university but could not. Among them there may have been some women, as is suggested by Champaignac's dedication of his *Physique française* to a noblewoman from Guyenne, Dame Jacquete de Mombrom.[16] In standard university subjects French terminology was evidently well established. Neither Champaignac nor Fougerolles have any difficulties themselves or anticipate any from their readers when they use abstruse terms about medieval philosophy concerning for example the location of an immaterial body (like an angel or a soul): whether it should be considered circumscriptive, definitive, or effectual, for example.[17]

In astronomy (which Champaignac touches on briefly and which was already less well established in university teaching) Fougerolles has no difficulties himself but provides glosses for his readers. Bodin describes for example the different shapes of the earth's shadow that would be produced by different relative sizes of the earth and the sun: the shadow is conoid if the sun is larger than the earth, and calatoid in the opposite case. Fougerolles adds these explanations: "conoid, that is in the shape of a pyramid or the top of a bell tower" and "calatoid, or in the shape of a basket" (870–71, Bodin, 601–2). He thus casts about for common terms to render the shape, even at the cost of inaccuracy, for example when he describes a conoid as a pyramid. Fougerolles also provides notes in the margin, sometimes distinguished from those of Bodin by an asterisk, in which he defines apogee and perigee, the lunar and synodic months, the divisions of the zodiac circle into degrees and seconds and so on. Astronomy was a discipline in which vernacular terms were already established (in the early French textbook of astronomy by Jean Pierre de Mesmes in 1557 for example),[18] but evidently not very widespread.

The situation was much more difficult for natural history. Fougerolles finally gives up on finding French equivalents for Bodin's enumeration of Latin names of fish and birds. Invoking the fact that languages inevitably borrow from others, Fougerolles outlines his policy in his preface: "for lack of common expressions one takes as skillfully as possible the words from [the languages] . . . in which certain stones, minerals, plants, fish, birds and other animals were born since they belong only to those places where those

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Sommaire (Bordeaux: Millanges, 1606). For a brief discussion of his work see Henri Busson, *Le rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance (1533–1601)* (Paris: Vrin, 1957), 506–13.

[16] Dame des Vicomtés de Bourdeille et d'Aunay, et des Baronnies d'Archiac et Mathas, et Castellenies de la Tour Blanche et Sertonville.

[17] Although there are some differences in their terms, the meaning is clear. See Fougerolles, "definy," 741 (cf. Bodin, 514); Champaignac, "diffinitivement," 81.

[18] See the work of Isabelle Pantin on "Les *Institutions astronomiques* de Jean Pierre de Mesmes (1557)," Thèse de troisième cycle, Université de Paris.

animals were found and where they were first named" (sig. ++2v). In the sections on birds and fish therefore Fougerolles forms unique Gallicized versions of Bodin's Latin names ("orphin" for *orphus*, "sargon" for *sargus*, "abrame" for *abramis*) and to compensate for his failure to provide meaningful French translations he offers the reader additional bibliography:

> See Pierre Belon who will tell you the diversity of the names [of fish] with their description, or the *Histoire* of Rondelet on the same subject. See also Gesner; otherwise the names will be confused in our language if one changes them from the correct Greek and Latin.... Belon seems confused in the names of fish as well as of birds, which is why we often retain the Latin and Greek names as better assured and more common. (460, 536; see Bodin 322, 374)

Fougerolles evidently consulted Belon's *Histoire des poissons* in an attempt to find accurate translations, but came away disappointed by the problems involved in identifying the fish listed by Bodin. Although Bodin discusses at length the taste of these different fish, most of their names were culled from classical texts written by Mediterranean authors and did not correspond to fish native to the colder waters of France. Fougerolles also shuns the French names provided in Belon which were often taken from the dialects local to Marseille and did not designate anything readily identifiable to Fougerolles or most French readers. Natural history in French was only in formation, despite the succession of vernacular natural histories starting in the 1550s. The problems of identifying exotic animals were particularly difficult and Belon's descriptions, as Fougerolles discovered, often do not permit a clear identification.

Fougerolles the medical doctor is on firm ground finally when Bodin broaches the human body and he forcefully reforms Bodin's unsystematic presentation. Bodin poses a question that any doctor has learned well: "what are the parts of the human body?" his answer is a simple enumeration: "bones, marrow, ligaments,... nerves, muscles, veins, arteries, kidneys," and so on including fat, the four humors, the triple spirit (natural, vital, and animal) and ending with the skin and epidermis. This jumble does not follow the most basic classifications used in medical textbooks. In the margin Fougerolles sets things straight:

> The organic parts are confused here with the similar ones, which we will arrange in this way. Firstly, the ten similar parts are the bones, cartilage.... The organic parts are like the heart, liver, spleen.... The excrements are like the nail, hair. Fat and the humors are not parts of the body. (589; see Bodin, 411)

Fougerolles thus systematizes Bodin's unwieldy original within the bounds of his commitment as translator.

In the same spirit Fougerolles modifies the structure of the *Theatrum* to make it more systematic: he breaks up Bodin's continuous flow of prose

within each book into sections, to which he assigns numbers and titles and which he inserts directly into the text. Bodin's seamless dialogue is thus made to resemble a textbook, with clearly delineated topics. The transitions between sections which Bodin had carefully engineered are blunted, as Fougerolles omits some transitional questions (208–9, cf. Bodin, 155). Fougerolles makes a final attempt at drawing a methodical presentation from Bodin's *Theatrum* by appending a series of roughly dichotomous tables (of a type often associated with but by no means exclusive to Ramism) which correspond to the various subjects treated in the *Theatrum*. Fougerolles admits that he has extended the treatment of certain subjects more than the author and has shortened others (917), but does not suggest how drastically the tables differ from Bodin's actual text. Precisely insofar as they attempt a systematic overview of each topic, the tables construct a hierarchy of concepts totally absent from Bodin's organization. For example, in his section on plants, Bodin introduced numerous disparate criteria for distinguishing them, which he simply juxtaposed in successive questions: male and female, wet and dry, useful to man and not, exotic and domestic. Bodin offered no hierarchized classification, no overarching categories. As a result Fougerolles must create from scratch the classification of his seventh table based on the ways of *knowing* plants: by their substance, quantity, or quality, each of these breaking down into one or two more layers of subcategories (internal, external; subtle, thick or medium and so on). Only after these classifications are established are the actual plants named in the appropriate parts of the table. Fougerolles' remarkable perseverance in this task of entirely restructuring the *Theatrum* finally gives out after twelve tables, before he even reaches books IV and V.

Fougerolles attempted to make Bodin's *Theatrum* more appropriate to a vernacular audience which, on his own admission, especially wanted an informative textbook about nature rather than bold critiques of Aristotle or explanations of facts taken from specific passages in classical texts. But Fougerolles' efforts, hampered by his commitment as translator, did not suffice. Bodin's *Theatrum* was better suited, as its publishing history indicates, to an international audience of university-trained scholars who could appreciate the novelty of his positions. By contrast the success of the German vulgarization of the *Theatrum* shows clearly that the material in Bodin's *Theatrum* could be of great interest to even a very uneducated audience. But the *Problemata Bodini* required the thoughtful modification of one Damian Siffert of Lindau[19]—someone who understood even the most difficult passages in Bodin's original, but was able and willing to abbreviate them savagely and often omit them entirely in order to focus on concrete issues, which could be resolved swiftly and with some gain of practical information. Rather than asking, as Bodin does, why there are antipathies between plants, like that

[19] Unfortunately I have no further information on this author.

between cabbage and wine, Siffert asks more specifically: "how can one dispel drunkenness? take cabbage juice at the pharmacy" which information Bodin had also provided, but in the answer to the abstract question.[20] Like Fougerolles, Siffert eagerly follows Bodin's theme of divine providence. He takes directly from Bodin the question of why all plants do not grow in all places (which has obvious relevance to agriculture) and answers without Bodin's references to exotic countries and plants, but with the full force of his argument made more concise: "God the wise creator ordered things so that plants would grow that are appropriate to each country according to the nature of the men and what is useful or not useful to them."[21] In this way Siffert targeted and reached a well-defined audience among readers of *problemata*, like those of Aristotle and Alexander of Aphrodisias with which the *Problemata Bodini* was soon published, which had appeared in numerous editions from the early sixteenth century.[22] Capitalizing (quite literally) on Bodin's fame (as Fougerolles had also meant to do) Siffert had the freedom to create a text that would sell, while the main success of Fougerolles's translation was indeed to contribute to the French national heritage.

University of California, Irvine

I am grateful to Jean Céard for many helpful suggestions.

[20] Damian Siffert tr., *Problemata Bodini* (Magdeburg: Johan Francken, 1602), [73]. Cf. Bodin, 294.

[21] Siffert, [65]. Cf. Bodin, 274.

[22] I am planning a study of the tradition of the *Problemata* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Johannes Franciscus Ripensis und Petrus Lotichius Secundus. Die poetischen Zeugnisse einer humanistischen Freundschaft

BERNHARD COPPEL

Aus der von Celtis propagierten Vereinigung der Musen mit den Wissenschaften haben sich im 16. Jahrhundert verschiedene Formen der Symbiose von humanistischem Gelehrtentum und poetischer Wortkunst entwickelt, teils in der Weise, daß der *poeta doctus* im Rückgriff auf das antike Lehrgedicht eine wissenschaftliche Thematik zum Objekt seiner Dichtung macht, teils in dem Sinne, daß Studium und Universität Zeit und Raum einer Selbsterfahrung darstellen, die im Rückgriff auf die antiken Muster lateinischer Lyrik zu einer Erlebnis- und Bekenntnisdichtung drängt. Die größten poetischen Talente sind zu lyrischen Selbstportraits in Carmina— oder Elegienzyklen gelangt, in denen das autobiographische Element stärker als in den Vorbildern hervortritt[1] und die man den eigentlichen Autobiographien der Renaissance als ebenbürtige Leistungen an die Seite stellen kann.[2] Der nachvollziehende Blick auf die vitalsten Phasen des eigenen Lebensweges kann den humanistischen *poeta doctus*, sei er Dichter-Philologe oder Arzt-Dichter, zu lateinischer Persönlichkeitsdichtung beflügeln, für die diese Bezeichnung nicht zu hoch gegriffen ist.

In den folgenden Ausführungen treten die Schule Melanchthons in Wittenberg und der "Pfälzische Parnass" in Heidelberg[3] in den Vorder-

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[1] W. Ludwig, *Litterae Neolatinae* (München, 1989), 216; E. Schäfer, Zwischen deutschem Volkslied und römischer Elegie. Imitatio und Selbstfindung in Lotichius' *De puella infelici*, in V. Meid (Hg.), *Gedichte und Interpretationen Band 1* (Stuttgart, 1982), 107f.

[2] Agnes Heller, eine Lukács-Schülerin, stellt in ihrem Buch *A Reneszansz Ember* (Budapest, 1967) (deutsche Ausgabe: *Der Mensch der Renaissance*, Köln, 1982), fest, daß die Renaissance "das Zeitalter der großen Autobiographen" war.

[3] Eine Anthologie mit humanistischer Dichtung aus Heidelberg und der alten Kurpfalz

grund. Petrus Lotichius Secundus, der Bauernsohn aus dem hessischen Schlüchtern, der 1528 als Peter Lotz geboren wurde, und Johannes Franciscus Ripensis, der 1532 geborene Däne Hans Frandsen aus Ribe in Südjütland, gehören beiden humanistischen Hochburgen an. Von ihrem Leben, ihrer Dichtung und ihrer Freundschaft ist in diesem Beitrag die Rede. Der produktivere Mediziner ist unzweifelhaft Frandsen, der berühmtere Dichter Lotichius, von dem Joachim Camerarius, sein erster Herausgeber, in der Widmungsvorrede an Erasmus Neustetter 1561 schrieb, er sei ein Dichter, wie ihn sein Zeitalter und die deutsche Nation nicht noch einmal hervorgebracht hätten,[4] ein Urteil, das von der Literarkritik bis ins 20. Jahrhundert im wesentlichen bestätigt wurde. Für Frandsen und Lotichius gilt übereinstimmend, daß man über den hohen Realitätsgehalt und die geographische Weite ihres Erlebnisraumes in ihren Gedichten staunen kann. Das Leben im Umkreis von und auf den Reiserouten zwischen Universitäten ist reich an freundschaftlichen Verbindungen mit Vertretern der verschiedensten Wissenschaften, um nudrie Philologie, Medizin, Botanik, Mathematik, Jurisprudenz und Astronomie zu nennen. Die Lyrik partizipiert an der Weite des wissenschaftlichen Universalismus. Bemerkenswert ist ferner die Breite der Themenskala. Einen Schwerpunkt bildet bei Frandsen und Lotichius die Reisedichtung. Bei Lotichius kann man das zweite Gedichtbuch, das 1553 in Lyon erschien, und das dritte Gedichtbuch, das 1556 in Bologna veröffentlicht wurde, geradezu als Reisetagebücher in Elegien bezeichnen, in denen Landeskunde, Archäologie, Literatur, menschliche Begegnungen, Klima und Vegetation einen pittoresken Kontrapunkt zum gattungsspezifischen Klageton der Elegie bilden. Frandsen und Lotichius sind auch mit erotischen Gedichten hervorgetreten. Frandsens Liebeselegie, die mit einem *quis credat?* verheißungsvoll beginnt, ist aus dessen *Carmina*-Ausgabe von 1561 im *Hortus amorum secundus* des Aegidius Periander in voller Länge exzerpiert.[5] Eine größere Bedeutung kommt der Liebesdichtung im Werk des Lotichius zu, einmal weil sie hier von mehrfachem Liebesglück und Liebesleid beherrscht wird, dann aber auch deswegen, weil sie eine innere Entwicklung von der Kleinform der Carmina hin zur großen Form der Elegie aufweist. Dem ersten Gedichtbuch, das 1551 in Paris erschien, ist die Liebeselegie noch fremd, die beiden Gedichtbücher von Lyon und Bologna versuchen gegenüber der römischen Elegie und den *Amores* von Celtis eine Steigerungsform mit der Gegenüberstellung von jeweils zwei Frauen in einem Eliegienbuch.

Aber das muß heute am Rande bleiben, denn bei der Freundschaft

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ist unter dem Titel *PARNASSUS PALATINUS* 1989 von W. Kühlmann und H. Wiegand herausgegeben worden.

[4] P. Burmannus Sec., *P. Lotichii Sec. poemata omnia* (Amsterdam, 1754), 2:52: *Fuit autem Petrus Lotichius talis poeta, qualem sua aetas et nostra natio alterum non tulit.*

[5] Frankfurt 1567, fol. 156f.

zwischen Frandsen und Lotichius tritt zwangsläufig ein anderer Gesichtspunkt in den Vordergrund: die Relation zwischen Dichtung und Naturwissenschaft. Als Ausgangspunkt zu diesem Thema bietet sich eine Lotichius-Elegie aus Italien an. *Auch nach so vielen Jahren ist dir,* so schreibt Lotichius 1555 mit Widmung an Georg Sabinus, damals Professor in Frankfurt an der Oder,

> der Gedanke an das Euganeische Land aus der Erinnerung noch nicht entschwunden. Nein, die Sehnsucht lebt weiter und herrlich steht vor deinem inneren Auge bis heute das Bild der alten Stätten. Bald meinst du, die Brenta, bald auf schnellem Schiff die Adria zu befahren. Bald fallen dir Abanos Wasser ein mit ihren Schwefeldämpfen, bald die nahen Tempel auf Antenors Höhen, bald das liebliche Arqua mit der gesunden Luft des Zephyr und das Land, das der Pluvego mit seinem klaren Wasser benetzt. Dann die vielen hervorragenden Geister, die vielen glänzenden Dichter, die in deinem unwandelbaren Sinn weiterleben. Bald kommt dir Bembo entgegen, bald der den Göttern nahe Fracastoro, der an Ehre seinem Freunde Bembo gleichsteht. Auch Flaminio erscheint und Navagero, beide gebildete Meister großer Lyrik. Auch Molza, geschmückt mit einem Myrtenkranz, dem im Reich der frommen Seelen Gott Amor gütig unerschöpflichen Nektar reicht. Und noch andere, mit denen du hier einst die Musenberge zu durchwandern pflegtest. Vielleicht kommt dir hierbei umgekehrt auch der Gedanke an mich und du fragst dich, wie ich wohl leben mag an Venetiens Küste. Natürlich betrachte ich hier Vergehen und Entstehen der Dinge, frage, aus welchen Ursachen alles der Reihe nach sich entwickelt. Ich lerne, was das Meer, was die spendende Erde aus fruchtbarem Schoß zu ärztlicher Verwendung hervorbringt. Oft macht es Freude, vor der Sonnenglut in den kühlenden Schatten zu fliehen, lange Gespräche zu führen über Pflanzen und Bäume. Besonders liebe ich den glücklichen Guajakbaum und die von deinen Händen, Bembo, gesetzte Platane.

Das Zitat stammt aus der vierten Elegie der Gedichtausgabe von Bologna.[6] Erst in dieser Elegie setzt mit auffälliger Retardierung das Italien-thema ein, und deswegen ist die Elegie Sabinus gewidmet. Denn innerhalb der Tradition der Italienreise-Hodoeporica sieht sich Lotichius unmittelbar in der Nachfolge des Sabinus, der in seinem umfangreichen *Hodoeporicon Itineris Italici* von 1535[7] dieselben Schauplätze Venetiens behandelt hatte wie Lotichius zwanzig Jahre danach. In der Elegie an Sabinus verbinden sich eine literarische und eine naturwissenschaftliche Thematik. Die eine präsentiert sich

[6] Übersetzung der Verse, 7–36.

[7] Siehe H. Wiegand, *Hodoeporica. Studien zur neulateinischen Reisedichtung* (Baden-Baden, 1984), 71ff.

als ein Kanon der in der Erinnerung des Sabinus unvergeßlich fortlebenden italienischen Neulateiner, die andere ist als medizinisches Studienprogramm des Lotichius mit Akzentuierung der ätiologischen Fragestellung artikuliert. Für Lotichius, der an der Universität Padua und nach Ausbruch der Pest in Padua an der Universität Bologna sein in Frankreich aufgenommenes Medizinstudium fortsetzte und mit der Promotion zum Doktor der Medizin am 20. 5. 1556 in Bologna abschloß, stellte unter den aufgezählten neulateinischen Zelebritäten, zu denen an einer späteren Stelle noch Petrarca hinzukommt, ein Name zugleich eine medizinische Autorität dar: Girolamo Fracastoro. Mit einem einzigen Wort deutet Lotichius die Wissenschaft und Dichtung Fracastoros an: mit dem botanischen Terminus *hyacus*, der gleichbedeutend ist mit dem durch Huttens Schrift von 1519 bekannteren Terminus *guaiacum*.[8] Fracastoro hat den Guajakbaum und seine Verwendung in der Syphilistherapie im dritten Buch seines Lehrgedichts detailliert beschrieben, er läßt sein Lehrgedicht mit einem Hymnus auf diesen Baum ausklingen, er nennt ihn wie Lotichius *hyacus* und prädiziert ihn wie Lotichius wegen seiner Heilwirkung als glücklich (*fortunata nimis*. Lotichius: *felix*).[9] Die *hyacus* fungiert bei Lotichius gewissermaßen als Fracastoros Baum, so wie die Platane als Bembos Baum. Freilich hat auch die *hyacus* etwas mit Bembo zu tun, aus einem literarischen Grund, weil die *Syphilis* Bembo gewidmet ist, und aus einem kulturgeschichtlichen Grund, weil Bembo, der Freund des Fracastoro wie des Georg Sabinus, auf seinem Gut Nonianum in Padua in der Tat Platanen und Guajakbäume angepflanzt hatte. Das berichtet Johannes Hagen, der es wissen mußte, weil er Lotichius auf Spaziergängen häufig in Bembos Park begleitet hat, in seiner Lotichius-Biographie.[10] Gegen Abend, wenn es kühler wurde, schloß sich dann noch oft, so Hagen weiter, ein gemeinsamer Besuch des berühmten Botanischen Gartens (*medicorum hortus*) an, von dem ein Reisegedicht des Nathan Chytraeus ebenso schwärmt wie Hagen.

Auf Fracastoros Medizinerspuren stößt man auch sonst im Italienbuch des Lotichius. In der sechsten Elegie, die von der Pest in Padua handelt, leiten sich Termini wie *contagia* (V. 1) und *semina* (V. 5) direkt von Fracastoros Hauptwerk her, das 1546 erschienen ist, 16 Jahre nach der *Syphilis*, und das auch ein Syphilis-Kapitel enthält: *De contagionibus et contagiosis morbis et eorum curatione libri tres*.[11] Die Theorie der Kontagien, der Ansteckung durch krankheitsbringende Keime in Luft und Wasser bei bestimmten Gestirnskonstellationen, verleiht der Elegie eine aktuelle wissenschaftliche Grund-

[8] *De Guaiaci medicina et morbo gallico* (Mainz, 1519).

[9] Girolamo Fracastoro, *Lehrgedicht über die Syphilis*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von G. Wöhrle (Bamberg, 1988) (*Gratia* H. 18), 94f. (*fortunata nimis*: 408).

[10] *P. Lotichii Sec. opera omnia, quibus accessit vita eiusdem descripta per Ioannem Hagium* (Lipsiae, 1594), 507.

[11] Hieronymus Fracastoro, *Drei Bücher von den Kontagien, den kontagiösen Krankheiten und deren Behandlung* (1546), übersetzt und eingeleitet von V. Fossel (Leipzig, 1910).

lage. Mit dem Verweis auf den Forschungsstand in der mikrobiologischen Theorie der Krankheitsübertragung steht der Arztdichter voll auf der Höhe der Zeit. Anders liegt der Fall bei der neunten Elegie des Italienbuches, die eine schwere Erkrankung des Lotichius in Bologna im Untertitel ankündigt, aber statt der Krankheit die Todesahnungen und letztwilligen Verfügungen des Dichters thematisiert. Die mit den Worten *Fata vocant, Sambuce* eingeleitete Schicksalselegie vermeidet jeglichen Hinweis auf den Vergiftungsfall durch ein Liebeselixier, den Hagen in seiner Biographie berichtet,[12] und verzichtet somit nicht nur auf eine Verwünschung der *Canidia* von Bologna, sondern auch auf eine medizinische Selbstdiagnose. Das erstere wäre ein poetisches Thema gewesen, das letztere nicht. So hat beim Thema der Krankheitserfahrung, das sich bei Lotichius von der Zeit des Schmalkaldischen Krieges an durch seine ganze Elegiendichtung hin verfolgen läßt, die Macht der poetischen Tradition, die von Tibulls Elegie 1,3 ihren Ausgang nimmt und im Humanismus über bekannte Beispiele wie die von Sannazar und Molza[13] weiterverfolgt werden kann, den medizinischen Zugriff verhindert. Es entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis, wie tief der naturwissenschaftliche Einblick des Mediziners Lotichius in die Zusammenhänge seiner Krankheitsgeschichte ging, die der Toxikologe Ludwig Lewin als Beispiel für eine erst nach Jahren infolge einer Nierenschädigung tödlich verlaufende *Philtron*-Vergiftung anführt.[14] Auf einem anderen Gebiet steht der Naturwissenschaftler dem Dichter Lotichius näher. Im Verhältnis zur Natur vollzieht Lotichius eine Entwicklung, die von der frühen Stufe der Ansprache-Elegien *Ad Lunam* und *Ad Silvas*[15] zu einem hervorstechenden Naturinteresse und schließlich zu einer wissenschaftlichen Sehweise führt, bei der die Flora zum Objekt botanischen Sammelns und Experimentierens für pharmazeutische Zwecke wird. Aber Naturinteresse und Naturwissen transzendieren die Dichtung nicht, sondern artikulieren sich im Rahmen und nach den Gesetzen der Gattungen, in denen Lotichius von Anfang an sich selbst ausgedrückt hat: Elegien, Carmina und Eklogen. Medizin und Botanik ordnen sich der Dichtung unter. Es kommen nur die Wirklichkeitssegmente zur Sprache, die sich in die Ich-Erfahrung des Lyrikers einfügen. Ein medizinisches Werk hat Lotichius nicht geschrieben, ebensowenig ein Lehrgedicht über einen Gegenstand der Natur und Medizin. Allenfalls die kurze Elegie *De ruta*, Über die Weinraute, ließe sich hier anführen.[16]

Unter den näheren Freunden des Lotichius, die man als Gedichtadressaten kennt, befinden sich nicht wenige angehende Ärzte wie z. B. Johannes Hagen und Botaniker wie Charles de l'Écluse. Die meisten Ärzte und Medi-

[12] 514f. (Anm. 10).
[13] Sannazar El. 1:10, Molza El. 8. Siehe Burmannus 1:228 (Anm. 4).
[14] *Die Gifte der Weltgeschichte* (Berlin, 1920), 21.
[15] El. 1:5 und 1:8.
[16] *De ruta herba*, El. 5:11 (Burm.).

ziner im Freundeskreis des Lotichius sind auch mit poetischen Publikationen an die Öffentlichkeit getreten, was als Qualifikationsnachweis und als Visitenkarte einen hohen Stellenwert besaß, so z. B. Hilarius Cantiuncula, Renatus Henerus und Johannes Sambucus. Diese drei gehören zum Paduaner Freundeskreis des Lotichius und haben wie Lotichius, wenn auch nicht mehr den berühmten Vesal selbst, so doch noch seine Schule und Vesals Nachfolger Colombo, d. h. eine Anatomie kennengelernt, die sich mit mehreren hundert Abweichungen von der Lehre Galens einen Namen machte. Renatus Henerus nahm 1555 Vesal mit einer medizinischen Verteidigungsschrift gegen Jacob Sylvius in Schutz.[17] Auch zwei Heidelberger Schüler des Lotichius sind hier als Dichterärzte einzureihen: Johannes Posthius und Henricus Smetius. Zwischen diesen beiden Gruppen steht der Däne Hans Frandsen, ein Freund des Lotichius aus der Heidelberger Zeit. Weil Ellinger ihn in seinem Kapitel über Verwandte und Freunde des Lotichius übergeht, ist er in der deutschen Forschung lange der große Unbekannte im Freundeskreis des Lotichius geblieben. Die dänische Literaturgeschichte hingegen sieht Hans Frandsen zusammen mit Erasmus Laetus und Hans Sadolin im Mittelpunkt der ersten dänischen Dichtergruppe, zu deren jüngeren Mitgliedern auch Tycho Brahe gehörte. Friis-Jensen nennt sie die Wittenberger Schule.[18] Frandsens Werkverzeichnis umfaßt sieben Titel mit lateinischer Dichtung: zwei Gedichtbücher, eine Weihnachtselegie, ein Epithalamion zur Hochzeit von Hans Svaning aus Ribe, ein Hodoeporicon, ein mehrfach gedrucktes Emblemgedicht über die Freundschaft und ein medizinisches Lehrgedicht.

Frandsen hat sich nach Ribe, der Stadt am Meeresufer, *Ripensis* genannt. Er hat seiner Heimatstadt in seinem ersten Gedichtbuch mit mehreren Elegien, die von der Stadt handeln oder an Bürger der Stadt gerichtet sind, ein literarisches Denkmal gesetzt. Die Zeit seiner Universitätsstudien begann 1551. Vom 15. Mai 1551, dem Datum der Immatrikulation, bis 1556 hat Frandsen in Wittenberg studiert, weit länger als in einer der später besuchten Universitätsstädte. Nach dem Magisterexamen vom 27. Februar 1556 kam er über Frankfurt an der Oder, wo er bei Willichius studierte, nach Tübingen. Hier verzeichnet ihn die Matrikel unter dem 16. April 1559. Am Ende seines Medizinstudiums stand ein Aufenthalt in Montpellier, wo er ein Schüler Rondelets war und im Jahre 1560 seinen medizinischen Doktorgrad erwarb. Über seine Reisen und die Stationen seiner wissenschaftlichen Ausbildung spricht Frandsen in einer an Jacques d'Alechamp, einen Gelehrten in Lyon, gerichteten Elegie.[19] Diese erwähnt nach Tübingen und vor Montpellier als weitere Station die Universität Paris und die dortigen Gelehrten Gupillus und Duretus. Von 1561 bis zu seinem Tod

[17] *Adversus J. Sylvii depulsionum anatomicarum calumnias, pro A. Vesalio apologia* (Venedig, 1555).
[18] *Dansk litteratur historie* 2 (1984): 381.
[19] *Ad D. Iacobum Dalechampium* (*Carminum Liber*, Lyon, 1561), 45–47.

im Jahre 1584 wirkte Frandsen als Professor der Medizin an der Universität Kopenhagen. Bei seinem Tod schrieb der mit ihm befreundete Tycho Brahe einen Nachruf in der Form einer Elegie, die im *Loculus VII* der *Cista Medica Hafniensis* abgedruckt ist.[20]

Frandsens erste dichterische Versuche fallen in seine Wittenberger Jahre. Sein erstes Gedichtbuch, eine Sammlung von Elegien und Epigrammen, ist unter dem Titel *IOHAN=/NIS FRANCISCI / RIPENSIS ELEGIA=/RVM LIBER / PRIMVS* 1554 in Wittenberg erschienen. In Wittenberg hatte Frandsen Lotichius zwar nicht mehr persönlich kennengelernt, aber er war auf den Melanchthonschüler schon früh aufmerksam geworden und hatte dessen *ELEGIARVM LIBER*, eine Art Tagebuch in Elegien über den Kriegswinter 1546/47, eine Sammlung, die Lotichius 1551 in Paris veröffentlicht hat, als Vorbild vor Augen. Teilweise läßt sich bis in den Wortlaut die Abhängigkeit verfolgen, vor allem in den Elegien 13 und 14, die den Elegien 6 und 7 des Lotichius sehr nahe kommen. Die vier genannten Gedichte haben bezeichnenderweise das zentrale Thema *De se aegrotante*, Gedanken über die eigene Krankheit des Dichters! Im Herbst 1558 reiste Frandsen nach Heidelberg, wo er sich etwa ein halbes Jahr aufhielt. Sein Besuch galt in erster Linie dem großen Dichter von Heidelberg, Petrus Lotichius Secundus. Mit Lotichius hat Frandsen im Februar 1559 eine Reise von Heidelberg nach Würzburg am Ufer des Neckar entlang und durch den Odenwald unternommen und die Reiseeindrücke in einem Hodoeporicon mit dem Titel *ITER FRANCICUM*, *Frankenreise*, festgehalten. In die Reisebeschreibung dringt die politische Welt von verschiedenen Seiten her ein: ein angedeuteter Vorfall in Lauda, das einmal zum Pfälzischen Hause gehörte;[21] der Tod Ottheinrichs und der Tod des Dänenkönigs Christian III., aber auch der Tod Karls V. aus dem vorangegangenen Jahre. Unter den verstorbenen großen Persönlichkeiten, derer Frandsen gedenkt, nimmt die Gestalt Christians III. eine herausragende Stellung ein. Die Totenklage für den dänischen König bildet einen integrierenden Bestandteil der *Frankenreise* und ist dementsprechend schon im Titel angekündigt.[22] Als Gegensatz zu den ernsten Themen aus der politischen Welt findet sich ein buntes Mosaik von belehrenden und vergnüglichen Reisethemen. Dazu gehört ein Bacchusfest in Hirschhorn, das Lob der guten Wurst von Buchen, die Gastlichkeit einer

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[20] Thomas Bartholinus, *Cista Medica Hafniensis* (Kopenhagen, 1662), 70–73. Im *Loculus VII* ist auch die oben erwähnte (Anm. 19) Elegie von Frandsen abgedruckt (75f.).

[21] Der mehrtägige Aufenthalt in Lauda an der Tauber, das bis 1506 pfälzisch war, war von Ärger begleitet. Frandsen spricht von *lites*, meint damit wahrscheinlich konfessionelle Streitigkeiten, versagt sich aber ausdrücklich (*Musa sile!*) eine explizite Darlegung des Vorfalls und seiner Ursache (*Carminum Liber* [Lyon, 1561], 15). Lotichius ist für diese Diskretion sehr dankbar. Er schreibt in einem unpublizierten Brief an E. Neustetter: "... *negotium tamen Laudense non attingit, a cuius illum commemoratione sibi temperasse admodum laetus sum, cum videam hominum animos facili de causa offendi atque exulcerari.*"

[22] *Iter Francicum, in quo continetur deploratio de obitu ... Christiani Tertii.*

Bauernfamilie mit hübschem Töchterlein, Landschaftsskizzen und Städtepreis, Odenwaldetymologie und Neckarflößerei. Im Mittelpunkt des Gedichts steht der Freund und der Dichter Lotichius. Aus allem spricht die Bewunderung und die Verehrung, die Frandsen für ihn empfindet. Frandsens *Frankenreise* ist das Zeugnis einer Freundschaft, die zwar erst vor kurzem geschlossen worden war, aber sich über die Dichtung seit Jahren angebahnt hatte. Das *ITER FRANCICUM*, über dessen Platz in der Reiseliteratur jetzt ein Kapitel in Hermann Wiegands Buch "Hodoeporica" Aufschluß gibt,[23] ist angeblich 1559 in Tübingen zum ersten Male gedruckt worden. Dieser Druck hat sich aber bisher noch nicht nachweisen lassen. Das Urteil des Lotichius über das 155 Distichen umfassende Reisegedicht liegt in indirekter Form vor. Es besteht in dem Epigramm C. 2,6 (Burm.). Angeredet ist hier der Lorbeer im Garten des Fürsten am Neckar, nicht Frandsen. Von Frandsen ist in der dritten Person die Rede. Der Lorbeer soll noch wachsen, sagt Lotichius; der Palatinische Lorbeer werde dem Dichter die jugendlichen Schläfen bekränzen. Das Gedicht eröffnet somit den Ausblick auf eine Dichterkrönung in der Zukunft, es dokumentiert keine Krönung in der Gegenwart. Man spürt diese Besonderheit im Vergleich beispielsweise mit Vergils poetischer Auszeichnung für Pollio in Ekl. 8,12f. Das Lotichiusgedicht mit dem Titel *De Ioanne Francisco Ripensi* stellt gewissermaßen eine vorweggenommene Bekränzung im Gedicht dar, eine Quasi-Bekränzung, wie schon Burmann gesehen hat.[24] Die dichterische Ehrung, die Frandsen zuteil wird, besteht in einem epigrammatischen Jonglieren mit der Institution kaiserlichen Rechts, zu der auch Fürsten und Päpste autorisiert waren. Daß Frandsen diese gedichtimmanente Auszeichnung aus der Feder des Lotichius zu schätzen wußte, ist gewiß. Er stellte das Epigramm an den Anfang seines nächsten Gedichtbuchs.

Dieses Gedichtbuch trägt den Titel *IOANNIS / FRANCISCI RI=/PENSIS CARMI=/NVM LI=/BER* und ist 1561 in Lyon erschienen. Zwei umfangreichere Gedichte, beide aus der Zeit des Heidelberg-Aufenthalts, bilden den Rahmen des Buches: das *ITER FRANCICUM* am Anfang und die *ECLOGA PALAEMON* am Schluß. Zwei Gedichte sind Lotichius gewidmet und enthalten überschwengliche Freundschaftsbekundungen. Das zweite, das den Abschied von Heidelberg im Titel führt,[25] läßt dem Gedanken an den eigenen Tod freien Lauf: Durch den Tod könnte der Abschied vom Freund ein Abschied für immer werden. Es wurde ein Abschied für immer, aber durch den Tod des Lotichius. Das Gedicht, das als Freundschaftsbekenntnis

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[23] 223–30 (Anm. 7).

[24] *Hoc carmine tamquam corona laurea ab eo ornatus est.* Burmannus 1:469 (Anm. 4). H. Wiegand spricht zutreffend von einer "symbolischen" Dichterkrönung (Das "Iter Francicum" des Dänen Johannes Franciscus Ripensis. Eine Odenwaldreise im Jahre 1559, in *Eberbacher Geschichtsblatt* 84 (April 1985): 15, Anm. 7.

[25] *Ad D. Petrum Lotichium S. Heydelberga discedens* (*Carminum Liber*, [Lyon, 1561], 43–45).

geschrieben wurde, las sich bei seinem Erscheinen im Jahre 1561 als Nachruf Frandsens auf Lotichius.

Die Gelegenheitsdichtung von Frandsen und Lotichius weist eine Reihe von Berührungspunkten auf. Es sollen drei Beispiele angeführt werden, von denen sich zwei auf Gedichte beziehen, die in Frandsens *CARMINVM LIBER* stehen:

1. Zu Melanchthons Tod haben Frandsen und Lotichius Trauerelegien geschrieben, die beide von ganz ähnlichen Naturbildern und der Situation eines Spaziergangs, einmal in Heidelberg, einmal in Montpellier, ihren Ausgang nehmen und die Wittenberger Philomela-Metaphorik auf die Situation der Todesnachricht beziehen.[26]
2. In Montpellier standen Lotichius und Frandsen nacheinander als Medizinstudenten ihrem Lehrer Rondelet, dem *Rondibilis* bei Rabelais, offensichtlich vergleichbar nahe, beide steuerten für naturwissenschaftliche Werke von Rondelet Begleitgedichte bei, Lotichius für dessen Buch über Meeresfische, Frandsen für das Buch über Gewichte.[27] In letzterem rühmt Frandsen Rondelet als den Herrn über die Fauna des Meeres und das Pflanzenreich der Erde. Über das Reich der Pflanzen gebiete er mit dem Herrschaftsinstrument der Medizinerwaage, wohlwissend, daß ein Zuviel derselben Pflanze, die in kleiner Dosis eine Heilung des kranken Körpers verspricht, selbst einen gesunden Körper töten kann. Die richtige Quantifizierung bei pharmazeutischen Substanzen wird als medizinisches Neuland gepriesen, das Rondelet erschlossen habe.
3. Frandsen und Lotichius haben in Wittenberg umfangreiche Weihnachtselegien geschrieben. Diese lassen sich mit Melanchthons Rede *De nativitate Christi* von 1552[28] in Beziehung setzen. Man kann sie als poetische Einkleidungen eines Wittenberger Themas verstehen. Frandsen ist mit seinem Einzeldruck *CARMEN DE NATALI IESV CHRISTI*, der in Wittenberg 1553 erschienen ist, überhaupt zum ersten Male als Dichter aufgetreten,[29] bei Lotichius gehört die Elegie *IN NATALEM SERVATORIS NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI*, von der 1548 in Erfurt und 1550 in Wittenberg Einzeldrucke erschienen sind, zu den frühesten Veröffentlichungen.

Lotichius und Frandsen sind nach dem Abschluß ihres Medizinstudiums auf medizinische Lehrstühle in Heidelberg und Kopenhagen berufen worden. Über die nur dreieinhalbjährige Tätigkeit des Lotichius als Heidelberger Mediziner ist wenig bekannt.[30] Er hat sein Lehramt mit einer Vor-

[26] Frandsen, *Ad Philomelae tumulum lacrymae* (*Carminum Liber*, [Lyon, 1561], 33–36). Lotichius: Elegie 4.4.

[27] Lotichius, Carm. 3:29 (Burm.). Frandsen, *Ad D. Gulielmum Rondeletium praeceptorem in lib. de Ponderibus* (*Carminum Liber* [Lyon,1561], 24f.).

[28] *CR 11:1030–44.*

[29] Zum gleichen Thema Frandsens Elegie 11: *In Natalem Domini* (*Elegiarum Liber* [Wittenberg], 1554).

[30] Siehe W. Kühlmann und J. Telle, Humanismus und Medizin an der Universität

lesung über die *Aphorismen* des Hippokrates im April 1557 begonnen. Bei der Promotion von Wilhelm Rascalon zum Licentiaten der Medizin hat Lotichius die gastrologischen Propositionen gestellt, auf die Rascalon am 23. 8. 1559 im Auditorium Medicum unter Vorsitz von Lotichius öffentlich respondierte.[31] Teilweise erhalten ist ferner die medizinische Korrespondenz mit Dr. Johannes Lange, dem Leibarzt von fünf pfälzischen Kurfürsten.[32] Die Dichtung der Heidelberger Zeit unterscheidet sich deutlich von den vorausgegangenen drei autobiographischen Zyklen über drei herausragende Lebensabschnitte: Sie nimmt zwar die Fürstenpanegyrik als neues Thema auf, nicht aber Medizin und Botanik. Die Dichtung vermeidet jede Berührung mit dem wissenschaftlichen Hauptberuf. Völlig anders verläuft die Entwicklung bei Frandsen. Sein Werkverzeichnis[33] weist mehrere fachwissenschaftliche Titel auf, neben medizinischen Propositionen hauptsächlich Ausgaben von Hippokrates und Galen. Hierin offenbart sich der Eigenart die humanistischen Medizin, die zwar eine spezialisierte, aber doch exegetisch betriebene Textwissenschaft ist, die literarisch auf der Grundlage der alten Texte arbeitet. Poetische Werke tauchen in den 24 Jahren seiner Kopenhagener Professur nicht mehr auf, der Wissenschaftler hat den Dichter Frandsen völlig abgelöst. Und doch ist es in Frandsens Werk einmal zu einer Verbindung von Medizin und lateinischem Dichten gekommen: Frandsen hat ein medizinisches Lehrgedicht geschrieben.

Es trägt den Titel *DE OCV=/LORVM FABRICA=/TIONE ET COLORI=/BVS LIBER ELEGIACO CARMI=/NE CONSCRIPTVS, Buch über den Aufbau und die Farben der Augen.* Mit seinen 183 Distichen steht es formal in der Tradition der ovidischen Lehrdichtung. Erschienen ist es 1556 in Wittenberg und gehört somit allenfalls in die Anfangsphase von Frandsens Medizinstudium. Das Auge, das in seiner Gestalt ein Analogon zum Kosmos darstellt und gemäß seiner kognitiven Bedeutung den höchsten Rang unter den Sinnesorganen einnimmt, bietet mit seiner geheimnisvollen Natur, Jahrhunderte vor der wissenschaftlichen Entzauberung des Sehvorgangs, dem Humanisten einen geradezu idealen Stoff für eine perspektivenreiche Darstellung, bei der sich galenische Medizin, neuplatonische Philosopheme zur Relation von Mensch und Kosmos und eine christliche Deutung des Lichts ergänzen. Auf eine Einleitung folgen die mit Überschriften versehenen Kapitel *de situ, de partibus, de forma et figura* und *de coloribus.* An die Stelle eines Musenanrufs tritt ein Gebet an Christus um Inspiration, aber von da an beherrscht die Instanz der schöpferischen Natur das Feld, die aus der

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Heidelberg im 16. Jahrhundert, in *SEMPER APERTUS* (Heidelberg, 1985), 1:255–89; zu Lotichius: 259–65.

[31] Siehe *BIBLIOTHECA PALATINA.* Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Textband 102f.

[32] Burmannus 2:28–34 (Anm. 4).

[33] L. Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi 1551–1600* (Kopenhagen, 1931–33), 144–47, 155, 284.

lukrezischen Tradition stammt. Frandsens Ophthalmologie ist primär eine medizinische Anthropologie. Das menschliche Auge, das zugleich der Sitz der Sehkraft und der Sitz der Seele ist, fungiert als Empfänger und Sender der Seele. Es gibt optische Eindrücke an die Seele weiter und leitet umgekehrt Informationen über den Gemütszustand, Gesundheitszustand und Charakter an die Außenwelt weiter. Die Optik und Anatomie des Auges werden nach Galen beschrieben.[34] Die Leuchtkraft der innersten Augenflüssigkeit befähigt das Auge, eigene Strahlen auszusenden, die im Zusammenwirken mit dem Tageslicht Abbilder der Wirklichkeit hervor bringen und an die Seele übermitteln.

Frandsens Lehrgedicht stellt in einem Jahrhundert, das nur in der praktischen Augenheilkunde der Starstecher zu Fortschritten gelangte, wissenschaftsgeschichtlich unzweifelhaft eine Überraschung dar. Gordon Norrie hat es 1927 in den *Acta Ophthalmologica* ediert und seine medizinhistorische Bedeutung so beschrieben: "the first opthalmological paper written by a Dane."[35] Den Literaturwissenschaftler interessiert vor allem die Stellung innerhalb der Gattung des Lehrgedichts.[36] Die Thematik des neuzeitlichen Lehrgedichts reicht von den umfassendsten welthaften Stoffen bis zu didaktischen Kleinobjekten. Das Auge ist so etwas wie eine organische Miniatur mit funktionaler und spiritueller Transzendenz in die kosmische und göttliche Dimension. Als medizinisches Lehrgedicht ist Frandsens distichisches Poem ebenso wie das Epos *De medicae artis antiquitate* des Lotichiusschülers Henricus Smetius innerhalb der von Fracastoros *Syphilis* ausgehenden Tradition zu sehen. Über die Stellung Frandsens innerhalb der zeitgenössischen dänischen Lehrdichtung unterrichtet Karsten Friis-Jensen in der *Dansk litteratur historie* von 1984.[37] Frandsens Lehrgedicht ist vor allem ein genuines Werk der Schule Melanchthons. Vom Titelbegriff *fabricatio* angefangen kann man die gedankliche und begriffliche Abhängigkeit von den medizinischen Schriften Melanchthons, vor allem von *De anima*,[38] und von den theoretischen Grundlagen seines enzyklopädischen Wissenschafts programms verfolgen. Für Melanchthons Wissenschaftsverständnis ist bekanntlich ebenso bezeichnend der Vorbehalt gegen naturwissenschaftliche For-

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[34] Galen, *De usu partium* 10; *de plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 7:5. Siehe Galen, *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, tr. from the Greek with an Introduction and Commentary by M. Tallmadge May (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), 472f. m. Anm. 19.

[35] *Acta Opthalmologica* 5 (1927): 267–76 (Zitat 267).

[36] Hierzu siehe G. Roellenbleck, *Das epische Lehrgedicht Italiens im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (München, 1975) (= Münchener Romanistische Arbeiten H. 43); W. Ludwig, Neulateinische Lehrgedichte und Vergils Georgica, in *From Wolfram and Petrarch to Goethe and Grass, Studies in Literature in Honour of Leonard Forster* (Baden-Baden, 1982), 151–80 (= W. Ludwig, *Litterae Neolatinae*, München 1989, 100–27 (bes. 102f).

[37] 2.428ff.

[38] Erschienen 1540, überarbeitete Ausgabe 1554, zwei Jahre vor der Veröffentlichung von Frandsens Lehrgedicht. Vgl. die Kapitel *Oculi* (*CR* 13, 72f.) und *Quid est sensus visus* (*CR* 13, 108–11).

schung, wie sie in der Zurückweisung der heliozentrischen Lehren des Copernicus in der ersten Auflage der *Physik* von 1549 zum Ausdruck kommt,[39] wie andererseits die Integration der Naturwissenschaften in einem umfassenden Wissenshorizont, der sich aus der Idee eines ganzheitlichen Menschen- und Schöpfungsbildes herleitet. *Gott will*, schreibt Melanchthon am Schluß seiner Rede über Aristoteles,

> daß die Natur angeschaut wird, in die er bestimmte Spuren eingedrückt hat, um erkannt zu werden. Er hat die Wissenschaften gegeben, nicht nur, damit sie Lebenshilfen sind, sondern viel eher, damit sie uns an den Schöpfer jener Ordnung gemahnen.[40]

Das Nachdenken über das Auge erfüllt den Menschen mit der Gewißheit von der Nähe Gottes. Mit diesem Gedanken leitet Frandsen seine Widmungsvorrede ein, die an Johan Friis, den Kanzler des dänischen Königs, gerichtet ist: "Deum nobis tam prope, ut manibus paene contrectari possit, adesse constat." Wie die Dedikation an Johan Friis zustande kam, läßt sich in der Melanchthon-Korrespondenz zurückverfolgen. Zwei Jahre zuvor, am 1. September 1554, hatte sich Melanchthon in einem Empfehlungsschreiben an Friis[41] mit der Bitte um finanzielle Förderung für seinen talentierten Schüler gewandt, *cuius et studia et mores probo:* Johannes Franciscus Ripensis.

Universität Freiburg

[39] Siehe B. Moeller, Philipp Melanchthon, in *Die großen Deutschen* 1 (überarbeitete Ausg. 1966): 441f.

[40] *Vult Deus aspici naturam, in quam impressit vestigia quaedam ut agnoscatur. dedit artes, non solum ut vitae sint adminicula, sed multo magis, ut nos admoneant de ordinis huius auctore.* Die Rede stammt aus dem Jahre 1544. Text und Übersetzung zitiert nach D. Wuttke, Renaissance-Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft in Deutschland, in *Gymn.* 97 (1990): 253.

[41] Publiziert in *Kirkehist. Samlinger* 6 (1966): 193–94. Die Kenntnis dieses Briefes verdanke ich der Freundlichkeit von Heinz Scheible.

*Superstition in Jean Bodin and His Classical Sources**

KATHARINE DAVIES

The origin of the Latin word *superstitio*[1] is not positively established. It is generally believed to have developed in some way out of *superstare*, "to stand upon," "to stand over"; however, the explanations of the formation given by the ancients themselves are scarcely satisfying. According to Lucretius,[2] it was because superstition is concerned with things above us (*superstantium*); to Servius,[3] because it is chiefly a characteristic of old women, grown stupid in consequence of having survived (*superstites*) for a long time; to Cicero,[4] because it is shown by parents who pray that their children may survive them (*superstites essent*), with the usage extending itself thereafter to those who practice similar foolish exercises, contrasted as *superstitiosi* with *religiosi*, those who thoroughly study (*relegunt*) divine matters. The same distinction is drawn by Aulus Gellius,[5] without the fanciful etymology of *relegens* for *religio*, which he knows comes from *religens*.

The basic idea behind the first definition of *superstitio* in Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*—"Excessive fear of the gods, unreasonable religious belief"—is by far the most common significance of the term in the pagan Roman authors; and the same is true of the more-comprehensively formed

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* The references for the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* are to Bibliothèque Nationale fonds Latin MS. 6564 (M) and the edition by Ludwig Noack (Schwerin, 1857), of which there is a photographic reproduction by Friedrich Fromman Verlag (Stuttgart, 1966) (N).

[1] I use the noun form throughout in regard to both Latin and Greek, for convenience; but the references cover adjectival and adverbial derivatives also.

[2] *De rerum natura* 1.66.

[3] 3. *Commentarium in Virgilium*: *Aeneidos* 8.187. Menander in *The Superstitious Man* (quoted by Photius in his Lexicon s. v.) says that soothsayers call the superstitious "womanish."

[4] *De natura deorum* 2.28.72.

[5] *Noctes Atticae* 19.1–2.

Greek δεισιδαιμονία. In both languages, naturally, there are exceptions, and in Latin there are some variations at different periods and some idiosyncratic uses by individual authors. On the one hand, the concept passed over very easily into the normal modern purport of the credulity of those who expect disasters to happen on Friday the thirteenth or if they have seen the new moon for the first time through glass. The Superstitious Man of Theophrastus is precisely such a character, and so, to judge from the few surviving fragments, is the protagonist in Menander's comedy of the same name. In some instances the two meanings so shade off into one another that the division is barely discernable. This in turn took on at times the more concrete shape of "superstitious practices" (charms and rituals supposed to attract good fortune and avert bad fortune, to effect cures or injuries) and was applied to soothsayers whether false or true. On the other hand, in consequence of transition through "the awe inspired by a superior power"[6] there are a few cases where it has so far taken on the color of "religious obligation" as to imply some measure of approbation.[7] But it never conveys the unreserved commendation of the Christian literal equivalent of the Greek "God-fearing," "fear of the Lord"; where Cicero links it with *religio* it is in a fashion which lowers *religio* towards it rather than raises it towards *religio*.[8]

But with the rise of Christianity a new element was introduced: the implication of error in the belief involved.[9] Both Lactantius[10] and Augustine[11] devote a whole chapter to refuting the arguments of Cicero in the passage from *De natura deorum* quoted above. Religion is cult of the true; superstition is cult of the false. It is *what* one worships that matters, not *how* one worships it. Excess does not turn religious practices into superstitious ones; indeed, the greater the zeal, and the greater the frequency with which they are performed, the more meritorious they are. Therefore in Christian authors "superstition" means pagan beliefs[12] and, in the legislation of the Christian emperors, pagan rites,[13] although in the direct quotations from pagan legists it naturally bears one of the earlier senses, usually the original one,[14] occasionally that of an alien cult.[15]

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[6] E.g., Virgil *Aeneid* 12.816–17; Tacitus *Annales* 3.60.

[7] E.g., Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 3.3.58; *Agesilaus* 11.8; Dio Chrysostom *Chryseis* 9; Cicero *De finibus* 2.20.63; Tacitus *Historiae* 2.4; Seneca *Epistolae* 95.35; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.14.1.

[8] *De haruspicum responso* 6.12; *In Verrem* 2.4.57.

[9] So in the Vulgate, e.g., Acts 17:6 (and in the Greek δεισιδαιμονεστέρους.)

[10] *Divinae institutiones* 4.28.

[11] *De civitate Dei* 4.30.

[12] E.g., Photius *The Library* 54A.77 (Eunapius); 96B.129 (Lucius of Patras); 124B.179 (Agapius). In 143A.137 (Nicomachus of Gerasa), however, he appears to revert to the original sense.

[13] E.g., *Codex Theodosianus* lib. 17. tit. 10.2.

[14] *Pandectae* lib. 21. tit. 1.1. par. 9; lib. 28. tit. 7.8; lib. 48. tit. 19.30 par. 1.

[15] *Pandectae* lib. 12. tit. 2.5 par 1.

It is obvious why the word would not have been understood in this way in the classical period. Paganism did not draw a hard and fast dividing line between true and false religion. Each nation had its gods. You believed in your own, but that did not oblige you to disbelieve actively in those of others, whether they were positively distinct or merged in a vague pantheism by which they were the same under different names. For that matter, the Jews themselves, whose unique claim to possession of the sole true faith was so much stressed by both their champions and their antagonists, speak of the "other gods" of the Gentiles throughout the Old Testament.[16] It is, to be sure, explicitly stated in several places that they are mere idols of clay or metal, wrought by the hands of men,[17] and this must have been the orthodox Jewish tenet; but in others it is implied that they are powers independent of such images.[18] There is indeed a remarkable passage[19] in which the foreign peoples whom the king of Assyria had substituted for the Israelites in Samaria are persecuted by lions because "they are ignorant of the prescribed usages of the god of the land." This wording is that of the messengers who report the distressing situation to the king; but the author of the Bible at this point shows no sign of finding it odd or improper. When Suetonius,[20] Tacitus,[21] and Pliny the Younger[22] call Christianity a *superstitio*, they are stigmatizing it not as a false religion but as an exaggerated outcrop of Judaism, whose practitioners were regarded as *superstitiosi* because of their intransigence and excesses, not the falseness of their creed. It was only when Christianity had become predominant that the last champions of paganism, such as Julian[23] and Libanius,[24] took over from their adversaries the accusation of error in worship of a crucified human being in place of the true eternal gods.

The medieval sense is still the normal one for Jean Bodin, although he wrote at the end of the sixteenth century and was familiar with a wide range of classical sources. But there is a passage in the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* where he depends so directly on the περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας of Plutarch (which he quotes twice by name, once in the text and once in a note)[25]

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[16] E.g., Exodus 20:3 (and this is one of the Ten Commandments); Deuteronomy 7:4.

[17] Psalms 95 (96): 5; 113 (115): 4–8; 134 (135): 15–18.

[18] Psalms 95 (96): 4; 96 (97): 7.

[19] 2 (4) Kings 97.

[20] *De vita Caesarum*, Nero 16.2.

[21] *Annales* 15.44.

[22] *Epistolae* 10.107.8, 9.

[23] *Against the Galilaeans* 194D, 327A–335D.

[24] *Funeral Oration for Julian* (Oration 18) 78.

[25] M 213; N 155. 156. The first of these references is slightly puzzling, because περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας does not mention the point to which it appears to be attached (observance of the *tricesima sabbata* of the Jews by the Greeks and Romans also); presumably Bodin tacked it onto the reference to Horace (which is accurate), without noticing that it belonged rather to

that he copies even its usage in this respect. He was well acquainted not only with the *Essays* but with the *Lives of Great Men*, where the word occurs frequently, and consistently in the regular classical sense,[26] and makes lengthy, almost literal quotations from it,[27] but it is only here that he has been led into inconsistency of usage.

This is all the more remarkable because the context is criticism by the non-Jews of the doctrinaire rigidity with which the Jews suffered their city to be captured and ravaged rather than join battle on the Sabbath, with the quotation from the *Iliad* on Agamemnon first ordering the Greeks to arm and *then* praying to Zeus for victory.[28] The closeness of the copying here may have had an influence in causing this to be one of the very few issues where Bodin gives the impression that he is not wholeheartedly on the side of Salomo.

According to Plutarch, atheism and superstition are both errors in belief in regard to the gods. But atheism (the blindness of hard natures) is falsified reasoning (λόγος), whereas superstition (the blindness of soft natures) is an emotion (πάθος) engendered from false reasoning; and although all mistaken judgments are mischievous, they become grievously so only when attached to the emotions, which provide the impulse for acting upon them. To believe that virtue and vice are attributes of the body is probably no worse than a piece of disgraceful ignorance; to believe that virtue is a mere name gives rise to all sorts of moral corruption.[29]

The atheist thinks that gods do not exist; the superstitious man wishes that they did not but against his will believes that they do.[30] Atheism is in no way a contributory cause of superstition; but superstition provides the origin whence atheism may be born and a defense of it when it has been born—not, indeed, a true or handsome defense, but one not lacking in speciousness. For it is not because people saw anything to find fault with in the wonderful and harmonious ordering of the universe and nature that they condemned the notion of a god who rules all things; but the ridiculous and debasing, sometimes hysterical or brutal, manifestations of superstition led them to say that the existence of no gods would be better than the existence of those of such a sort as to accept and take pleasure in all this and have dispositions so arrogant, small-minded, and irritable. Would it indeed not have been preferable for the Gauls and Scythians to have had no conception or tradition of gods than to have supposed that there were gods who

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the whole passage, although this would make it duplicate the note.

[26] E.g., Romulus 24. 1; Poplicola 21.2; Numa 10.4; Pericles 6.1; Fabius Maximus 4.3; Timoleon 24.3; Julius Caesar 42.11.

[27] E.g., M 14; N 11–12, from Paulus Aemilius 25.1–7 (news brought with supernatural speed).

[28] 169B.8; *Iliad* 2.382–418.

[29] 164E, F-165A, B.1.

[30] 170F.11.

delighted in the blood of human sacrifice and regarded it as the most perfect holy offering?[31]

There is one point in the *Colloquium* where Bodin approaches this striking notion (hinted at by Seneca, although not expressly asserted)[32] that superstition may be worse even than atheism. But it is in an uncertain and confusing way, in consequence partly of his use of the term to signify erroneous worship, partly of the fact that whereas περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας is an essay, in which we may assume that Plutarch means exactly everything which he says, the *Colloquium* is a dialogue (and more nearly a genuine dialogue than most specimens of this literary genre). Bodin therefore speaks only through the mouths of the interlocutors, whose views differ widely on some subjects, and as we have no external comment as to which of these he agrees with we can ony make conjecture from the internal evidence of his tone of conviction or otherwise and the success or otherwise which he grants in satisfying or silencing the adversary. Here Salomo—declaring that the atheist, who forswears God and wholly expels Him from his heart, seems to sin less than he who combines Him with created things in his cult—speaks of "these two kinds of superstitious people," of whom the first are ungrateful in not seeking out the true God, the second insulting in violating Him whom they recognize as the true God by associating Him with statues and impure demons[33] (although this is apparently to some extent contradicted by the story of the lions, which Bodin allows Octavius to quote[34]). This oddly makes the atheist also superstitious and destroys the force of the contrast. And it will be observed that the outrage to the majesty of God which "He abominates, moved beyond measure by jealousy," is not, as for Plutarch, the imputation to Him of moral obliquity, but any detraction from His worship for the benefit of other objects of cults; and so Bodin has not shifted so far as might appear from the medieval Christian usage.

For Plutarch, it is surprising that atheism should be regarded as impiety and superstition not, when the latter involves opinions about the gods far more irreligious.[35] If they were really angered by wickedness and affronted by defamation they ought to demand the death of those who slander them by stories of their barbarity. Is it impious to speak ill of them, but not to think ill? The superstitious man who sees them as rash, faithless, fickle, vengeful, cruel, and easily offended, is bound to hate them as the causes of all his trouble present and future; yet he worships them from fear.[36] Octavius for a moment brings the point of Salomo back closer to that of Plu-

[31] 171A.12–C.13.
[32] *Epistolae* 123.6; *Naturales quaestiones* 2.43.
[33] M 250–51; N 183.
[34] M 253; N 185.
[35] 169E-F.10.
[36] 170C.10–E.11.

tarch, with an almost verbal echo: "And indeed I would prefer you to say that Octavius never existed or you, Coronaeus, who cherish me with peculiar affection, to repudiate me, than to call me petulant, prone to wrath, impious."[37] But he too at once resumes the condemnation of idolatry, although with a humane modification not very appropriate to a Mahometan but several times adduced by the liberal-minded interlocutors: "But those who regard statues and stars as gods, or combine angels and the souls of the saints with eternal God in the same religious rites, although they do not act well are nevertheless in such a state as to deserve excuse in some degree, since in integrity of spirit and with a good conscience they worship the divi nity kindred and familiar to them as they have been instructed, taught, and imbued by their prelates."[38] He repeats this last clause even more emphatically a few speeches later: "Who then would accuse the ignorance of these uneducated and rustic people? Or who would think that they deserved punishment? Who would not rather reprove the obduracy and arrogance of those who did not obey their prelates and priests?" And Senamus expresses agreement.[39]

Here we come upon another idea derived from antiquity which in this case Bodin has developed and intensified instead of reducing. Polybius in a well-known passage on the causes of the greatness of Rome asserts that superstition may be a legitimate instrument of government;[40] Strabo repeats this;[41] and even Plutarch, with all his distaste for superstition, does not express any disapproval of Numa for employing threatening portents as a means of rendering the Romans more civilized and humane.[42] The notion appears to have been current chiefly among the Greeks, who were disposed to judge the means by the end. The Romans certainly also, as practical-minded people, preserved the outward forms of religion for administrative purposes; Cicero quotes a jest of Cato the Elder, that it was surprising that one augur should not laugh as he watched another performing their ceremonies.[43] But the theorists did not much like the principle. Seneca, while recording the fact, registers contempt;[44] and in Cicero's *De natura deorum* Cotta the Academic maintains that the claim of the Epicureans that the in-

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[37] M 251; N 183. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ 164F-170A. 10: "ἐγὼ γοῦν ἂν ἐθέλοιμι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν περὶ ἐμοῦ μήτε γεγονέναι τὸ παράπαν μήτ' εἶναι Πλούταρχον ἢ λέγειν| ὅτι Πλούταρχός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ἀβέβαιος εὐμετάβολος, εὐχερὴς πρὸς ὀργήν, ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τιμωρητικός, μικρόλυπος·"

[38] M 252; N 184.

[39] M 253; N 185.

[40] *History* 6.56.6–7.

[41] *Geography* 1.2.8.

[42] *Lives of Great Men.* Numa 8.4: "ἐδούλου καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐποίει τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας"—a strong expression.

[43] *De divinatione* 2.24.51.

[44] *Naturales quaestiones* 2.42.

tervention of the gods in human affairs is a figment forged by rulers in order that religion should hold to their duty those whom duty could not, "in eradicating superstition eradicates religion also."[45]

The Romans of course had a strong sense of the importance of the preservation of order; but in the relatively stable Graeco-Roman world of the early empire this preoccupation was not acutely felt. It grew throughout the Middle Ages and became intense in the sixteenth century when spiritual disorientation joined the insecurity of a society whose foundations had been shaken and which afforded little protection for the underprivileged against oppression and for the weak against violence. In Bodin it was an obsessive concern. For Plutarch, belief in sorcery was one of the shapes of superstition. For Bodin, sorcery was solid fact and a major cause of disruption of the natural framework of society; this drove him to the witch-hunting vagaries which embarrass his admirers. But besides this neurotic reaction to a subject universally overcharged with emotion, in the more detached and academic *De la république* he advocates repression of crime by methods harsh even for the sixteenth century. For this purpose he is prepared to enlist the aid of superstition. In two places, and in almost the same words, Coronaeus asserts, as a generally-accepted view, that a superstition of whatever sort is more tolerable than atheism. As anarchy, where no one commands, no one obeys, and there are no rewards for good behavior, no penalties for bad, is the worst of all forms of government, so the atheist, who dreads nothing except a witness or a judge, will unavoidably be swept on to indulge in every variety of crime, whereas he who is under the restraint of a superstition will to some extent be held to his duty and the law of nature by fear of the Divinity. It was thus an inexpiable sin on the part of Epicurus to endeavor to root out this fear entirely.[46] The dialogue character of the *Colloquium* means that this does not necessarily imply direct contradiction with the view that superstition may be worse than atheism; and Coronaeus does not usually appear to be the mouthpiece of Bodin himself. But Toralba, who does, right at the beginning of the book, and again in almost the same words, has shown specifically why this was so important to Bodin: "For with the hope of reward and fear of the Divinity removed, no society among men can stand firm."[47]

Regard for established authority, the preservation of law and order, and the regular functioning of society, color and dominate the thought of Bodin, checking or diverting any line of reasoning which could lead to more ideali-

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[45] I.43. 117–18.

[46] M 168; N 124; M 250; N 182–83. The first of these passages was evidently defective in the source of M and some of the other Paris manuscripts, for they all contain a phrase which does not hold together grammatically and a repetition which must be in error. N has (conjecturally, by the scribe or Noack?) redrafted it slightly, but the general sense is clear enough in the manuscripts.

[47] M 5–6; N 4.

stic concepts. In another context he makes Octavius repudiate, as degrading to human nature, the supposition that bribery and coercion are necessary for compelling men to act properly, by the noble sentiment, again out of character for a Mahometan (as he himself acknowledges) and stemming rather from pagan ethics:[48] "good and wise men are not extremely solicitous as to what future rewards there are for virtue and piety, since virtue is in itself its own greatest reward; nor does he appear much to be commended who performs no good action if a reward is not set before him."[49] And no one contradicts this. It would of course have been difficult to contradict when it is put in this way; and Octavius is on the whole well regarded by Bodin and seldom expresses opinions from which he seems to dissent actively. However, no one takes it up as an effective refutation of Coronaeus and Toralba. "Noble sentiments" are fine things in their own way, but for Bodin what ultimately matters more is his vision of an ordered society. Not an ignoble vision, certainly, and one which would probably have been less callous in a more peaceful age, yet one which could include among its instruments torture, burning, and superstition. And while this is recognized as the motivating force behind Bodin's admission of superstition into his system, it is difficult to avoid the impression that he thus admits it without much of the reluctance attending the adoption of an unavoidable but unwelcome desperate remedy for a desperate situation. When (rather mysteriously) he calls the English Episcopalians "*superstitiosi*"[50] it is not apparently *in malam partem*; he praises them elsewhere for the frequency of their public prayers.[51] If all he really means is that they devote more attention to ceremonies and colorful ritual (of which, in moderation, he approves[52]) than the Puritans with whom he contrasts them, could it be that, unlike Plutarch, who concludes περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας with the resounding aphorism that "there is no infirmity so misleading, and involving opinions so contradictory, or rather antagonistic, as superstition,"[53] Bodin sees it on balance, despite its disadvantages, as not altogether (if I may put it in the classic phrase of *1066 and All That*) a Bad Thing?

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[48] Ennius quoted by Cicero in *De oratore* 3.26.102. Cicero *De finibus* 2.14.45; 22.73. Juvenal *Satirae* 13.38–52 (description of the Golden Age, in which men were virtuous without fear of retribution in the Infernal Regions). Seneca *De beneficiis* 4.1.2; *De vita beata* 9.3.

[49] M 241; N 176.

[50] M 267; N 196.

[51] M 221; N 161.

[52] M 237; N 174.

[53] 71E.14.

Una traduzione umanistica dei "Cynegetica" dello (pseudo-) Oppiano: Il "De venatione" di Belisario Acquaviva

DOMENICO DEFILIPPIS

Nel 1519 appariva a Napoli, per i tipi di Giovanni Pasquet de Sallo, l'*editio princeps* delle operette pedagogiche dedicate alla formazione dei giovani figli dei principi composte dal Duca di Nardò Belisario Acquaviva.[1] Il terzo opuscolo dell'omogeneo *corpus* acquaviviano, il *De venatione et de aucupio* segna, con la sua eccentricità argomentativa, una sorta di cesura all'interno dell'organico piano espositivo, mentre evidenzia, d'altro canto, i criteri di completezza che sovrintendono all'operazione letteraria intrapresa da Belisario e volta a cogliere nella contemporaneità i segni esteriori qualificanti dell'*ethos* nobiliare. Se infatti i trattati di contenuto etico-politico, il *De instituendis liberis principum*, ed economico, la *Paraphrasis in Oeconomica Aristotelis*, possono definirsi ancorati ad un'antica tradizione scrittoria, quanto meno per la tematiche affrontate, se non per il modo, non privo di originalità, col quale quelle tematiche vengono riproposte,[2] gli opuscoli sulla caccia, l'arte

[1] BELISARII AQVIVIVI ARAGONEI / NERITINORVM DVCIS / DE INSTITVENDIS / LIBERIS PRINCIPVM. /Impressum Neapoli in Bibliotheca Ioan Pasquet. / de Sallo. Anno domini M. D. XIX. VII. Maii; BELISARII AQVIVIVI ARAGONEI / NERITINORVM DVCIS PREFATIO / PARAPHRASIS IN ECONOMICA / ARISTOTELIS /Impressum Neapoli Bibliotheca Ioan. Pasquet. / de Sallo. Anno domini M. D. XIX. V. Iunii; BELISARII AQVIVIVI ARAGONEI / NERITINORVM DVCIS: DE / VENATIONE ET DE AVCVPIO: DE / RE MILITARI ET SINGULARI / CERTAMINE. /Impressum Neapoli in Bibliotheca Ioan. Pasquet. /de Sallo Anno domini. M. D. XIX. primo Augusti: cf. Pietro Manzi, *La tipografia napoletana nel '500. Annali di S. Mayr-G. A. De Caneto-A. De Frizis-G. Pasquet De Sallo (1503–1535)* (Firenze, 1971), 242–45. Su Belisario Acquaviva cf. "Acquaviva d'Aragona Belisario," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1960), 1:188–90; Francesco Tateo, *Chierici e feudatari del Mezzogiorno* (Bari, 1984), passim; Domenico Defilippis, "Per Belisario Acquaviva Conte di Conversano e Duca di Nardo," in *Studi di storia pugliese in memoria di Maria Marangelli* (Fasano, 1990), 163–82.

[2] Cf. Lucia Miele, "Il 'De instituendis liberis principum' di Belisario Acquaviva," in *Gli*

militare e il duello rinviano invece al tentativo di dar piena attuazione ad un programma formativo del nobile, del nobile del primo Cinquecento, seguendo e in vario modo sviluppando i punti-cardine dei principi educativi già enunciati nella nota epistola-trattato del Vergerio, il *De ingenuis moribus*, che l'autore tiene costantemente presente nel suo lavoro.[3]

In questi due scritti infatti Belisario fornisce non generiche osservazioni sull'utilità, per la crescita psico-fisica del giovane principe, dell'esercizio delle arti della caccia e delle armi, ma offre un'elegante e aggiornata manualistica immediatamente fruibile dal lettore e dallo studente. Questi opuscoli diventano in tal modo non solo elementi definitori di una precisa *ratio studiorum*, ma essi stessi moderni strumenti di studio, libri di testo, potremmo dire, in sé completi.

Se infatti il *De instituendis* e la *Paraphrasis* possono considerarsi mezzi altrettanto indispensabili per un adeguato approccio e una corretta rivisitazione della trattatistica etico-politica ed economica classica, alla quale tuttavia chiaramente si rinvia suggerendone indirettamente una più personale analisi da parte del lettore, il *De venatione et de aucupio* e il *De re militari et singulari certamine* costituiscono invece il prodotto, umanisticamente elaborato, di un'indagine nuova nel suo porsi come espressamente finalizzata alla definizione dello *status* nobiliare e come in sé conclusa perché non necessita di altre letture parallele, se solo si guardi all'autorevolezza dello scrittore, a un tempo nobile e letterato. Non muta quindi l'ottica da cui muove Belisario, che tende a "formare il perfetto principe" dell'età rinascimentale, ma essa spazia, rispetto alle sperimentazioni precedenti, appropriandosi di interessi prima marginali alla dimensione principesca. Già l'economia domestica, ma ancor più la caccia e la milizia, godendo di trattazioni specifiche e assai analitiche, danno la misura della distanza che separa la visione dell'*institutio principis* quattrocentesca e pontaniana da quella dell'Acquaviva, che pur da essa trae i suoi originari motivi formatori.[4]

Acquaviva d'Aragona Duchi di Atri e Conti di S. Flaviano (Teramo, 1985), 1:175–94; eadem "Il 'De re militari et singulari certamine' di B. Acquaviva: tra teoria e prassi," *Quaderni dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento Meridionale* 3 (1986): 65–98; eadem, "Il commento di Belisario Acquaviva agli 'Oeconomica' pseudoaristotelici," *Quaderni* 7 (1991): 107–37. Domenico Defilippis, "Le fasi redazionali del 'De instituendis liberis principum' di Belisario Acquaviva, Duca di Nardò," in *L'educazione e la formazione nobiliare nell'età dell'Umanesimo* (Milano, 1992), 309–30.

[3] Si rinvia ad altra sede la discussione della presenza del testo vergeriano nel *corpus* dell'Acquaviva; per l'alta funzione formativa dell'attività venatoria, indispensabile per il nobile, cui spetta, per il proprio *status* sociale, l'uso delle armi cf. Petri Pauli Vergerii, *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis adulescentiae libellus in partes duas*, a cura di Gnesotto (Padova, 1918): 48, e il volgarizzamento del pubblicato a cura di Eugenio Garin: Pier Paolo Vergerio, "Dei nobili costumi e degli studi liberali della gioventù," in *Educazione umanistica in Italia*, a cura di Garin (Bari, 1971), 116 e passim.

[4] Per la diffusione della trattatistica sul principe nell'età dell'umanesimo cf. l'ampia e ricca Introduzione di Giacomo Ferraù a Bartholomaei Platinae *De principe* (Palermo, 1979); Giuseppe Tognon, "Intellettuali ed educazione del principe nel Quattrocento italiano," *MEFRM* 99, fasc. 1 (1987): 405–33. Per i precedenti napoletani dell'*institutio* acquaviviana cf. invece Miele, "Il 'De instituendis . . .' di Belisario Acquaviva."

La necessità dell'addestramento alle armi come preparazione all'attività bellica, che è propria del nobile, e della caccia come parte integrante e altamente qualificante di quell'addestramento compare già in Vergerio,[5] per non voler risalire al testo archetipico della *Caccia* di Senofonte,[6] ma se nel *De ingenuis moribus* la caccia è solo uno dei tanti momenti che contribuiscono alla preparazione più opportuna per affrontare i "doveri" del nobile, in Belisario, invece, essa "fa" il nobile.[7] In Vergerio c'è il principe che impara a maneggiare le armi, in Belisario vi è invece il principe che è tale anche perché è un provetto cacciatore. La novita è da ricercarsi quindi non nella topica definizione della caccia quale *hobby* preferito, prediletto e soprattutto esclusivo del ceto nobiliare, secondo una antica e consolidata tradizione, ma piuttosto nella riaffermazione dell'inscindibilità del binomio nobile/cacciatore, attivamente e obbligatoriamente operante in ambedue i sensi: il nobile è per forza di cose un abile cacciatore e un abile cacciatore non può che essere un nobile. E il motivo fondante di questo assunto va individuato sì nella precettistica di età classica ed umanistica, nel successo di un tema assai caro alla letteratura cortigiana, nella dichiarata predilezione per la pratica venatoria mostrata dalla grande feudalità medievale, ma, prima di tutto, negli atteggiamenti della stessa alta società rinascimentale, nella quale, nei fatti, l'attività ludica della caccia aveva raggiunto una tale importanza e una tale diffusione da assurgere a elemento fortemente connotativo di quella società, fino a divenire da essa inseparabile.

Le seduzione e il fascino dell'arte venatoria, al di là dei suoi risvolti pratici, conquistò a tal punto con il suo apparato scenografico l'ambiente cortigiano e a tal punto allettò il desiderio di ostentazione del nobile con uno svago nel quale abilità, ingegno, coraggio e forza fisica giocavano un ruolo di primaria importanza in una competizione che richiedeva, nel gioco, le medesime doti proprie del guerriero, da non esservi chi, in quel tempo, non ne restasse irretito, foss'egli principe o papa, cardinale o funzionario dell'amministrazione.[8] Si pensi, ad esempio, ai sovrani aragonesi ed allo stesso papa Leone X, che predilesse in modo particolare la caccia e al quale lo stesso Belisario inviò una copia manoscritta del suo trattatello facendolo precedere da una epistola dedicatoria, in cui si celebravano le azioni del pontefice e i benefici effetti di quell'attività.[9]

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[5] 38 ss.

[6] Senofonte, *La caccia*, a cura di Andrea Tessier, Introduzione di Oddone Longo, con testo a fronte (Venezia, 1989): cf. Longo, "Predazione e paideia," *La caccia*, 9–27.

[7] Cf. Giuliano Innamorati, introduzione all'*Arte della caccia. Testi di falconeria uccellagione e altre cacce*, a cura di Innamorati, vol. 1 (Milano, 1965), 26.

[8] Cf. Otto Brunner, *Vita nobiliare e cultura europea* (Bologna, 1972); Domenico Gnoli, "Le cacce di Leon X," in *La Roma di Leon X* (Milano, 1938), 217 ss. e la bibliografia ivi; Innamorati, introduzione, all'*Arte della caccia*.

[9] L'epistola dedicatoria, mutila e inedita, "Leoni X° Pontifice Maximo Belisarius / Aquivivus Aragonius dux / Neritinorum post pedum / oscula felicitatem" si legge nel cod. 18.40 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, cc. 64r–v.

Nella *princeps* napoletana, invece, Belisario dedica il suo lavoro complessivo di indagine sulla caccia, l'arte militare e il duello al fratello Andrea Matteo,[10] e nell'epistola introduttiva, a lui indirizzata, denuncia, proprio in apertura, le diverse fasi attraverso cui è andato sviluppandosi il suo impegno letterario. La composizione del *De instituendis* e della *Paraphrasis*, riconducibile a tempi tra loro molto vicini, viene infatti collocata in un ambito cronologico distinto e anteriore rispetto a quello dell'elaborazione del *De venatione et de aucupio*, la cui occasione è data dal rinvenimento, nel Salento, di un codice greco dell'opera del poeta Oppiano:

> Quaerenti mihi inter litterarum ocia, frater illustris, quid a nobis scribendum esset ne tempori aliquo modo deficere videremur (qum praesertim de principum educatione, de re gubernanda familiari paulo ante scripserimus), Oppiani poetae Graecum opus in Yapigiae finibus nuper inventum prae manibus occurrit.[11]

L'approccio con la stesura del *De venatione* non fu certo privo di difficoltà per Belisario. Si trovava infatti per la prima volta di fronte ad un testo non canonico, come quelli consultati per il *De instituendis* e la *Paraphrasis*, che non solo era scritto in greco, ma, per di più, si presentava come un componimento poetico. Non che il genere lirico non fosse congeniale all'Acquaviva, ma certo non gli sarebbe stato agevole trasporre in latino Oppiano, conservandone la forma originaria, in versi, dal momento che né conosceva alla perfezione la lingua greca, come egli stesso dichiarava[12] né aveva una tale superiore padronanza della lingua latina da poter realizzare con decoro quella operazione. Ma vi era un altro ostacolo. Lo stile poetico, ricco di formule retoriche, similitudini, e propenso al recupero di racconti mitici e fantastici si scontrava con l'indole pratica di Belisario, che certo preferiva la forma del trattato prosastico, nel quale la chiara e incisiva struttura argomentativa consentiva di accedere facilmente a utili insegnamenti. Non a caso è proprio questo lo schema da lui praticato nella stesura degli opuscoli

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[10] Cf. *De venatione*, cc. 2r–4r.

[11] Ed. Neapol., c. 2r. Sulla diffusione dei codici dei *Cynegetica* dello pseudo-Oppiano nel Salento cf. Guglielmo Cavallo, "Libri greci e resistenza etnica in Terra d'Otranto," in *Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino*, a cura di Cavallo (Bari, 1982), 175. Un codice di Oppiano di provenienza salentina, ora custodito nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli con la segnatura 2. F. 17 e databile ai secoli quindicesimo-sedicesimo, appartenne a Sergio Stiso, figura di spicco nel panorama culturale del Salento tra quattro e cinquecento: cf. O. Mazzotta, *Monaci e libri greci nel Salento medievale* (Novoli, 1989), 89; André Jacob, "Sergio Stiso de Zollino et Nicola Petreo de Curzola. A propos d'une lettre du Vaticanus gr. 1019," in *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milano, 1982), 154–68; Francesco Lo Parco, "Sergio Stiso grecista italiota e accademico pontaniano del sec. XVI," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 49, 2 s., 24 (Napoli, 1919); Domenico Defilippis, "Di un nuovo codice del 'De situ Iapygiae' di Antonio Galateo," *Quaderni* 6 (1989): 26.

[12] "Ego quoniam a Graecis litteris ita sum alienus, ut vix prima forsan litterarum rudimenta ipsius linguae cognoverim, vicem meam non dolere non possum" (*De venatione*, c. 2v).

pedagogici, che, se rinuncia alle formule sillogistiche della scolastica, privilegia però le tradizionali divisioni in brevi capitoletti, che si prestano ad una più immediata consultazione da parte del lettore, e non impegnano l'autore in una scrittura eccessivamente lunga e retoricamente elaborata, che un letterato non troppo scaltrito avrebbe rischiato di non riuscire ad armonizzare perfettamente in tutte le sue parti. Il lavoro di traduzione e di esegesi che segna la stesura della *Paraphrasis in Oeconomica Aristotelis* e che è il più assimilabile a quello condotto per il *De venatione*, sebbene mirasse a commentare il testo pseudoaristotelico degli *Economici* citandone di volta in volta i passi, era stato tuttavia agevolato dall'imitazione dell'analoga operazione letteraria tentata in precedenza da Leonardo Bruni e perciò, in quel caso, Belisario si era limitato ad aggiornare, nell'ottica nobiliare, un autorevole modello letterario di età umanistica perfettamente aderente al suo *milieu* culturale.[13]

L'operetta di Oppiano, per quanto si è detto, parrebbe quindi del tutto estranea sia ai gusti di Belisario letterato, sia al programma educativo del nobile uomo d'armi, perché il senso pratico di chi si propone di conoscere e di fornire i necessari strumenti conoscitivi aderendo al vero e alla realtà, non ama attardarsi nel racconto di episodi favolosi, obiettivamente inutili, se non pericolosi nel momento in cui possono indurre a far ritenere credibili notizie razionalmente inaccettabili e scientificamente inesatte come già affermava Platone nella *Repubblica* a proposito dell'educazione dei guardiani,[14] figure con le quali possono identificarsi i principi dell'età rinascimentale *tout-court*; non ama, ancora, il dettato poetico, che penalizza talora la chiarezza dell'esposizione senza perseguire costantemente un preciso intento etico-pedagogico, e privilegia, invece, la *voluptas*. Oppiano infatti sceglieva di affrontare il tema della caccia anche perché questo gli offriva la possibilità di mostrare le proprie qualità poetiche, fornendogli un ricco e consolidato patrimonio citazionale erudito da reinventare liberalmente. Belisario invece si propone costantemente di elaborare una utile normativa valida per i diversi tipi di caccia che possa trovare una pratica attuazione da parte del nobile.

L'opzione per Oppiano sembrerebbe perciò del tutto improbabile se non intervenisse un ulteriore elemento di valutazione che avalli il consenso, e cioè il desiderio di recupero e di divulgazione di un inedito, che certo lusingò il principe umanista. La possibilità di offrire un prodotto nuovo e sconosciuto indusse infatti Belisario a lanciarsi in un'impresa per lui ardua, ma che certamente avrebbe attirato l'attenzione anche di un pubblico diverso da quello da lui privilegiato, il dotto pubblico del mondo accade-

[13] Cf. J. Soudek, "The Genesis and Tradition of Leonardo Bruni's Annotadet Latin Version of the (pseudo-) Aristotelian 'Economics,' " *Scriptorium* 12 (1958): 260–68; Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1966), trad. it. a cura di R. Pecchioli, *La crisi del primo rinascimento italiano* (Firenze, 1970), 284, 443; Cesare Vasoli, "Bruni Leonardo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 14, 618–33; Miele, "Il commento di Belisario Acquaviva"; Defilippis, "Per Belisario Acquaviva."

[14] L'ammonimento è in Platone, *Resp.*, 2, 378–79, 3, 387 ss.

mico ed erudito che avrebbe incondizionatamente approvato la sua scelta, e probabilmente avrebbe ammirato la sua riscrittura che sembrava oltretutto praticare quella poetica della meraviglia perseguita dal Pontano[15] e dai pontaniani:

> Cuius (*scil.* Oppiani) quidem fragmenta sententiaeque non parum voluptatis tribuere litterarum studiosissimis poterunt.[16]

L'*utilitas* unitia alla *voluptas* avrebbe d'altro canto allettato anche la società di corte, che, in un momento in cui la pace sembrava finalmente tornata ad affermarsi in Italia e in Europa, si sarebbe volentieri concessa un'amena lettura di intrattenimento, ricca però di consigli pratici.

> Quare factum est ut incredibilem laborem susceperim, quod vocabula quibusdam in locis convertere sim coactus; siquidem pro inveniendis componendisque vocabulis Latinos plurimos libros Plinium maxime, Tullium, Columellam, Varronem aliosque complures evolvere necesse fuit. Quorum libros vel semel accurate legisse laboriosum est. Occurristi tu mihi utriusque linguae peritissimus, ut ea quae melius, latinius ornatius vel magis proprie, cogitari possint, corrigas, emendes, castiges. Tu mihi sis iudex itaque, tu censor ab omnibus habearis.[17]

La attenta descrizione del faticoso lavoro preparatorio traccia un interessante quadro dei comportamenti che connotano l'attività del traduttore e intende fornire anche utili indicazioni per chi avesse voluto approfondire alcune singole questioni, suggerendo i testi più idonei:

> Omitto ea quae de animalium natura Oppianus poetice scripsit, qum et Gaza noster Theodorus, praeceptoris mei familiaris, in Aristotelis interpretationem copiosius scripserit Pliniusque tuus, et ea tantum scribere aggredior, quae ad venationem pertinent.[18]

Ma l'originalità della proposta acquaviviana risiede piuttosto nella metodologia adottata nell'opera di traduzione, che è organica al tentativo di mediare l'esigenza di fedeltà al testo originale con la necessità di renderne immediatamente fruibili e utilizzabili i contenuti, rifiutando aprioristicamente il ruolo, ritenuto passivo, di chi riproponga un'opera in una lingua diversa attenendosi pedissequamente al suo originale.[19] Nel caso del poemetto

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[15] Cf. Francesco Tateo, "La 'medietas' dell'arte e il sublime della poesia," in *Umanesimo etico di G. Pontano* (Lecce, 1972), 61 ss.

[16] *De venatione*, c. 2r.

[17] *De venatione*, c. 2v.

[18] *De venatione*, c. 2v. La traduzione del Gaza (Arsitoles, *De animalibus*, trad. T. Gaza) vanta un notevole successo editoriale in Italia già sul finire del quindicesimo secolo: all'edizione veneziana del 1476 seguirono quelle, apparse sempre a Venezia, del 1492, 1495 e 1498: cf. *I. G. I.*, (Roma, 1943), 1:106.

[19] Cf. *La traduzione. Saggi e studi* (Trieste, 1973): in particolare il saggio di Gianfranco Fole-

di Oppiano, in particolare, perseguire il solo fine della *voluptas*, come avviene prevalentemente nell'originale, senza badare anche all'*utilitas* avrebbe inficiato l'operazione di traduzione, perché per Belisario il momento letterario è importante ma non prevaricante. Essenziale è invece l'apporto personale dato dal traduttore, il suo intervento mirato ad attualizzare nella forma e nei contenuti un'opera che, riproposta nella sua veste originaria risulterebbe comunque superata e quindi poco gradevole. La complessa operazione recupera perciò, in tale ottica, un preciso canone praticato nella ricerca naturalistica, che muove dall'opportunità di indagare il mondo animale nella sua dimensione reale per poter formulare precetti efficaci e offrire risultati scientificamente provati. Insuperabili maestri di tale atteggiamento sono rintracciati da Belisario in Plinio e Aristotele, nelle cui opere naturalistiche ogni notizia è preventivamente vagliata e, quando è attinta da fonti poetiche o mitiche, non manca di essere accompagnata da un preventivo avvertimento al lettore.

Questa opzione metodologica, che si estrinseca in un'attenta selezione e in un puntuale apparato di commento, potrebbe intendersi come un attardarsi su posizioni più proprie della scolastica, ma così non è perché Belisario non postilla minutamente un testo smembrato per ricercarvi fonti nascoste o possibili parallelelismi con altre opere, ma scompone per poi ricomporre in modo diverso il testo originario per farne un valido e nuovo strumento di conoscenza, nel quale l'*auctoritas* finisce coll'identificarsi col traduttore, piuttosto che con l'autore. La sua, infatti, non è opera di erudito, è opera di umanista che, credendo fermamente negli alti livelli raggiunti dagli antichi nella conoscenza del mondo fisico, cerca di recuperarne l'insegnamento adeguandolo ad un pubblico diverso da quello dotto e accademico, un pubblico abituato a vivere intensamente nella comunità civile e non in una totale dedizione agli studi letterari. Il contributo personale dato dal traduttore fonda la sua validità sulla forza dell'*experientia*, maturata nella quotidianità e nello studio dei classici. Al dettato di Oppiano, autorevole perché antico, si affianca perciò quello altrettanto autorevole dell'autore; e la sicurezza di poter competere con Oppiano nasce anche dalla consapevolezza di essersi formato agli insegnamenti del re Ferrante d'Aragona, cacciatore provetto, fin dalla più tenera età. È, quello di Belisario, un atteggiamento innovativo di approccio con l'opera intesa come riscrittura. Egli in realtà non riscrive, ma seleziona; traduce l'autore antico e, passo dopo passo, elabora il proprio commento, che è originale nella misura in cui attinge prevalentemente al vissuto, distaccandosi dalla più consueta esegesi erudita. La selezione obbedisce non a parametri puramente letterari, ma alle norme dell'*ethos* nobiliare

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na, " 'Volgarizzare' e 'tradurre': idea e terminologia della traduzione dal Medioevo italiano e romanzo all'Umanesimo europeo," ora disponibile in volume (Torino, 1990); Francesco Tateo, *La "letteratura umanistica"* (Palermo, 1989), 60 ss.; Eugenio Garin, *Umanisti Artisti Scienziati* (Roma, 1989), 285 ss.

e di una metologia che potrebbe definirsi scientifico-naturalistica perché tende al vero e all'utile.

I termini di applicazione della proposta teorica avanzata da Belisario non mancano tuttavia di dimostrare come, nel suo farsi, il lavoro di traduzione e di contestuale analisi dei *Cynegetica* virasse di frequente verso inespresse sollecitazioni modellizzanti, ora ricorrenti, ora occasionali, sostanzialmente traviando lo schema iniziale. Ci si attenderebbe infatti dei *Cynegetica* latinizzati, in parte attentamente censurati nei passi poetici e in parte, al contrario, ampliati convenientemente con testimonianze desunte dagli *auctores* e dalla esperienza di cacciatore del Duca. Ma l'operazione non è così lineare. Il risultato finale si presenta infatti molto più articolato del previsto, intricato e intricante, ricco di inimmaginabili echi perché in realtà obbedisce, nel suo insieme, al variegato complesso i obiettivi che Belisario persegue, ed evidenzia, più e meglio di quanto non faccia la dichiarazione della dedica, gli ostacoli che l'autore ha dovuto affrontare per condurre a termine la sua traduzione. Già la seconda sezione della dedica costituisce, infatti, la latinizzazione, inframmezzata da brevi considerazioni dell'autore, di alcuni lunghi brani dell'opera di Oppiano, avulsi dall'organico contesto originario e ricuciti tra loro in un diverso ordine di successione. L'elenco degli scopritori delle diverse tecniche di caccia riprende infatti i versi iniziali del secondo libro dell'operetta greca; la tripartizione dell'arte venatoria ci porta invece indietro all'inizio del primo libro[20] e la narrazione di un particolare tipo di

[20] "De venandi dulcedine scribam, qua homines allici adeo solent, ut multi alia maiora relinquere coacti sint, quippequm duci alliciantur sopore qui veris tempore flores supra dormiverint. Qualis fervente aestu sit humi dormitio? Quis aquae potus frigidae calore fessis fiet venatoribus? Quid flavos si decerpserint vere flores gaudii erit venantibus? Venator certe curis exsolvetur omnibus [cf. Opp., *Cyn.*, 2, 34 ss.]. Imprimis itaque a nobis scribedum erit Perseum Iovis aurei filium venatum ad edendum invenisse: nam leporum caprearum ac damarum velocium venatum invenisse scribitur. Castor deinde Iovis filius, cursu equorum longo, feras insectari iaculisque ferire primus invenit. Pollux item Lacaedemonius Iovis etiam filius canum ferociam in feras velocitatemque est expertus. Hyppolitus postea ad capiendas feras retibus laqueisque usus est, ut ubi vires non suppetissent arte illud ingenioque vinci posse ostenderet. Demum Athalantam legimus apros iaculis ferire solitam, feris etiam caeteris cedem parari docuisse. Omnium autem primus Orion insidias venatibus parari consuluit [cf. ivi, 2, 1–34] ... Triplex venationis reperitur modus, hominibus a natura tributus, quorum unus terrestris, aereus alter, maritimus vero tertius nuncupatur. Neque enim mirum alicui videri debet si quartum assequi homines minime potuerunt, qum a quarto quodammodo elemento remotissimi simus, ut nihil cum igne nobis commune sit, quandoquidem consumere omnia ignem perspicimus, ac ita quidem ut in superiorem aeris regionem quaecunque advolaverint, concrementur. Quam ob rem triplicem tantum venationem, ad trium inferiorum elementorum instar, natura constituit. Sicut enim elementa inter se contraria sunt differuntque inter sese, ita et ferarum ac terrestrium animantium venatio aviumve aucupium a piscium marinorum piscatione dissimilis est. Quantum enim piscatores ab aucupibus, quantum ferarum venatus a venatu avium distet differatque iudicari facile potest. Nam milvi, cornices, anseres, grues caeteraeque aquatiles aves, coturnices, perdices aliaeque aviculae accipitribus capiuntur. Tigrim vero, capreas, cervos, apros, leones ferasque caeteras equites insectantur [cf. ivi, 1, 47 ss]" (*De venatione*, cc. 3r–v).

pesca al cefalo, praticata a Taranto e osservata di persona dal Duca, conclude, con un diretto rinvio all'esperienza,[21] la missiva dedicatoria.

Il capitolo di apertura, genericamente volto ad assemblare varie esemplificazioni sulla "solerzia" degli animali, sembra costituire quasi un *excursus* a sé stante, poiché non trova alcun tipo di riscontro tematico nel testo oppianeo, mentre attinge in modo ampio e circostanziato al *De natura deorum* di Cicerone[22] per orientare in modo del tutto inedito la traduzione, frammentata, dei pochi versi del testo greco che enunciano le doti fisiche necessarie al cacciatore. Dopo l'*excursus* iniziale la traduzione riprende quindi esattamente dal punto in cui si era interrotta nella dedica, trattando delle qualità fisiche del cacciatore, per procedere, nei capitoli successivi, prima all'indagine sui cani, al cui interno viene dibattuta anche la questione dei tempi più idonei alla caccia, e poi a quella sui cavalli. In questa prima *tranche* del *De venatione* appare evidente un'ulteriore inversione dello schema espositivo di Oppiano, che muoveva invece dall'esame dei cavalli per passare poi a quello dei cani. Non sembra esservi una logica spiegazione che giustifichi quel mutamento, giacché Belisario fonda comunque le due trattazioni sul testo greco, che, d'altro canto, mostra di seguire con una certa fedeltà. È evidente allora che i motivi di quell'imprevedibile inversione vanno ricercati altrove, al di fuori del testo, e sono da ricondurre non tanto ad un'obbiettiva difficoltà di approccio col lavoro di traduzione, quanto piuttosto ad una avvertibile incertezza sul modo di reinventare il modello e sulla definizione da dare allo schema strutturale sul quale poi imbastire la riscrittura. Superare l'*impasse* determinato dalla forma originaria in versi e l'impostazione prosastica della traduzione, è questo il momento di maggior crisi. Difficile, per Belisario, è individuare un autorevole e funzionale modello in prosa cui richiamarsi, che trattasse anch'esso di caccia, e di caccia alle fiere.

A Firenze per i tipi di Giunta apparve nel 1516 l'*editio princeps* del *Cinegetico* di Senofonte. La novità editoriale non sfuggì di certo al Duca interessato com'era, in quegli anni, ad opere relative alla caccia, dopo la scoperta del prezioso codice salentino di Oppiano e il rinvenimento compiuto agli inizi del Cinquecento dal Sannazaro, durante il suo soggiorno in Francia del *Cynegeticon* di Nemesiano. Il *Cinegetico* di Senofonte seguiva l'andamento del trattato, offriva un'utile serie di avvertimenti, e, soprattutto, mostrava notevoli analogie col testo di Oppiano; né poteva essere diversamente costituendo il precedente senofonteo una fonte irrinunciabile e un preciso motivo ispiratore del poemetto didascalico greco.[23] E' da credere che l'Acquaviva accogliesse quindi con grande soddisfazione quell'edizione, che offriva, inas-

[21] *De venatione*, cc. 3v–4r.

[22] *De venatione*, cc. 4r–5r; cf. Cic., *Nat. D.* 2, 47–52, 122 ss.

[23] Cf. Andrea Tessier, "L'autore e il testo," in Senofonte, *La caccia*, 35–37; per scoperta del sannazaro cf. Carlo Vecce, *Iacopo Sannazaro in Francia. Scoperte di codici all'inizio del XVI secolo* (Padova, 1988).

pettatamente, un valido aiuto all'operazione di traduzione ed esegesi forse vagheggiata ma non ancora intrapresa per l'evidente assenza di una guida sicura e modellizzante. L'impostazione da dare al *De venatione* era già stata autorevolmente codificata e occorreva solo ridistribuire la versione latina dei *Cynegetica* di Oppiano, corredata di commento, sulla scorta dello schema usato da Senofonte, autore peraltro assai praticato da Belisario, come rivela l'esame delle fonti della *Paraphrasis*, ma costantemente taciuto secondo una prassi retorica attentamente perseguita dagli umanisti. E' infatti Senofonte, come Cicerone nei precedenti opuscoli, una fonte nascosta che alimenta un ambiguo e affascinante gioco letterario di riferimenti dotti e svela un livello di lettura riservato a pochi, ai lettori più scaltriti, al mondo accademico, cui, ancora una volta, era lasciato il gusto della scoperta, dell'individuazione, cioè, del modello di supporto abilmente occultato dallo scrittore con l'accumulo di un nutrito e sviante repertorio di *citazioni*.

E' sufficiente ripercorrere sia pur velocemente il *Cinegetico* senofonteo per avvertire di quanto gli sia debitore, per la struttura espositiva, il *De venatione*. Senofonte infatti premette un lungo catalogo celebrativo degli eroi inventori della caccia o distintisi in quell'arte, che gli consente di formulare l'esortazione finale ai lettori, nella quale si riafferma la funzione altamente educativa della caccia per l'uomo libero, occupato nell'esercizio delle armi e nella vita politica.[24] Si tratta dei medesimi concetti, elaborati però da Belisario sulla base del testo attribuito ad Oppiano, che erano stati enunciati dal Duca nella dedica, forse con l'intento di emarginare in un ambito esterno alla vera e propria traduzione, che voleva porsi innanzitutto come pratico manuale per il nobile cacciatore, alcuni elementi caratterizzanti di quel genere letterario, ma che afferivano tuttavia alla sfera del mito. Nel *Cinegetico* di Senofonte vi è quindi una puntuale descrizione delle doti fisiche che si richiedono al cacciatore, cui fa riscontro l'analoga trattazione del *De venatione*, che tien dietro immediatamente all'*excursus* sulla "sagacia" degli animali.[25] Subito dopo vi si affronta l'analisi delle razze canine utili al cacciatore, che l'Acquaviva riprende prestando un'ugual attenzione agli aspetti più strettamente tecnici, che sfocia nella analitica descrizione dei tratti somatici distintivi dei bracchi e dei mastini, dei diversi modi di fiutare, stanare e atterrare la preda, e, infine, dei colori del mantello.[26] E' in tale contesto che Senofonte, immancabilmente imitato da Belisario, tratta dei periodi dell'anno e della giornata più favorevoli alla pratica venatoria, tema che non trova in Oppiano uno spazio organico, ma solo brevi cenni, per lo più inseriti all'inizio del primo libro, e quindi in un ambito espositivo assoluta-

[24] Xen., *Cyn.*, 1, 1–18, passim, e 12, 1 ss.

[25] Cf. *De venatione*, cc. 4r–5r e Xen., *Cyn.*, 2, 1–3.

[26] Cf. *De venatione*, cc 5r–6v, 8r–v, i capp. intitolati "De canum genere ac forma ad feras indagandas," "De specie ac forma canum ad feras captandas," "De specie ac forma canum ad feras retinendas" e "Quomodo canes sint alendi et qui color in canibus melior esse censeatur," e Xen., *Cyn.*, 3–4.

mente disomogeneo rispetto a quello privilegiato da Senofonte-Belisario, che invece tende a definire con l'ausilio dell'esperienza e del dato scientifico-naturalistico la preferenza per una particolare stagione dell'anno o per una determinata ora del giorno.[27] Tralasciata la descrizione della caccia alla lepre, che avrebbe comportato una rottura ancora più ardita con lo schema oppianeo,[28] Belisario si riappropria ancora delle direttrici senofontee, che in questo caso erano state già recuperate anche dal lirico greco, per suggerire le modalità dell'allevamento e dell'addestramento dei cani da caccia.[29] In rapida successione Senofonte passava ad illustrare l'organizzazione delle cacce al cervo, al cinghiale e alle altre fiere, omettendo però di parlare del cavallo, che nell'attività venatoria ha un innegabile ruolo primario, accanto al cane. L'omissione, che è stata utilizzata da alcuni critici per mettere in dubbio l'attribuzione a Senofonte dell'intero *Cinegetico*,[30] risultava anche per Belisario particolarmente grave, perché privava delle necessarie informazioni su quel prezioso animale sia il cacciatore sia il nobile cavaliere, per il quale il cavallo costituiva anche un temibile strumento di guerra e il simbolo stesso del proprio *status* socialmente e militarmente elevato. Quell'imprevidibile mancanza obbligava perciò Belisario a mutare ancora una volta i parametri espositivi e a preferire il tracciato oppianeo, una volta superato l'*impasse* iniziale dell'approccio all'inedito poemetto greco, e a servirsi, per l'occasione, oltre che della *Naturalis Historia* di Plinio, di un'operetta composta dal fratello Andrea Matteo, il *De equo*, oggi introvabile e andata forse irrimediabilmente perduta.[31]

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[27] Cf. *De venatione*, cc. 6v–8r, il cap. "Quomodo et quibus temporibus sit venandum," e Xen., *Cyn.*, 4, 11–5, 6.

[28] Cf. Xen., *Cyn.*, 5, 7 ss.

[29] Cf. il cap. cit. "Quomodo canes sint alendi et qui color in canibus melior esse censeatur"; Xen., *Cyn.* 7; Opp., *Cyn.*, 1, 414 ss.

[30] Cf. Tessier, "L'autore e il testo," 33.

[31] Cf. *De venatione*, cc. 9r–v, 11v; Plin., *H. N.* 8, 64, 157.

Comment, sous Louis XIV, voyait-on la "Nouvelle France"? in Historia Canadensis *du jésuite François Ducreux, 1664*

COLETTE DEMAIZIERE

Un ouvrage récent sur le Canada le présente comme "un pays immense, peu peuplé, pays de la démesure marqué par un hiver long et rigoureux ... immense espace (qui) appartient surtout au monde arctique et subarctique."[1] Voilà une description qui évoquerait facilement les trop fameux "arpents de neige," trois mots qui soulignèrent, au XVIIIe siècle, l'abandon par la France de ce territoire. La perte de ses terres du Canada s'explique-t-elle surtout par le désintérêt de la France à l'égard du continent glacé? Entre le premier voyage de Jacques Cartier, en 1534, et le traité de Paris en 1763, s'étend tout le XVIIe siècle du Roi Soleil et l'on peut se demander comment, sous Louis XIV, on voyait la "Nouvelle France": avec curiosité ou réticence, intérêt ou indifférence, recherche de l'or ou souci de Dieu? Un jésuite, François Ducreux, qui latinise son nom en Creuxius, nous a laissé une *Historia Canadensis*, en dix livres, publiée en 1664. C'est à travers une partie de cet ouvrage que nous essaierons de répondre aux interrogations précédentes.

L'ouvrage

C'est un volume in-4° dont le titre complet est *Historia Canadensis seu Novae Franciae libri decem ad annum usque Christi MDCLVI.*[2] Il a été publié en 1664,

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[1] *Le Canada*, sous la direction de Paule-Marie Duhet (Presses de l'université de Nancy, 1991), 13.

[2] Cet ouvrage n'a pas été traduit en français mais il l'a été en anglais, sous le titre: *The History of Canada or New France* by Father François Ducreux, s.j. translated by Percy J.

à Paris, chez Sébastien Cramoisy, et compte 810 pages, plus une table et une liste d'errata. Après une adresse à Louis XIV, roi très chrétien, datée de Bordeaux, le 7 septembre 1663, suit une liste des noms de la centaine de personnes qui établirent la Société de la Nouvelle France. Ces noms (107) ne sont pas des noms de jésuites mais on trouve parmi eux, en premier, le nom du Cardinal de Richelieu, celui d'un médecin André Daniel, d'un capitaine de navire Charles Daniel, des chevaliers, des commerçants, le typographe Sébastien Cramoisy, Samuel Champlain et nombre de conseillers royaux. Ce sont ceux à l'action desquels on doit l'établissement, le développement et la survie de la Nouvelle France. Suit une préface puis une gravure représentant la mort glorieuse des martyrs jésuites et ensuite les dix livres, 1–810. L'ensemble de cette histoire canadienne retrace les événements militaires: luttes avec les Anglais, avec les Iroquois, combats entre Hurons et Iroquois, envoi de délégations en France, envoi de secours au Canada, de 1625–1656. Mais, en réalité, c'est beaucoup plus l'histoire des missions des jésuites en Nouvelle France que l'histoire du Canada. Dès le livre II, il est question de l'évangélisation des barbares et l'on trouvera, jusqu'à la fin, une grande place accordée au baptême des Hurons, à la foi et à la constance des néophytes, à la cruauté des Iroquois envers leurs captifs, à la piété des martyrs sous la torture, à la paix que l'Evangile doit apporter aux Nations etc., ... Seul le livre I (cent pages) fait exception car il présente, après le récit de combats autour de Québec et de l'envoi de délégations en France (1–46), une description de la Nouvelle France et de sa faune, une peinture des moeurs des indigènes, leurs vêtements, leurs coutumes, leurs qualités physiques et morales, leurs habitations et aussi, dès ce premier livre, un passage consacré tout particulièrement à leur cruauté envers les ennemis captifs, leur intempérance et leurs superstitions, le culte des morts et les rites funéraires. En outre, le livre est enrichi d'une carte: *Tabula novae Franciae*, 1660. C'est ce livre I qui sera l'objet de notre étude car c'est celui qui rend le mieux une vision datée du Canada.

L'auteur de l'ouvrage est François Ducreux, jésuite né à Saintes en 1596, qui fut professeur et directeur de conscience et mourut à Bordeaux en 1666. Il n'est jamais allé lui-même au Canada. Son récit est donc de seconde main. On peut s'en étonner puisque précisément, à cette époque, il y avait une présence importante des jésuites au Canada. Il nous faut donc nous interroger sur les sources et les motivations du Père François Ducreux.

Sources et motivations de l'auteur

Sans aucun doute, la source principale du Père François Ducreux est consti-

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Robinson, edited with notes by James B. Conacher in two volumes (Toronto, The Champlain Society), 1951.

tuée par les *Relations* de jésuites. La pratique, traditionnelle à l'époque dans la Compagnie de Jésus, était que les missionnaires écrivent, du lieu où ils étaient, à leurs supérieurs pour leur rendre compte du travail apostolique qu'ils accomplissaient et des fruits de ce travail. Ils ajoutaient souvent à ces lettres, d'une part, des réflexions sur leur vie intérieure et, d'autre part, des observations sur les moeurs des gens qu'ils découvraient. Il y avait souvent trois parties distinctes dans ces lettres plus ou moins longues: la vie intérieure du missionnaire, son travail apostolique et des renseignements, parfois d'une grande précision, sur les pays traversés et leurs habitants. Cette troisième partie, seule, était communiquée au "grand public" sous la forme de *Relations* qui circulaient d'abord de mains en mains puis que l'on rassembla en un volume pour une diffusion plus large. Le Père Paul Le Jeune (1591–1664) est l'un des célèbres auteurs de *Relations*.[3] Après des années de professorat, il est envoyé au Canada, en 1632, par le Cardinal de Richelieu, avec la mission de "reprendre possession de leurs maisons de Québec" et, le 31 mars 1632, il est nommé supérieur des jésuites de la Nouvelle France et sera l'un des initiateurs des *Relations* en donnant une par an ou presque, de 1632 à 1641, où on l'envoie en France chercher des secours. Quand il devient procureur de la mission de la Nouvelle France au collège de Clermont à Paris, il est chargé, entre autres tâches, de publier la *Relation* annuelle et même de la rédiger à partir des correspondances reçues quand les notes qui devaient constituer la base de la *Relation* n'étaient pas parvenues. Il y eut, avant ou après Paul Le Jeune, beaucoup d'autres auteurs de *Relations*. On peut citer, à titre d'exemples: Pierre Biard (*Relation* de 1611), Charles Lalemant (*Relation* de 1626), Barthélemy Vimont (*Relations* de 1643, 1644, 1645), Claude d'Ablon (*Relations* de 1671 et 1672). On notera que toutes les années couvertes par l'*Historia Canadensis* du Père François Ducreux (1625–1656) sont, à quelques rares exceptions près, pourvues de la *Relation* correspondante. Nous savons donc où l'historien s'est documenté. Mais, pourquoi choisir d'écrire sur le Canada qu'il ne connaît pas, quand tant d'autres jésuites auraient pu le faire de première main? D'abord, il faut constater que le fait n'est pas rare alors et que, par exemple, le Père François-Xavier Charlevoix, s'il est bien allé, au XVIIIe siècle au Canada et à Saint-Domingue dont il a écrit l'histoire en 1730 et en 1744, a écrit aussi, en 1715, une *Histoire du Japon* où il ne s'est jamais rendu.[4]

Les *Relations* et l'*Historia Canadensis* ont un même but: informer, instruire,

[3] Cf. Dominique Deffain, "Un voyageur français en nouvelle France au XVIIème siècle. Etude littéraire des Relations du Père Paul Le Jeune 1632–1641," thèse de doctorat de 3ème cycle (Rennes, 1987) (exemplaire dactylographié).

[4] Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, jésuite né à Saint-Quentin en 1682, partit de La Rochelle pour le Canada en 1720, descendit le Mississippi et se rendit à Saint-Domingue en 1722. Il a publié une *Histoire du Japon* en 1715, une *Histoire de Saint-Domingue* en 1730, une *Histoire et description générale de la nouvelle France* en deux volumes en 1744 et une *Histoire du Paraguay* en 1756.

édifier. Pour informer et instruire les Français, on décrit le pays, son climat, sa faune et ses habitants. On raconte aussi les combats et toutes les difficultés rencontrées. Il faut encore édifier en donnant des exemples de vertus: courage, foi, constance dans les épreuves, afin de montrer combien cette entreprise est utile au salut des indigènes, à l'expansion de la foi et à la plus grande gloire de Dieu. En ce sens, ces oeuvres ont un aspect d'oeuvres de propagande pour la foi chrétienne et aussi pour la Compagnie de Jésus. On insistera sur la mort héroïque des huit missionnaires, que l'on n'appelle pas encore les "Saints martyrs canadiens," tous morts violemment entre 1642 et 1649, mais l'on relèvera également une certaine rivalité entre les jésuites et les récollets. Les missionnaires ont besoin de publicité et lorsque les jésuites ont été choisis aux dépens des récollets pour poursuivre l'évangélisation, après la reprise de possession de Québec en 1632, les récollets éprouvent le besoin de se justifier. C'est ainsi que le frère récollet Gabriel Sagard publiera le récit de son voyage: *Grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, en 1632. Une nouvelle édition des *Voyages* de Champlain suivra aussitôt, dans le but manifeste de cacher jusqu'à l'existence des infortunés récollets. Dans cette petite guerre publicitaire, la *Relation* de Paul Le Jeune inaugure, en 1632, la série annuelle qui va durer jusqu'en 1673.

Il y a, en outre, dans ces oeuvres, des mobiles politiques. Il faut intéresser le roi et les personnalités influentes de son entourage au sort de la colonie. Celle-ci est souvent en danger et réclame du secours et des renforts. Le grand nombre des délégations envoyées en France est la preuve de la difficulté qu'il y a à susciter un intérêt soutenu. Dans l'*Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* du Père Charlevoix, 1744, on peut lire (347) qu'en 1660, il ne venait aucun secours de France et que la colonie du Canada ne se soutenait plus que par une espèce de miracle. En effet, aux multiples attaques des Iroquois s'ajoutaient les ravages d'une maladie, sorte de coqueluche qui évoluait en pleurésie et frappait Français et sauvages. Déjà, en 1644, quand le Père Jogues revient à Québec, le Père Charlevoix nous dit (251) qu'il trouva les affaires de la Nouvelle France dans un état bien triste: "Ses chers Hurons étaient de toutes parts en proie aux Iroquois et depuis quelques temps, on ne recevait plus à Québec aucune nouvelle de leur Pays qui n'annonçât ou la défaite d'un parti ou la destruction d'une bourgade." On comprend dès lors pourquoi, dans son adresse à Louis XIV, en tête du volume, le Père François Ducreux insiste tant pour attirer l'attention du roi. Il lui dit qu'il s'agit de *Sa* Nouvelle France, de *Ses* Canadiens, qu'elle compte presque autant de saints que de chrétiens, que les paisibles Hurons se font massacrer et que, avant cinq ans, le nom de Français et de chrétien risque d'être arraché de ces rivages. Il faut des secours et des secours importants, ce qu'il exprime par une habile comparaison: "De même que quelques petites gouttes d'eau jetées sur du fer incandescent ne diminuent pas l'ardeur du feu mais l'augmentent, de même ces petites troupes (copiolae) n'apaisent pas la rage des Iroquois mais l'excitent plutôt." Il demande donc des troupes pour tirer vengeance de la perfidie des iroquois et préserver nos in-

térêts canadiens qui sont "et sacrae et politicae." Il répartit les rôles d'une façon qui montre bien que son *Histoire* s'intègre dans ce combat: "Pour moi, il suffit que je dise par mes écrits les malheurs de la nation canadienne, Toi, tu briseras par le fer l'obstination et la cruauté des Iroquois," et, dans une anticipation épique sur la conquête de l'ouest, il déclare au roi qu'ainsi le règne du Christ et le sien s'étendront jusqu'aux extrémités du couchant "là où aucun Européen n'a jamais pénétré." Il a été encouragé à entreprendre cette oeuvre "non uno moderatore nostrae Societatis suadente"[5] mais, dans sa préface, il exprime ses hésitations: ce ne sera pas un ouvrage d'histoire comme ceux auxquels on est habitué. Il n'y a pas place pour des ornements: discours militaires ou civils, descriptions de villes. Il n'y a ni villes ni palais ni aqueducs, seulement des forêts. Il parlera donc surtout des épreuves des pères jésuites, de la constance des catéchumènes et des néophytes à garder la foi. Enfin, il avoue, à la fin de la préface, qu'il écrit de seconde main puisqu'il évoque l'autorité et la sincérité "illorum a quibus quae scribo accepi." Le règne personnel de Louis XIV a commencé en 1661 et l'on dit que le jeune roi (il a vingt-trois ans) montre un vif intérêt pour les colonies; on comprend bien que François Ducreux, en 1663, se fasse insistant et s'efforce de capter l'attention du roi au bénéfice de cette terre de mission, vers laquelle il faut attirer des secours, des colons, et des dons.

Le tableau du Canada

En commençant le livre I, le Père Ducreux est perplexe. Il s'interroge: si tous les hommes descendent d'Adam et de l'arche de Noé, d'où vient que ces barbares aient l'esprit aussi "enténébré" qu'ils ignorent le Dieu très grand et très bon? Cependant, au plus profond de leur coeur, ils gardent une obscure opinion de la divinité, sous l'appellation de Manitou et Okki. Après quarante pages de développement historique qui retracent, à partir de 1625, l'évolution de la mission canadienne et les actions de Champlain, il rappelle que l'on espère encore trouver "per Canadenses vastitates" un passage "ad Iaponas Sinasque," mais il souligne surtout que si Champlain a des difficultés c'est à cause des Anglais, il parle de "perfidia Anglica" et des manoeuvres des protestants (*haeretici*) qui s'efforcent de propager leur foi. La solution qu'il préconise (11) est de renvoyer ces hérétiques (tolérés en vertu de l'édit de Nantes) et de les remplacer par des administrateurs "orthodoxes" (*orthodoxi administratores*). Après le récit édifiant du voyage du jeune Huron emmené en France et baptisé sous le prénom de Louis, il cite (15 et 16) les termes d'une lettre royale qui définit l'étendue de la juridiction des jésuites en Nouvelle France: "... frueretur societas per se suosque in perpetuum, tota Regione quae Nova Francia seu Canada dicitur, a Florida ad

[5] "Sur les conseils de plusieurs responsables de notre Société."

Circulum Arcticum usque, in latum, in longum, ab insula Terrae Novae, occasum versus, ad Magnum usque Lacum, vulgo mare dulce . . . timque Arce Kebeccensi . . . fluvio S. Laurentii, amnibusque ceteris, majoribus minoribusque; auri, argenti metallorumque ceterorum fodinis . . . "[6] On remarquera ici l'immensité du territoire ainsi délimité et l'évocation des mines d'or et d'argent rappelle le vieux rêve de l'or du Saguenay qui fut, en partie, déçu. Des détails pittoresques et réalistes sont certainement tirés des correspondances des jésuites, ainsi, pendant un des nombreux sièges de Québec en 1628, le ravitaillement se fait rare et les Français veulent pêcher des anguilles, fort nombreuses en ces lieux. Mais, les Canadiens (c'est-à-dire les Indiens) sont plus habiles et devancent les Français qui doivent faire appel à eux pour se ravitailler. Alors, les Indiens échangent les anguilles contre des peaux de bêtes et font notablement monter les cours. Puis, en 1629, la citadelle de Québec se rend et c'est alors que dans son livre, le Père Ducreux annonce qu'il va en venir à ce que doit y rechercher le lecteur: la présentation des lieux et des hommes: ". . . ad Naturalem Historiam descendamus locorum hominumque: quam partem a me in operis vestibulo requiri ab unoquoque legentium facile intelligo" (46).[7]

La description de la Nouvelle France reprend les limites indiquées dans la lettre royalle et énumère quelques régions: Acadia (l'Acadie), Soricii[8] (le pays des Souriquois: sauvages d'Acadie, appelés depuis Micmacs, selon le Père Charlevoix), Norembegia (la Nouvelle Angleterre), le Labrador et le Canada qui correspond aux régions qui se trouvent de part et d'autre du Saint-Laurent. Il décrit l'ampleur du golfe du Saint-Laurent et le fleuve dont la largeur se réduit vers Tadoussac, halte des grands navires qui n'allaient pas jusqu'à Québec et, quarante lieues plus loin: Québec. Il mentionne le décalage horaire: "le soleil de la vieille France se lève 4 ou 5 heures plus tôt" et la rigueur du climat. Le voyage de France dure deux mois mais l'on ne peut faire plus d'un aller et retour par an car le froid l'interdit. On ne peut partir avant avril et le retour doit être préparé pour atteindre les rivages de France au début d'octobre. C'est un pays de lacs et de fleuves qui connaît des brouillards épais et froids. Le soleil ne réchauffe pas la terre à cause de l'épaisseur des forêts et de la hauteur des arbres. Cette terre n'a jamais été labourée. Le développement sur la flore sera assez bref car il n'y a pratiquement pas de cultures, partout des bois et les arbres

[6] "La Société jouirait à jamais pour elle et les siens de toute la région que l'on nomme nouvelle France ou Canada, de la Floride au cercle arctique en largeur, en longueur de l'île de Terre Neuve au couchant jusqu'au grand lac appelé communément mer douce . . . et nommément de la citadelle de Québec . . . du fleuve Saint-Laurent et de toutes les autres rivières, des îles grandes et petites, des mines d'or, d'argent, et de tous les autres métaux."

[7] "Descendons à l'histoire naturelle des lieux et des hommes: cette partie dont je comprends facilement que chacun des lecteurs l'attende de moi au début de mon ouvrage."

[8] Si l'on se réfère à la carte du Canada qui illustre l'histoire du Père Ducreux, il y a aussi des Souriquois en Gaspésie.

sont des essences connues en Europe: chênes, hêtres, charmes, peupliers, cèdres, pins, sapins, noyers, mûriers, poiriers, pommiers, pruniers, noisetiers. Ils n'ont pas été plantés mais poussent spontanément.

La faune passionne beaucoup plus le narrateur qui entre dans les détails et souligne la très grande variété de poissons de lacs et de rivières: saumons, truites, carpes, brochets, perches, aloses, etc.... mais il consacre presque une page entière à un specimen rare, que les Indiens appellent *chaousarou* (50). Ce poisson, qui vit en groupes, est l'ennemi de tous les autres poissons. Gris cendré, il est recouvert d'écailles si dures et si serrées qu'on ne pourrait les percer, même avec un poignard, d'où son nom latin de *piscis armatus*. Sa tête est prolongée de longues mâchoires, qui lui permettent, en se cachant dans les roseaux de la rive, d'attraper même des oiseaux qui, sans méfiance, viennent s'y reposer. En outre, ses dents sont réputées pour supprimer la douleur si, comme les Indiens le pratiquent, on pique l'endroit douloureux avec l'une de ces dents jusqu'à ce que le sang coule. Ce passage du livre est important à un double titre: d'abord, pour la qualité de l'information. Ce poisson existe bien, c'est le *lépisostée osseux*, vulgairement "poisson armé." Il n'y en a plus que trois espèces en Amérique et une en Chine. C'est un poisson d'eau douce, commun dans le lac Champlain, le lac Saint-Louis et certaines parties du Saint-Laurent. Cette page est également révélatrice de la façon de procéder du Père Ducreux. En effet, il déclare que les anciens écrivains n'ont rien dit de lui parce qu'on le trouve seulement dans le lac des Iroquois.[9] S'il veut dire les écrivains de l'antiquité, à coup sûr, ils n'ont pu en parler compte tenu de la localisation géographique de ce poisson. Mais, le sujet étant original, on peut aussi penser que le Père Ducreux a voulu en garder le bénéfice car deux ouvrages canadiens, plus anciens que le sien, l'avaient mentionné. En effet, dans *Les voyages du sieur de Champlain, Xaintongeois, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la marine*, de 1613, on trouve (190)[10] la description du *chaousarou*, en français et presque dans les mêmes termes que celle de Ducreux en latin. De même, dans *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons* de Gabriel Sagard, 1632 (317) on retrouve le célèbre poisson.

Parmi les quadrupèdes, s'il énumère les ours, loutres, martres, il consacre tout son développement à deux animaux très typiques: l'*élan* du Canada (*alces*), communément appelé orignal au Québec, et le *castor* (*fiber*) (51–55). Après avoir décrit le pelage du castor, couleur châtaigne, sa queue sans poils et plate "comme une sole," ses pieds palmés, il déclare: "Ligno, quis credat? vescitur, maxime certarum arborum"[11] mais il hésite comme le montrait déjà le "quis credat?" et, sans jamais indiquer plus clairement ses

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[9] Le lac des iroquois est, selon les uns, le lac Ontario, selon les autres, le lac Champlain. Il semble qu'il s'agisse plutôt ici du lac Champlain.

[10] Père François Ducreux , *Les voyages du sieur de Champlain, xaintongeois, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la marine* (Paris: Berjon, 1613). En ce qui concerne ce poisson, cf. Claude Mélançon, *Les poissons de nos eaux* (Montréal: Granger, 1946), 48–49.

[11] "Il se nourrit, qui le croirait? du bois surtout de certains arbres."

sources, il présentera ensuite deux versions: "traditur a nonnullis lignorum struem congerere, unde hyeme se alat" et "negant tamen alii eo quidquam lignorum inferri, praeter ea quae ad aedificandum usui sunt: vesci eum iis ipsis ramusculis arborum vel quae ad fluviorum ripas assurgunt, vel quae in undis ipsis excrescunt."[12] Enfin, en se référant, toujours de façon anonyme, à des auteurs dignes de foi "vir fide dignissimus," "homines fide digni," il dit son admiration pour le travail du castor élevant des barrages et se construisant des refuges.

Quant à l'élan, on attribue des vertus médicinales à la corne de son sabot postérieur gauche, en particulier contre l'épilepsie mais aussi contre la pleurésie, les maux de tête, les vers, les coliques et les palpitations. Enfin, avec les moustiques, les mouches et les oiseaux simplement énumérés s'achève la partie consacrée à la faune.

A partir de la page cinquante-six, l'auteur concentre son récit sur "Indigenarum natura et mores," jusqu'à la fin du livre I. Il distingue, parmi eux, deux catégories, les nomades "vagi" et les sédentaires "stabiles." Ces derniers s'installent en villages, les autres passent l'hiver dans les forêts. Ils chassent et, l'été, ils établissent leur camp près des rivières pour y pêcher. Les femmes assument presque toutes les tâches: planter les tentes, transporter l'eau et le bois, entretenir le feu, faire cuire les aliments du jour et en fumer pour l'avenir, réparer les canots, faire avec les peaux de bêtes des vêtements et des chaussures pour toute la famille. Ce sont elles encore qui sont chargées de la pêche, en bref, les hommes ne se réservent que la chasse et la guerre. Les femmes ont aussi à s'occuper des enfants. Suit une étude des maladies et des méthodes thérapeutiques: il y a les maladies naturelles, les maladies psychosomatiques et celles qui sont dues à des maléfices. Les deux dernières catégories entraînent beaucoup de charlatanisme. Ces observations conduisent à une comparaison entre Canadiens et Européens pour en souligner les différences: coiffures surprenantes des Indiens, vêtements presque semblables pour les hommes et les femmes, bijoux, déroulement des repas, usage du calumet "tubus cum petuno seu tabaco," attitudes des danseurs, coutume de la dot que l'on donne au père, réactions aux plaisanteries, apparence physique, vêtements. Les enfants jouissent d'une grande liberté, les femmes s'occupent de tout le patrimoine mais sont tenues à l'écart des repas des hommes. Les Indiens sont courageux et gais mais très cruels envers leurs ennemis captifs. Ils sont voraces, intempérants et superstitieux. Le résumé de leurs croyances que donne le Père François Ducreux n'est pas sans rappeler d'autres religions ou mythologies comme la colombe de l'arche de Noé, la boîte de Pandore, la bataille entre deux jumeaux et le

[12] "Il est rapporté par certains qu'il rassemble un monceau de bois dont il se nourrit pendant l'hiver."

"D'autres cependant nient qu'il y apporte quoi que ce soit en fait de bois à l'exception de ceux qui lui servent pour ses constructions; il se nourrit des petits rameaux des arbres qui s'élèvent près des rives du fleuve ou qui poussent dans les eaux mêmes."

jésuite, qui connaît bien la littérature latine, évoque de lui-même Castor et Pollux ainsi que les Corybantes. Comme les Anciens, les indigènes croient à l'interprétation des songes et aux sorts et ils pratiquent les sacrifices. Les Hurons montrent une piété singulière envers leurs morts et leurs rites funéraires sont exposés avec précision dans les dix dernières pages du livre I.

Comment jugerons-nous cette Historia Canadensis?

Le contenu ne correspond pas réellement au titre car elle ne commence pas en 1534, ce qui serait légitime ou au moins en 1604 (date du premier établissement) et elle présente beaucoup plus l'histoire des missions des jésuites dans ces contrées et des guerres des Indiens entre eux ou avec les Français qu'une véritable histoire du Canada. Le récit est de seconde main. Les sources ne sont citées expressément que deux fois: 82 Paul Le Jeune et 86 Isaac Jogues, tous deux jésuites, le second appartenant, en outre, au groupe des "saints martyrs canadiens." Quand l'auteur se borne à dire "homines fide digni," on peut supposer qu'il s'agit de correspondances de jésuites non publiées et qu'il utilise pour sa documentation sans leur donner une publicité propre. Enfin, il y a les sources qu'il ne dit pas pour ne pas diminuer son mérite d'auteur: il a certainement lu Champlain et Sagard.

L'ouvrage est assez diffus dans sa composition. Il y a des digressions, des retours en arrière, des développements dont la longueur n'est pas toujours proportionnée à l'importance du sujet. Le style est bien coulant, c'est un latin assez classique, peut-être un peu abusivement surchargé de mots de liaison comme: *vero*, *porro*, *quidem*, *at*, *quippe* . . . Les noms propres y sont latinisés sans complication superflue, ainsi, de même que Ducreux est traduit en *Creuxius*, Champlain devient *Camplenius* et pour les lieux: Tadoussac devient *Tadossacum*, Québec, *Kebecca* ou *Arx Kebeccensis*.

Ce qui est le plus révélateur, c'est sans conteste, l'état d'esprit dans lequel l'ouvrage a été écrit. Il faut édifier et montrer que la gloire de Dieu doit pousser le roi de France à aider à l'évangélisation de ces régions, mais la présentation, qui en est faite, révèle, en plus, de la curiosité d'esprit et de la bienveillance. La curiosité se manifeste dans les descriptions détaillées illustrées de dessins dont nous ignorons à qui nous les devons. La bienveillance, dans ce qui est dit des indigènes. Certes, on parle de leur cruauté et de leur intempérance, on dit qu'ils croient à des sottises mais on ne les tourne pas en ridicule. Les différences qu'il y a entre eux et les Européens sont rapportées dans un esprit d'observation objective et révèlent un effort de compréhension, parfois même une certaine sympathie, peut-être aussi un peu de naïveté. Ce ne sont pas encore tout à fait de "bons sauvages," surtout parce qu'il y a les terribles Iroquois mais les Hurons sont paisibles, les Montagnais et les Algonquins indolents. Sans doute cela traduit-il l'esprit des lettres des jésuites et ce que l'on sait, pour l'essentiel, des rapports entre les Français et les Hurons ou les Souriquois-Micmacs en Acadie. Un siècle plus tard, le

Père Charlevoix, jésuite également, traduira l'état de ces relations avec les indigènes de façon peut-être un peu trop optimiste en écrivant: "Notre Nation est la seule qui ait eu le secret de gagner l'affection des Américains." (vij de l'avertissement). On peut dire de même que le Père François Ducreux décrit les sauvages qu'il désigne souvent par le nom de *Barbari* ou *Canadenses* avec une certaine affection, dictée bien sûr par la charité chrétienne mais aussi par le goût de la nature vierge: immenses forêts, terre non labourée, multitude de poissons et d'oiseaux, et un regard bienveillant sur ces enfants perdus qu'il faut ramener à Dieu.

Lyon

Adrianus Hecquetius Atrebatinus: a Carmelite and "the World Upside-Down"

INGRID A. R. DE SMET

The word "Reformation" generally calls to mind "big" names: Luther in pride of place, closely followed by Calvin and Zwingli, and, more on the humanists' front, names like Erasmus or Melanchthon. On the opposing side one might think of Thomas More or John Fisher. The name and career of Adrianus Hecquetius or Adrien Du Hecquet caught my attention when I was leafing through seventeenth-century literary who's-who's (such as Valerius Andreas's *Bibliotheca Belgica* of 1623 [enlarged edition 1643] and Franciscus Sweertius's *Athenae Belgicae* of 1628). It seemed to me that the entry on Hecquetius was one of several on "famous or noteworthy authors" of the Renaissance whose star has been eclipsed by the brighter lights of humanist celebrities. In his own time, however, Hecquetius seems to have been well known as a preacher and poet,[1] though later he was remembered above all as a "celeberrimus ecclesiastes."[2]

Although Hecquetius's name and writings continue to appear in biographical dictionaries, bibliographies, and several other reference books, modern scholarship has largely ignored him. There are only two articles which I would describe as "constructive." Both are by Gustave Charlier and the one is very much dependent on the other.[3] However interesting Char-

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[1] Hecquetius certainly presented himself as an "orator ac poeta clarissimus" in his *De capitibus Hydrae, deque aliis rebus vario argumento mixtis* (Antverpiae: G. Simon, 1557), fol. 25v.

[2] As in: *Speculum Carmelitanum sive Historia Eliani ordinis fratrum beatissimae virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo etc.* per R. Adm. Patrem F. Danielem a Virgine Maria Carmeli Flandro-Belgici Ex-provincialem & Historiographum, 2 vols. (Antverpiae: Michael Knobbarus, 1680) 2:1106 (no. 3923).

[3] Gustave Charlier, "Un Poème du seizième siècle sur les forgerons liégeois," *La Vie wal-*

lier's articles may be, they only make use of the writings of Hecquetius that are available in the Royal Library in Brussels, and concentrate on the Carmelite's vernacular poetry. I now intend to prove that Hecquetius's life and work, in both Latin and French, are fully influenced by the politico-religious troubles of his days and that it is well worth looking at his personality and literary output, in the light of the early Counter-Reformation.

a. Biography

I should first spend a few minutes on the life of the Carmelite, as most of the extant biographical accounts are not only rather elementary but often inaccurate as well, merely repeating the information provided by earlier reference books.

Hecquetius's biographers are unsure of his date of birth: Hecquetius was born in either 1510 or 1515, at present it is hard to say which. We are, on the other hand, quite well informed about his childhood and education if we collate the data which the author gives us in his various writings: letters, an epigram in honor of his father, and two fairly detailed and to some extent parallel poetic descriptions of his birthplace and youth, the one in French and the other in Latin.[4] From these various sources we learn precisely that Hecquetius was born on the night of the 29 to the 30 of September[5] (the year is not specified, which would have been more useful) in Crépy, near Lysbourg in Artois.[6] At the age of five, or slightly more, he was most probably orphaned and was sent or taken by his aunt[7] to nearby Lil-

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lonne 7 (1927–28): 279–86; and "L'Influence de la Pléiade: I. La Poésie" in *Histoire illustrée des lettres françaises de Belgique*, ed. Gustave Charlier and Joseph Hanse, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1958) 1:151–78 (151–53: "deux retardataires").

[4] Hardly any of this has been taken into account by compilers of the literary biographies mentioned above. The poem *Humble Crepi* in the *Orpheide* of 1562 (see n. 6) has been used as a biographical source by J. Périn in Didot's *Biographie Générale*, vol. 23 (Paris, 1858) s. v., and perhaps after Périn's example by Gustave Charlier. Neither seems to have been aware of the existence of the Latin "equivalent" in Hecquetius's *Peripetasma Argumentorum* of 1564. Despite the inevitable use of literary topoi we may regard both poems as fairly reliable sources since they do not clash with data drawn from other epigrams, letters, etc. The MS from the Bibliothèque de la ville d'Arras, mentioned by Périn as "P. Ignace, *Additions* aux *Mémoires et Recueils du diocèse d'Arras*, t. IV, 636, 639, 642 et 665" amongst his sources, has been lost in a fire.

[5] Adrianus Hecquetius, *Peripetasma Argumentorum insignium, opus non minus frugiferum, quam mira facundia elegans* (Lovanii: Ioannes Bogardus, 1564) sub "Miscellanea disticorum et epigrammatum," epigram "Author de Nativitate sua qua fuit ea nocte quae media est inter Michaelis festum et Hieronymi." (fol. gg7r).

[6] *Orpheide. Oeuvre excellent et singulier contentenant plusieurs Chantz Royaux, Ballades, notables inventions & matieres d'honneur & Vertu* (Anvers: Amé Tavernier, 1562), livre second, fol. 104v: "Du lieu de ma naissance en Arthois, lequel laissant en ma premiere ieunesse vins demeurez a Lillers, & puis en la ville d'Arras chieue dudit Artois," first line: "Humble Crepi tu m'a produitz au monde."

[7] *Peripetasma argumentorum*, fols. Ee1–2: "sed eo in loco [i.e. Crispiacum, or Crépy] vix pri-

lers to stay "entre amis."[8] Barely twelve years old, Adrianus was taken unwillingly ("invitus")[9] to Arras "ou demeuray long temps."[10] His epithet "d'Arras," or "Atrebatinus" (sometimes "Atrebatensis") thus refers to the place where he lived in his teens and not to his place of birth, as it has often wrongly been interpreted. Hecquetius himself acknowledged the discrepancy: "Et pour raison que la [i.e., in Arras] fis ma demeure, / Tiltre d'Arras encores me demeure."[11] In his publications, however, the epithet would consistently be linked with a reference to his being a Carmelite monk there. When describing his birthplace, Crépy, and his childhood, the Carmelite Hecquetius invariably becomes lyrical and melancholic, but, for all the topoi of nostalgia,[12] he reveals something of his true personality in these poems. One might say that, for one moment, the monk takes off his hood and reflects on his childhood emotions, as in these lines:

> Nam socios liquisse meos nidumque parentum
> Heu grauis hæc animo res fuit una meo.[13]

Hecquetius must have entered the Carmelite order in the monastery of Arras[14] in exactly those years when the presence of *luthériens* was first noted in the towns of Lille and Douai, as well as Arras itself, and fierce measures were taken against them.[15] There and then it is probable that the young, transplanted monk was impregnated with a profound dislike for any kind of reform, upheaval or heterodoxy, a dislike which would characterize him for the rest of his life.

As far as his formal education is concerned, Hecquetius tells us that he

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mos emiseram vagitus plane adhuc tenellus infans cum humanissimae cuiusdam amitae meae . . . iussu, iuxta Lilerium delatus sum, nimirum in arce(m) quae olim ut nunc quoq(ue) Relingium dicta est." Though the prose text mentions his "amita" or his father's sister, the poem which follows (*Nascitur exiguo*) features the term "matertera" (*metri causa*?) or his mother's sister.

[8] *Humble Crepi*, v. 39; cf. *Nascitur exiguo*, v. 5.

[9] *Nascitur exiguo*, v. 10.

[10] *Humble Crepi*, v. 42.

[11] *Humble Crepi*, vv. 45–46.

[12] The description of his native region, especially in *Humble Crepi*, bears many characteristics of a "locus amoenus." At times, though, this poem verges on banal versification (e.g., the opening verses: "Humble Crepi tu m'a produitz au monde / Ie dis au val qui de larmes abunde").

[13] *Nascitur exiguo*, vv. 11–12.

[14] It may be noted that the Carmelite order had not yet undergone the reform which would lead to the "sub-order" of the discalced Carmelites. Hecquetius must have been at the Carmelite monastery, presently a *lycée*, located in the former Rue Saint-Jean-(en-)Ronville, now Rue Gambetta.

[15] *Histoire d'Arras* ed. P. Bougard, Y.-M. Hilaire and A. Nobilos, Collection Histoire des villes du Nord-pas-de-Calais, vol. 10 (Dunkerque, 1988), 105: "Les idées de Luther pénétrèrent aux Pays-Bas par Tournai, dont les marchands entretenaient d'étroites relations avec l'Allemagne. La présence de 'luthériens' (ainsi appelait-on tous ceux qui étaient soupçonnés d'hérésie) fut signalée à Lille en 1521, à Douai en 1523, à Arras en 1525."

studied "grammatica" for three years in Enghien,[16] a small town, then boasting a Latin school, in Hainaut; no dates can be attached to this schooling nor as to when the monk went to study in Paris, which he did on two occasions.[17] However his name appears in the records of the University of Louvain as being enrolled in October 1555.[18] At Louvain the monk became a "baccalaureus Theologiae." In 1552 and 1554 he was apparently back in Arras[19] only to return to Louvain by 1557.[20] The Carmelite's name can be found, with the date of 1 October 1559, in the matriculation lists of the University of Cologne,[21] where he took the doctorate in theology.[22]

In between his periods of study, so Hecquetius informs Robert de Berghes in a letter, he was appointed as a preacher to the château of the noble family of "Melun," the *princes d'Epinoy*, in Antoing, and to the château of Le Roeulx which was in the hands of the "de Croij" family. Both Antoing and Le Roeulx are in the bishopric of Tournai, in Hainaut, not so far from the region where he was born. For a while, the Carmelite monk continues in his letter, he was also attached to the Brussels court of the duchess of Milan and Lorraine, where he was assigned to preach to the duchess's daughters.[23] The "domina vidua ducis Mediolanensis ac Lotharingiensis" must be identified as the beautiful niece of Charles V and teenage widow of the duke of Milan Francesco Sforza (died 1535), Christine of Denmark (1521–1590), who in 1541 had married François (I) *duc de Lorraine et de Bar*. After the death of François of Lorraine in 1545, Christine

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[16] *Nascitur exiguo*, vv. 17–18: "Angia, floridulis quæ tu(n)c erat apta Camoenis/ Annis Grammatica me tribus instituit."

[17] *Nascitur exiguo*, v. 21. Hecquetius's first publication, *Compendiosa Expugnatorum Hæreseon Laus*, was printed in Paris in 1549 (I have not seen a copy of this work).

[18] A. Schillings, ed., *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, vol. IV, février 1528–février 1569 (Brussels, 1961), 523 (no. 41.)

[19] *L'Enseignement des paroisses contentant familieres concions des Evangiles de tous les dimenches* [*sic*] *de l'an* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1562), Seconde partie: letters to Antoine Perrenot and to "circumspectissimi catholicarum parochiarum pastores" dated from Arras respectively on the 29 and the 28 of September 1554; see L. Voet and J. Voet-Grisolle, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam: van Hoeve, 1980–83), 3: no. 1304.

[20] *Expositions sus [sic] les epistres de tous les dimenches de l'an* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1562), dedicatory letter to Antoine Perrenot, dated from Louvain on 29 August 1557; see L. Voet, *The Plantin Press*, 3: no. 1305. Hecquetius was in Louvain on three occasions according to *Nascitur exiguo*, v. 21.

[21] *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, Vierter Band 1559–1675 vorbereitet von H. Keussen, bearbeitet von U. Nyassi und M. Wilkes, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, vol. 8 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1981), 682 (no. 132).

[22] Letters added to *Peripetasma argumentorum* and *Enarrationes locupletissimae atque insigniter doctae in omnia quadragesimae totius evangelia* (Paris: Oliva Petri l'Huillier, 1570), fol. 300ff.

[23] Letter to Robert de Berghes dated "Lovanij. Anno 1557. 20. [*sic*] Calend. Feb.," in *De Capitibus hydrae, deque aliis rebus vario argumento mixtis, libri duo* (Antverpiae: G. Simonis, 1557), Liber secundus, fols. 31v–33v.

was left with a son, Charles, and two daughters, Renée and Dorothée. The latter two must be the "generosissimas Principes eius filias" of Hecquetius's letter.[24]

In the late 1560s, but certainly by November 1569,[25] Hecquetius became prior of his Carmelite monastery in Arras, where he is said to have died in 1580. Not much is known about these last years of his life, though further research, especially into the archives of Lille and perhaps Tournai, might reveal more evidence.

b. Hecquetius and the Counter-Reformation

It is not an easy task to assess the rôle of Hecquetius in the early Counter-Reformation, due to a lack of independent sources. The Carmelite does not, at any rate, appear to have been one of the protagonists, although he was constantly, as we shall see, in their shadow. His publications seem to have been the most important vehicle for his advocacy of the Catholic church. The *Scaena rerum multarum inversa*[26] (hence the subtitle of this paper: "the world upside-down") describes with a great display of erudition how the world has changed and moved away from true faith, before turning into an invective against the heresies of Luther and others. His *De Capitibus Hydrae*, to name another example, contains seven poems which compare Luther, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Bucer, Melanchthon, and Wiclef to the seven heads of the "hydra" which held the Christian world in its grip. As soon as one head was cut off, another was bound to spring up. Only by fire could the monster be conquered. Hecquetius here employs an image which Catholic polemicists had used for Luther and which Protestants had used for the pope,[27] but applies it to the Reformation in general. Hecquetius's description of Luther, the first of the seven "capita," is vivid and merciless:

> Hoc caput est Hydrae, arbitror, è iusto ordine primum,
> Quo surgunt stimulis cornua acuta suis.

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[24] See De la Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, 3rd ed., 19 vols. (Paris: Schlesinger, 1868), 12: cols. 396–97 (nos. XX–XXI) and C. F. Bricka, ed., *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, vol. 3 (Kjøbenhavn: Gydendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1889), s.v. Christine.

[25] The *epistola dedicatoria* in the *Enarrationes locupletissimae* (Paris, 1570) is signed "F. Hadrianus Hecquetius Atrebatinus Carmelita doctor theologus et Carmelitarum Atrebatensium Prior" and dated Arras, 2 November 1569.

[26] *Scaena rerum multarum inversa, idque potissimum quantum ad corruptissimos quorumndam mortalium mores attinet.* Authore fratre Adriano Hecquetio Atrebatino, Carmelita, Theologiae Baccalaureo (Antverpiae: Ioannes Bellerus, 1556, 2nd ed., 1557).

[27] See e.g., Gotthelf Wiedermann, "Cochlaeus as a polemicist" in P. N. Brooks, ed., *Seven-Headed Luther: Essays in Commemoration of a Quincentenary 1483–1583* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 195–205, as well as the illustrations reproduced in the same volume.

Auriculas asini, rictum suis, osque leonis,
Linguam, oculosque caput, tigridis, istud habet.
Sulfureos putri suffundit gutture fumos,
Per quos, heu, trahitur pestis et atra lues:
Hic est scismaticus, fidei infensissimus hostis,
Omnia conculcat iura recepta pede.[28]

And he exhorts Melanchthon to channel his humanist skills to the benefit of the Catholic church:

An satis est, si linguam habeas et labra Melancton?
Si scriptis veterem pingis Aristotelem?
Si de Rhetorica promas ex arte colores?
Si doceas quid sit dicere composite?
O Caecum caput, ad melius quin flectis ocellos,
Si quos in torua fronte superbus habes?
Respice Romanam sedem, normasque parentum,
Christicolae passim quas tenuere diu.[29]

Not only in Latin did the Carmelite versify his anti-Protestant feelings, but in the vernacular as well:

Ce m'est tout un, or soit qu'un Luther rie
Rire me faut, quand j'oy la Lutherie,
Car je ne vois en tout Lutheriens
Lutherient en flutte, orgue, ou luct, riens.[30]

To commemorate, however, his own five-hour interrogation, on 6 April 1557, of Anabaptists imprisoned at Antwerp, Hecquetius composed a poem, which he added at the very end of the *De capitibus Hydrae*.[31] This interrogation may indicate a more *active* involvement of the Carmelite in the Counter-Reformation, albeit on a local scale, but more research would be required.

c. Hecquetius and his contemporaries

We tread on safer ground when looking into the academic and political environment in which the Carmelite is to be situated. Hecquetius seems to have known (or to have endeavored to know) many important politicians, especially if they were men of the cloth themselves. I have already touched

[28] *De capitibus Hydrae*, fol. 8v.

[29] Ibid., fol. 20r–v (caput sextum).

[30] "Masque des Lutheriens," vv. 1–4 in *Orpheide. OEuvre excellent et singulier* (Anvers: Amé Tavernier, 1562), fol. 71v. On the *Orpheide* see below.

[31] The collection of epigrams in the *Peripetasma argumentorum* contains a (different) poem on the Anabaptist movement, titled: "Anabaptistarum secta nihil pestilentius ac seditiosius" (fol. ff 5r).

upon his preaching-posts with the families of Melun and de Croij, from which he must have kept influential contacts. The most prominent dedicatee of Hecquetius's writings was Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), the influential minister of Charles V and bishop of Arras, who appears to have acted as a patron to the Carmelite. Apart from Granvelle, Hecquetius prided himself on the sympathy extended to him by several prelates amongst whom is worth mentioning Louis de Blois or Blosius (1506–1566), the abbot of Liessies. Blosius was renowned for his interest in spiritual reform within Catholic monasticism.[32] Hecquetius himself hastened to highlight such relations in a letter, already mentioned above, with which he sought the patronage of another grandee, Robert de Berghes, the "coadiutor" to the bishop of Liège who was about to become prince-bishop of Liège himself.[33]

At Louvain University, Hecquetius was on friendly terms with the famous humanist Petrus Nannius or Pieter Nanninck. It is noteworthy that Nannius was made a canon of Arras cathedral, probably through the patronage of the powerful Granvelle.[34] Appended to the *Scaena rerum multarum inversa*, Hecquetius published a rather cordial letter which he had sent to Nannius from Arras in 1552, as well as Nannius's response to it. Both letters have hitherto been unknown. When Nannius died on 21 June 1557, the Arrageois Carmelite composed an epitaph of nine elegiac distichs for him. The version which Amedée Polet quotes (from secondary sources) in his monograph on Nannius, however, differs slightly from the one published by Hecquetius himself in his *Peripetasma argumentorum*.[35] The fact that the author's own version was not known to Polet may be an illustration of how Hecquetius and his work had sunk into oblivion.

Hecquetius can also be connected with the Flemish jurist Josse de Damhouder (1507–1581). Apart from a dedication in the *De Capitibus Hydrae*, the relation between the two men manifests itself above all in the poems of Hecquetius which were added to the legal publications of De Damhouder. Hecquetius's epigram in praise of De Damhouder's *Praxis Rerum Criminalium*[36] would appal many a modern reader with its lugubrious enumeration of various corporal punishments, but it seems to be in line with the Carmelite's attitude towards Lutherans, Anabaptists and other heretics, who were per-

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[32] See F. Vandenbroucke, "Blois (Louis de), ou Blosius" in *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, vol. 31 (Brussels: Bruylant, 1962), cols. 86–93.

[33] Letter of 1557 published in *De capitibus Hydrae*.

[34] A. Polet, *Une Gloire de l'humanisme belge: Petrus Nannius 1500–1557* (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1936), 25.

[35] *Peripetasma argumentorum* (ed. 1564), "Funera illustria," fol. P3r: "Nanio mihi olim amico vere candido epitaphium denegare non placuit. Itaque nostrum hoc breuiusculum gratitudinis ergo, ponimus, is fuit canonicus Atrebatensis."

[36] Iodocus Damhouderius, *Praxis rerum criminalium, elegantissimis iconibus ad materiam accommodis illustrata* (Antverpiae: Ioannes Latius, 1556), fol. A5r.

ceived as having totally upset the order of the world and turned it topsy-turvy.

d. Hecquetius's work and its literary qualities: some remarks

Finally, I would like to make a few remarks on Hecquetius as a *literator*. Even though many of his books have known two or more editions, copies remain fairly rare, and some of his writings may well be lost completely. Except for a few religious works which are mostly sermon-handbooks for preachers and works of spiritual guidance, what all his publications have in common is that they are of varied contents and form. The *Scaena rerum multarum inversa,* for example, features an alternation of prose and verse passages, which some *might* be inclined to call Menippean. The author is clearly aware of this "unusual" form which breaks with the classical dichotomy between prose and verse, and finds it necessary to invoke the authority of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae.*[37]

The variety in contents can often be explained by the fact that Adrianus Hecquetius found his inspiration "ex tempore," on the spur of the moment. He then bundled several writings into one volume, sometimes with curious results. The *Peripetasma argumentorum* thus forms a remarkable collection of religious essays, and discourses on superstition and paganism, on love and marriage, and so on. The work also contains historical anecdotes (all commencing with the word "vidi"), "facetiae," and miscellaneous epigrams. The chapter on "Funera illustria potissimum eruditorum" plays on the "ubi sunt?" theme and discusses the famous and learned men who have departed from this vale of tears. The prose is again interspersed with verse passages, more often than not epitaphs like the one for Petrus Nannius mentioned above, including one for Saint John Fisher,[38] and a Greek epitaph for Martinus Dorpius.[39] For Juan Luis Vives Hecquetius composed the following distich where he cannot resist laboring a pun on his name:

> Æternum vivax ut vivat in æthere Vives
> Qui vitae fons est vividus, oro velit.[40]

Of his publications in French, the *Chariot de l'année* is by many bibliographers supposed to be a work of great interest, describing the religious feasts of the four seasons of the year. Unfortunately I have not been able to locate a copy of this work, if any still exist. Nevertheless, of the *Orphéide,* two copies are known, one in the Royal Library in Brussels[41] and one in the Arse-

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[37] *Scaena rerum multarum inversa* (edition of Antwerp, 1557), fol. A4r.

[38] *Peripetasma* (ed. 1564), fol. O8v.

[39] Ibid., fol. P3r.

[40] Ibid., fol. P2v.

[41] *Orpheide. oeuvre excellent et singulier contenant plusieurs Chantz Royaux, Ballades, notables inventions*

nal[42] in Paris. The *Orphéide* is not an epic as one might possibly deduce from the title, but a collection of *chants royaux*, *ballades* and various other poems. The choice of title for such a collection may seem curious. Indeed, in an initial poem on this very matter, Hecquetius is at pains to justify it.[43] He denies any parallel with the *Aeneid* in order to stress that Orpheus (the archetype of the inspired poet) is reflected not in the subject matter of his poetry but rather in its mellifluous *douceur*. Gustave Charlier condemned the traditionalism and moralizing attitude in the poems of this collection and categorized Hecquetius as a late example of the school of *Grands Rhétoriqueurs*.[44] Indeed, Hecquetius himself expressed his sympathies for Jean Molinet, Jean Lemaire de Belges, Guillaume Crétin, and even Clément Marot in the "Epistre Nuncupatoire" of the *Orphéide*,[45] at the same time criticizing Pierre de Ronsard and Théodore de Bèze. He reproached de Bèze with "ordes heresies," ugly heresies, and criticizes Ronsard for his classicizing and latinate use of the French language:

> On sent Ronsart plein de chardons et poinctes
> Et du Latin ses muses trop près joinctes.[46]

Two years later, however, Hecquetius published a laudatory Latin epigram, "Ad Ronsardum poetam versibus gallicis celebrem," in the *Peripetasma argumentorum* of 1564. Here he seems to have forgotten his earlier stylistic reservations, swayed above all by the substance and power of Ronsard's anti-Protestant poems:

> Ut tua terribili pugnaret fulmine Musa.
> Iratosque dares, legis amore, modos.
> Schismatis impatiens, sed carmine clarus Apollo
> Adversus saevos te dedit haereticos.[47]

Thus it transpires that Hequetius's conservatism manifests itself in two ways. On the one hand, his preference for the native school of Marot over the radical classicizing reforms of Ronsard and the Pléiade, which for him appear to have constituted a sort of an esthetic upheaval. On the other hand,

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et matieres d'honneur et vertu. Autheur Frere Adrien du Hecquet de L'ordre des Carmes du convent [*sic*] d'Arras, Docteur en Theologie, (Anvers: Amé Tavernier, 1562), Class-mark: Livres Précieux. II-22417.

[42] Class-mark: 8° BL 8840.

[43] *Orphéide*, fol. 7r.

[44] Charlier, "Un Poème du seizième siècle sur les forgerons liégeois," 280, and "L'Influence de la Pléiade: I. La Poésie," 152.

[45] *Orphéide*, fol. 6r. The same admiration for Molinet, Marot and Lemaire can be found in *Peripetasma argumentorum* (under "Faceta et iocosa," "Ad Lectorem"), fol. aa4r–v.

[46] *Orphéide*, ibid.

[47] *Peripetasma* (1564), Epigrammata, fol. e5v.

as we have seen, it manifests itself in his politico-religious conservatism which thus, paradoxically, made him sympathetic, at least in the end, to Ronsard. What is clear is that, in the eyes of the Carmelite, anything new was by definition suspect.

In all, neither the form nor the contents of Hecquetius's work are to be regarded as innovative and original, but this should not mean that the Carmelite deserves the obscurity which has been his share for the last three hundred years. If we bear in mind that Hecquetius's work inevitably testifies to his interrupted childhood, to his monkhood, to his loyalty to the Catholic church, and to his malaise in the face of a rapidly changing world, then it is possible to appreciate at least some of the fruits of his pen. The task which now lies before us is: *ex Hecquetii stercore aurum legere.*

St. John's College, Cambridge

The Use of Latin on Maps in the Great Age of Exploration

O. A. W. DILKE

Maps have, ever since Babylonian and Egyptian times, been liable to contain writing. In the case of thematic maps, the necessity to explain is often greater. The Egyptian papyrus in the Museo Egizio, Turin,[1] was almost certainly intended for presentation at a legal hearing about some mining dispute in the area between the Nile and the Red Sea. What more natural, therefore, than that it should contain explanations such as "the hills where the gold comes from are drawn in red on the plan"?

From the early Roman empire we have specimen instructions for wording on survey maps. In the Corpus Agrimensorum we find sample phrases such as FVNDVS SEIANVS CONCESSVS LVCIO MANILIO SEI FILIO,[2] "farm owned by Seius and managed by Lucius Manilius son of Seius," the names being legal generalizations. We do not know if the original (ca. AD 350) of the Peutinger Table contained comments, but some of those surviving may be taken to be Christian, e.g., *desertum ubi quadraginta annis erraverunt filii Israelis ducente Moyse.*[3]

In the fifth century AD, when Latin was still the official language of both halves of the Roman Empire, we have the dedication only, unfortunately, to Theodosius II, emperor of the East, of a map,[4] probably revised from Agrippa's lost map published under Augustus. The Latin is in hexameters,

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[1] A. F. Shore in J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography* (Chicago, 1987), 1: 121–25; G. Goyon, "Le papyrus de Turin dit 'Des mines d'or' et le Wadi Hammamat," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* 49 (1949): 337–92.

[2] C. Thulin, ed., *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* (1913; repr. 1971), 1: 160; part of the wording appears in figs. 123 and 123a.

[3] K. Miller, *Die Peutingersche Tafel* (Stuttgart; repr. 1962), Section 9.5; E. Weber, ed., *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324* (Graz, 1976).

[4] O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London, 1985), 169–70.

including two cretics for dactyls, and contains the line *supplices hoc famuli, dum scribit pingit et alter*; so the writing was done by one scribe, the painting of the maps simultaneously, so it is claimed, by the other. One may wonder whether Agrippa's map likewise contained a hexameter introduction. The sixth-century Madaba mosaic map[5] has numerous Greek captions explaining biblical references. Medieval Latin world maps vary from the simple tripartite T-O, often containing no wording except *Europa Africa Asia*, to very complicated ones, like the Hereford World Map (ca. 1275).[6] On its surrounds the purpose, among other things, is to explain, to the best of Richard of Haldingham's ability, the sources of the map going back over 1,000 years. That he, like many others in western Europe, should have turned to Latin for the wording and for most of the explanation of his map was a natural consequence of the predominance of the Church. David Woodward comments:[7] "The primary purpose of these *mappaemundi* . . . was to instruct the faithful about the significant events in Christian history rather than to record their precise locations."

What was needed, however, to act as an incentive to long-distance exploration was not such a *mappaemundi* but the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geographike Hyphegesis*[8] (manual of geography), usually known in Renaissance Latin as *Geographia* or less correctly *Cosmographia*. If we may guess from the disappointment of Maximus Planudes in finding, at Constantinople in 1295, only a manuscript without maps,[9] it seems likely that he and others reconstructed the maps which had clearly existed. Ptolemy was not the sort of writer to insert miscellaneous comments, such as he could give in his text if necessary, on maps, so that, for example, the splendidly produced Codex Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 82 is likely in this and many other respects to be similar to whatever maps may have existed almost up to the time of his search. Its map of the *oikumene* as known to Ptolemy has only, in addition to placenames, tribes, etc., the usual geographical features (equator, tropics, Arctic circle, etc.), latitudes, longitudes, maximum daylight hours, and *climata* (i.e.,

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[5] H. Donner and H. Cuppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1977); M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem, 1954).

[6] G. R. Crone, *The World Map by Richard of Haldingham in Hereford Cathedral* (London, 1954); Crone, "New Light on the Hereford Map," *Geographical Journal* 131 (1965): 447–62. The great bulk of the wording is in Latin; but there are also six lines of French verse, which look from the totally unmetrical line 4—"De Richard de Haldingham e de Lafford ayt pite"—like the pirating of verse designed for a different name.

[7] Harley and Woodward, *History*, 1:286. Advocates of crusades, such as Marin Sanudo the elder (fl. 1321), turned not to such *mappaemundi* but to portolan maps and to maps of the Holy Land.

[8] J. Fischer, ed., *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas Graecus 82* (Leiden and Leipzig, 1932), Tomus Prodromus; L. Bagrow, "The Origin of Ptolemy's Geographia," *Geografiska Annaler* 27 (1945): 318–87.

[9] C. Wendel, "Planudes, Maximos," in Pauly, *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 20. 2 (1950), cols. 2202–53.

belts of latitude).[10] When over a century later Ptolemy's *Geography* came to be translated into Latin, the same procedure was followed, since the object of Jacobus Angelus and his Florentine friends was not to change the format of the *Geography* but to make it available to a wider public.[11] The first Latin Ptolemy maps came out in 1415, but it was only from 1477, with the first printed editions, that they could reach a large public.[12] No one could guess that some fifty editions of the *Geography* would appear within the next few generations.

At the same time that this rediscovery, translation, and expansion of Ptolemy atlases was taking place, portolan maps too were being accommodated to good use.[13] These relied on the compass and rhumblines, and originally concentrated on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Since they were designed in the first place mainly for taking on board ship, it did not follow that they contained any Latin, though a fair number do. But this was not necessarily as polished Latin as we find in most of the editions of Ptolemy or in maps doubtfully attributed to other geographical writers of antiquity. Thus Petrus Vesconte (or Vessconte, as he illogically preferred) did not call himself *Genuensis* but *de Janua*, and he made his map not *Venetiae* but *in Venecia*. At least he correctly writes *anno*, whereas Mecia de Viladestes[14] writes *in ano MCCCCXIII*. We find portolan maps in a variety of languages, including Turkish for Piri Reis (1513). Where the area covered is not confined to the Mediterranean and Black Sea, sources are liable to be more widespread. Thus the Catalan portolan map in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena,[15] dating to ca. 1450, has all its captions in Catalan except for the Canary Islands. There the caption is in Latin, indicating a different source probably much older than those for West Africa.

The Portuguese atlas in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, known from its previous owner as the Miller atlas,[16] contains not only rhumblines but wild animals, savages, shrines, ships, and numerous captions. Madagascar and adjacent islands are included as part of what is called PELAGVS INDICVS (read INDICVM). A caption headed *Insule diui Laurentii* continues:

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[10] Facsimile in Fischer, vol. [2]. ii.

[11] Ibid., Tomus Prodromus i. 205–8; Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 161.

[12] Bologna, 1477; Rome, 1477–78; facsimiles edited by R. A. Skelton in the series *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Amsterdam, 1963, 1966).

[13] Tony Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in Harley and Woodward, *History* 1:371–463; A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, English translation (Stockholm, 1897).

[14] Known as a compass-maker in 1401; portolan charts from 1413.

[15] K. Kretschmer, "Die katalanische Weltkarte der Biblioteca Estense zu Modena," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 32 (1897): 65–111, 191–218, map opposite p. 110; O. A. W. Dilke and Margaret S. Dilke, "The Catalan World Map at Modena," *The Map Collector* 53 (Winter 1990): 15–19.

[16] For this and following examples, see M. Mollat du Jourdin and Monique de la Roncière, *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers* (London, 1984), 219–38, Pls. 30–34, 37, 55, 57.

> Haec omnium qu(a)e in toto mari sunt insularum maxima censetur amaumethanis culta et habita, qui nullis omnino subiacent regibus. Eadem argenti, sandalorum, gariophylorum atque omnium denique aromatum fertillissima [double l] est.

In his southeast sector, the maker of the Miller atlas has misspellings as well as a wrong gender in PELAGVS INDICVS. But his note taken from other maps is in correct Latin, only lacking punctuation between the two sentences: "Hic lapis gignitur Herculeus obque hoc navigia qu(a)e clauos ferreos habent detinentur harum incolae anthropophagi sunt." In the next sector east, the caption by the left margin reads: "Ante et post Taprobanam multitudo est insularum quas dicunt esse numero milessimo trecentessimo septuagessimo (*sic*) octauo, quorum tamen nomina traduntur hae sunt." Apart from the misspellings, he should have given cardinal, not ordinal numbers. Purely local comments are given in Portuguese, but Latin plays a greater part than, for example, in the Spanish map of Diogo Ribeiro (1529), derived from the official and secret *padrón real* constantly updated in Seville: in that map the headlines are all in Spanish.

The earliest known cartographer of the famous Dieppe school, Jean Rotz or Rose (fl. 1542), was the son of a Scottish nobleman and used English for his main topographical entries. Later chartmakers from Dieppe, Arques, and Brest, including Guillaume Le Testu, the most famous of this school, used exclusively French. Some poor Latin comes from the Portuguese Andreas Homem (1559), who spells YNCOGNITA and YNSVLIS beginning with a *y*, has MARE ARGENTEI [*sic*] east of Brazil, MARE DE SANCTI LAVRENTI (apparently) southeast of Madagascar, and PRESTE YOANIS ABASIA for *Presbyter Ioannes ab Asia*. On the map of the Cretan Georgio Sideri known as Calapoda (1565), a curious macaronic Latin and Italian appears, e.g., *monti* (pl.) *Tartarum*; and he signs thus: "Georgio Sideri dicto [sic] Calapoda Cretensis fecit nel anno domini," etc. We may conclude this section with the more elegant bilingual Latin-Dutch title and contents of Willem Barentszoon's chart of the Mediterranean, based on a fourteenth-century portolan.[17] Its Latin title has a good Greek compound adjective "Thalassographica tabula totius maris Mediterranei, necnon Atlantici," etc.

By contrast with this tremendous mixture of languages and often incorrect Latin, the other mainstream of mapping in the great age of exploration consisted of atlases or individual maps based or said to be based on Graeco-Roman maps or deriving their information more from them than from the portolan tradition. Of the ancient works so used, the *Geographike Hyphegesis* of Ptolemy was by far the commonest. But an incipit map of the *De cosmographia* of Pomponius Mela by Pirrus de Noha,[18] in a Vatican manuscript, belongs

[17] A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*, English translation (Stockholm, 1889; repr. New York, 1973), 39, fig. 21.

[18] Harley and Woodward, *History*, 1:Pl. 19.

to the period immediately following Angelus's translation (ca. 1407). Its caption below the map gives the length of the world *secundum tholomeum* as *centum octuaginta gradus*, a known medieval variant for *octoginta*, and its width as *octuaginta gradus*, an approximation to Ptolemy's 79°25′. It also has Ptolemaic coastal features such as the enclosed Indian Ocean and the shape of the Persian Gulf. Maps were likewise included in editions of Strabo, Macrobius, Orosius, and other ancient writers. As to Ptolemy,[19] he was accorded a scholarly reverence almost second to Aristotle, and his work continued to serve the needs of succeeding generations. However, the problem soon arose as to how to adjust Ptolemaic cartography based on the ancient *oikumene* to the contemporary world, knowledge of which was constantly increasing owing to successive waves of maritime exploration. Only one editor of Ptolemy, Bernardus Sylvanus (Venice, 1511) thought it appropriate, even with partial data, to change Ptolemaic textual coordinates of latitude and longitude so as to correspond with the known topographical features. Others either edited maps of the original *oikumene* or parts of it or added whatever *tabulae novae* they chose.

It is fitting that, as the earliest known explorers of Atlantic crossings operated in the North, the earliest map extending the world known to Ptolemy should likewise be in that area. The first *tabula nova* appended to a Ptolemy Latin manuscript atlas was as early as 1427, drawn by the Dane Claudius Clavus.[20] A copy in the Public Library of Nancy is headed *Europe tabula XI*. For regional, as opposed to world mapping, Ptolemy had favored an orthogonal projection, and this map, conforming to that tradition, comprises two rectangles. The west rectangle contains north Britain, with Ptolemy's incorrect orientation of Scotland; also Ireland, Orkney, west Norway, Iceland, and Greenland (*Gronlandia provincia*), which is attached to northern Europe by a long strip of land. Based as it is on early Viking exploration, the map includes the earliest part of America whose mapping has survived, a chronological priority probably not even affected by the question whether the Vinland map is a forgery or not.

Most of the later *tabulae novae* were of lands more familiar to inhabitants of central and southern Europe. Rather then concern ourselves with these, we may celebrate the 500th anniversary of a non-Ptolemaic map known as the Eichstätt map, designed to link these areas with some of the less developed parts of Europe. The famous cardinal Nicholas of Cusa[21] (Bernkastel-Kues) was responsible, among other geographical enterprises, for this very early printed map, dated 21 July 1491, showing central Europe in trape-

[19] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 154–66; Dilke, "Latin Interpretations of Ptolemy's *Geographia*," in *Acta conventus neo-Latini Torontonensis/Proc. of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. A. Dalzell et al. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), 293–300.

[20] Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, fig. 27; 54a.

[21] For this and following examples, see Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps* (London, 1987), 35–55, 118–20, 133–35 and fig. 38.

zoidal projection, and entrusted the printing of it to his fellow citizen Hans Burgkmair. Following the tradition of the Theodosian and other maps, a hexameter inscription (with spondees that convey a certain *gravitas*) thanks Nicholas of Cusa,

> murice quondam
> qui Tyrio contectus erat splendorque senatus
> ingens Romani

(i.e., cardinal emeritus and former Roman senator) for the cartography. Earlier it wrongly includes *Pelopis regnum*, i.e., the Peloponnese, in its versified contents, since the map does not include that, but as a slight analogy the adjective *Pelopeus* is once used by Virgil to mean "Greek." This map has a connection with the 1478 Rome Ptolemy, and with Donnus Nicolaus Germanus's trapezoidal projection used for the Ulm editions of 1482 and 1486. Tony Campbell wonders whether Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and Conrad Sweynheym may have met and discussed its printing, since Cusa died at Todi in 1464, when Sweynheym and Pannartz, who later moved to Rome, were already set up as printers at the nearby German monastery of Subiaco. A third inscription on the map reads: "Eystat anno salutis 1491, XII kalendis Augusti perfectum." Scholars have been puzzled by *Eystat*, since on the map itself Eichstätt, N N E of Augsburg, is called Eystaria. May one suggest that the inscription was intended to read *Exstat Eystariae* ("is available at Eichstätt"), but that through haplography the two words became telescoped? One may hail Nicholas of Cusa as a mathematician, a collector of scientific instruments, a geographer, and a patron of printing. But above all in his capacities as cardinal, bishop of Brixen and papal legate for Germany, he constituted an important link between Italian and German-language scholarship.

The world map in the printed editions of Pomponius Mela (Venice, 1482, and Salamanca, 1498) may be called a potential explorer's map. Although it is confined to the eastern hemisphere, it does extend as far as Southeast Asia. Each of the two versions has at the top the sentence (if we may expand the abbreviations), "Novelle etati ad geographie vermiculatos calles humano viro necessarios flores aspiranti votum benemerenti ponitur." Two attempts at rendering this seem unsatisfactory, since surely *aspiranti* agrees not with the nearest dative, *viro*, but with *etati*, the "new age" being the Renaissance. So my attempted rendering is: "To the Renaissance, which breathes into the humanist the flowers needed for treading the worm-like paths of cartography, this well-deserved dedication is made."

Francesco Berlinghieri produced in 1482 a set of 31 printed maps to illustrate his Italian *Geographia*, based mainly on Ptolemy. The world map does condescend to use a Latin hexameter, CAELESTEM HIC TERRAM INSPICIAS TERRESTRE Q: CAELUM (the Q: stands for the enclitic *que*, not, as Campbell gives, for *quam*). Why, when it was only a terrestrial map surrounded by personified winds, Berlinghieri says one can see a celestial earth and a terrestri-

al heaven, is hard to say. This is the period of overlap of printed and manuscript maps, and it is interesting to find this printed world map stuck into a manuscript Ptolemy atlas, the Wilczek-Brown codex.[22] The map of Libya Interior in the Wilczek-Brown is the only one which conforms to Ptolemy's ratios of latitude and longitude, since it is 1:1 and the author of Wilczek-Brown ignores Ptolemaic regional ratios. Its shape of southern Africa has been changed; it is not, as it stands, Ptolemaic, but gives a coastline of southern Africa which can be circumnavigated, no doubt following the explorations of Vasco da Gama and others.

The map by Francesco Rosselli[23] of the eastern hemisphere (ca. 1492) is of particular interest for its place names in southern Africa. It is very fully described by Campbell, who however has omitted a phrase in the title, making the first words of this read "Forma universalis Indie portione post ptholomei tempus inventa," etc. It does, of course, include India, but that is only a part. The full title reads: "Forma universalis totius quod oceano mari ambitur cum superioris Indie portione post ptholomei tempus inventa cumque ea parte Aphrice quam temporibus nostris lusitani naute perlustrarunt ita se habet."

The firm conviction by Columbus that he had seen shores which in some way linked up with eastern Asia was reflected in a number of maps. One of the *tabulae novae* of Ptolemy which has most Latin wording on the map is Ioannes Ruysch's world map incorporated in the 1507–1508 Rome edition.[24] Ruysch is said to have taken part in a maritime expedition from the west of England and to have worked first at Utrecht, then at Cologne. He, like the maker of the Contarini map, follows Columbus's view that the Gulf of Mexico formed a continuous line with east China. His name for South America is "Terra Sancte Crucis, sive Mundus Novus." "Mundus Novus" is found also on the Pesaro world map[25] (ca. 1505) and owes its origin to a letter attributed to Vespucci. Over the western parts of the New World Ruysch wrote:

> Huc usque Hispani venerunt et hanc terram propter eius magnitudinem mundum novum appellarunt. Quia vero eam totaliter non viderunt, nec usque in tempore hoc longius quam ad hunc terminum perlustrarunt, ideo hic [referring to himself] imperfecta relinquit, cum nesciatur [altered from *nescitur*] quo vergitur.

In the Far East he quotes Marco Polo: "Dicit M. Paulus quod e portu Zai-

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[22] O. A. W. and Margaret S. Dilke, "The Wilczek-Brown Codex of Ptolemy Maps," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 119–24; now at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

[23] Campbell, *Earliest*, 70–77 and fig. 42; quotation p. 70.

[24] Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, Pl. 32; also in other works.

[25] Margaret S. Dilke and Antonio Brancati, "The New World in the Pesaro World Map," *Imago Mundi* 31 (1979): 78–83.

ton ad orientem 1500 miliaribus est insula magna valde dicta Sipangus [Japan]."

So far we have been considering Latinity in sentence form. But a single word on a map can change a name permanently, and this is no more visible than in the name arising from the Latin correspondence between Waldseemüller and Ringmann, incorporated into a slim volume called *Cosmographiae Introductio*.[26] About 1507 they were convinced that the true discoverer of the New World was Amerigo Vespucci. So, basing their suggestion for a new continental name on the feminine forms *Europa*, etc., they came up with either the telescopic form Amerigê, from Americus + Greek gê, or the simpler form "America." Later Waldseemüller came to disbelieve Vespucci's account and no longer advocated these names, but it was too late. The Strasbourg 1513 edition of Ptolemy, to which he contributed, has in bold minuscule letters on the northern part of South America the words: "Haec terra cum adiacentibus insulis inventa est per Columbum Ianuensem ex mandato regis Castelle." Yet America came to be written in large capitals by many mapmakers.

But although one word can have such positive aftereffects, one Latin sentence was able to contribute to the burning at the stake of the Spaniard Servetus. In the Strasbourg 1522 edition of Ptolemy,[27] not written by him, were the words, referring to the Holy Land:

> Scias tamen, lector optime, iniuria aut jactantia pura tantam huic terrae bonitatem fuisse adscriptam, eo quod ipsa experientia mercatorum et peregre proficiscentium hanc incultam, sterilem, omni dulcedine carentem depromit.

In other words, Palestine of the sixteenth century was not a land of milk and honey. When in 1535 Servetus, who then used the form of his name Michael Villanovanus, revised the 1522 and 1525 Strasbourg editions, he kept this passage in, and although the main charge of heresy against him was denial of the Trinity, these words were raked up as being sacrilegious.

The 1525 Strasbourg edition had been notable for a serious effort to improve the Latinity of the translation. The editor, Willibald Pirckheimer, was a friend of Albrecht Dürer and a great humanist. A large volume on his Greek scholarship was published by Niklas Holzberg on the 500th anniversary of his birth.[28] Regiomontanus[29] had protested that, while Angelus understood ordinary Greek, he did not understand Greek mathematics. So Pirckheimer edited Regiomontanus's notes; Dürer drew an armillary sphere

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[26] F. Laubenberger, "Ringmann oder Waldseemüller?" *Erdkunde* 13 (1959): 163–79.

[27] Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, 21–22.

[28] *Willibald Pirckheimer: griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland* (Munich, 1981).

[29] Mathematical astronomer whose German name was Johannes Müller of Königsberg (1436–76); author of *Tabulae directionum* (1475).

which was scientifically explained; a table of co-ordinates for the world map and much artistic embellishment were inserted; and Raidelius, the first scholarly critic of Ptolemy's *Geography*, called this "omnium quas vidi editionum splendidissima."

English makers of world maps were few until later, when contributions to Hakluyt's voyages and Dudley's *Arcano del Mare* gave them some prominence. Robert Thorne (1527)[30] explains his world map in English, calling himself an English merchant in Seville, and ending: "The imperfection of which Mappe may be excused by that time: knowledge of Cosmographie not then beyng entred among our Merchaunts, as nowe it is." But he uses Latin to explain Portuguese and Spanish longitudinal rivalries, such as were resolved by papal decree with the Tordesillas line.

This was, in fact, just before a new heyday of attractive world and regional maps which set out to use elegant Latin. In 1531 Oronce Finé (Orontius Finaeus), a French mathematician, in J. N. Wilford's words, "drew the first map showing Terra Australis as more than a shapeless blob: he endowed the supercontinent with capes and bays."[31] In introducing his concept of northern and southern hemispheres, Finé addressed his reader in Latin at the foot of the map: "Ad lectorem. Offerimus tibi, candide lector, universalem orbis terrarum descriptionem." To describe the two cordiform projections he says: "Quarum laeva borealem, dextra vero australem mundi partem amplectitur."

Gerardus Mercator, or Gerhard Krämer (1512–1594), of Rupelmonde near Antwerp, effectively separated the historical and the up-to-date aspects of world cartography. His main object was to depict every part of the world as faithfully as possible, and if this meant a disproportionate projection but one useful to mariners, utility would have to prevail. He and his son Rumold were great proponents of Latin, and it was good Latin. In his first major work, the world map of 1538, whose shape was based on that of Finé,[32] he includes in Latin an address to the reader, a list of abbreviations, the odd explanation such as "Utraque Scythia cum Sarmatia Asiana nunc Tartariae nomen habet," and over North America, "Hispania maior, capta anno 1530."[33] He published historical Ptolemy maps and new maps without any text of Ptolemy in 1578, being convinced that the future of cartography did not rest in successive adjustments of Ptolemy. His friend, map editor, and publisher, Ortelius, was equally keen on Latin, to the extent that in his *The-*

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[30] First published in R. Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages* . . . (London, 1582); Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, Pl. 41 (1).

[31] *The Mapmakers* (London, 1981), 139; L. Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, revised by R. A. Skelton (London, 1964), Pl. 82.

[32] Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, 91; an early publication of Mercator's consisting of cordiform maps of the northern and southern hemispheres.

[33] This clearly refers to Jacques Cartier's expedition, which although started in 1534 was organized earlier by Francis I.

atrum orbis terrarum (1570) he gives at the foot in large capitals a quotation from Cicero:[34] "Quid ei potest videri magnum in rebus humanis, cui aeternitas omnis totiusque mundi nota sit magnitudo?" Even if *mundus* has more than one sense, these words rightly exalt great mapmakers and encourage those of us who are historians of cartography.

Leeds

[34] *Tusc. Disp.* 4.37.

Otium *in Milton's Latin Poetry and "Il Penseroso"*

PHILIP C. DUST

In four of Milton's Latin poems, "Elegia Prima" (1626), "De Idea Platonica Quemadmodum Aristoteles Intellexit" (1630–32), "Ad Sasillum poetam Romanum aegraotantem" (1638), and "Ad Patrem" (1631–32), *otium* as a special term for leisure time devoted to the pursuit of study is an important theme. Again in "Il Penseroso" (1631?), the train of Melancholy includes "retired Leisure" (1.49).[1]

In addition to the many meanings of *otium* in the *Thesavrvs Lingvae Latinae,* two especially fit Milton's use of the term: time for philosophy and for contemplation.[2] While a recent study by Brian Vickers emphasizes the ambivalence of the term *otium* in a Roman society dedicated to war, politics, and business, the positive connotation of it in the pursuit of learning, which Milton stressed, is to be found in the works of Cicero and Seneca. As the author of that articles says: "In attempting to legitimize his own political activity, then, Cicero invoked *otium* as a desirable goal of politics while disowning its pejorative associations." In his references to the term, Cicero produced a "series of works in philosophy and rhetoric which kept his name famous long after the infighting of Roman politics disappeared into dust and footnotes."[3] Much the same conclusion is reached about Seneca "ousted from his position as tutor and governor of the young Nero." As he says in his *De Brevitate Vitae*: "of all men they alone are at leisure who take time for philosophy; they alone really live; for they are not content to be good guardians

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[1] All quotations from the poems are from *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose,* ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. , 1957).

[2] Vol. IX, 2, Fasc. I (Lipsiae: B. G. Teubneri, 1967), 1177–78.

[3] Brian Vickers, "Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: The Ambivalence of Otium," *Renaissance Studies* 4 (1):10, 11. Cicero's *De Oratore* (1.1–3), *De Officiis* (3.1.1, 3.1.2, 3.2.3, 3.14) are cited.

of their own lifetime only. They annex every age to their own...." (14.1)[4] So we can conclude about the *otium* in Milton's life and works.[5]

Thomas Cooper's famous Renaissance *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britanniae* (1565) contains two uses of *otium* in the sense we are examining it: 1) "concelebrare per otium honesta studia" (In time of quietnesse and vacation to be much occupied in honeste studies), 2) "In studiis omne otium, tempusque contrivimus" (Our time or leisure and quietnesse we spente in studie and learnyng).[6] Milton knew this dictionary.[7]

From 12 February 1625 until he took his master of arts 3 July 1632, Milton enjoyed the privilege of a splendid education in the classics and in philosophy as a student at Christ's College, Cambridge. Of course, as is clear from the citations in his earlier Elegy IV, he had already digested a sizable list of Greek and Latin writers. But at Cambridge, he was exposed to even more.[8] Fletcher has gathered a long reading list for students of Joseph Mead, the tutor whom Milton cites as "Daemotas" in "Lycidas," a reading list in Latin for Christ Church students and it is formidable.[9]

More important for the development of Milton as a Latin poet was the student practice of writing verse in Latin. It is curious that he wrote "Lycidas" in English, while his fellow classmates all wrote their elegies in Latin. But then he later commemorated his friend Charles Diodati with an elegy in Latin.

The "Idea Platonica" is an early fruit of Milton's intensive philosophical studies. Logic, ethics, physics, metaphysics all comprised, as Costello and Fletcher have shown, the basic curriculum of the university. The work that is the greatest fruit of metaphysics is *Paradise Lost* itself. But the "Idea Platonica" is a kind of metaphysical game in which Milton does not take the subject as seriously as he would as an older man. Costello has elucidated in detail the university practice of the *disputatio* which undoubtedly lies behind the poem as well. When we remember that present at the *disputatio* was a jester who satirized the practice, the picture is completed. Milton in "De Idea" is taking the part of the jester at a *disputatio*.[10]

Just how did Milton spend his leisure time during the Hammersmith-Horton years? He did it in just the ways he talks about it in the Latin po-

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[4] Vickers, 33.

[5] In the second part of his article, *Renaissance Studies* 4, no. 2, Vickers discusses leisure in *Paradise Lost* as prelapsarian "rest," (145). To this I would add the sinister meaning of "Refreshment" (1.687) in *Comus* and the enervating use of *otium* in *Rous.*, line 28.

[6] (Menston Eng.: Scolar Press, 1969), SSss2^{r}.

[7] Jackson Campbell Boswell's *Milton's Library* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1975) cites the possible inclusion of the *Thesaurus* in Milton's library, 74.

[8] Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1961), 2:128–33.

[9] Fletcher, 1:24–25.

[10] William Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), 14–31.

ems: enjoyment of the rural Middlesex countryside at Hammersmith and in study. Among the authors he read Euripides and Lycophron, whose works he purchased in 1634.[11] Essentially, however, it is to his "Ad Patrem" that we turn in order to ascertain what he thought important about this retired period of his life. Parker makes much of the conflict in the poem in lines 17, 56–57, and 67.[12] His analysis of the poem is as a defense of the young poet's literary activity, an activity dependent on his study, and on his father's generosity in providing the free time for such study.[13] Not just the citation of *otium* in the poem, but the whole poem becomes then a defense of *otium* as an important poetic pursuit. Horton was located in a perfect pastoral setting for learned leisure. The town had only a few homes, a Manor House, and a church. The river Coln was nearby in the lush countryside, as Parker describes it. He then has been able to reconstruct a longer and more detailed list of readings Milton did,[14] consisting mainly of ecclesiastical history, the *Ecclesiasticae Historiae Autores* (Paris, 1544) in Greek. This work contained the histories of Eusebius, Rufinus, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen Theodoret, Evagrius, Theodorus, and Dorotheus. Milton also read such church fathers as Justin Martyr, Clements, Origen, and Tertullian, whom he considered heretical.[15] The Bodleian Library was about thirty-six miles from Horton and evidence of its use by Milton comes to us in his later Latin poem about John Rouse, chief librarian there.[16]

These readings coupled with readings on the Greek and Roman empires through the Middle Ages were a use of leisure which would bring to a head Milton's dissatisfaction with the Church of England and with the monarchy. And that would result in his very active career in public life during the revolution and the Commonwealth.[17]

Milton used his vacation time in Italy to the best academic advantage, especially in the small private academies of Florence. He found them as enticing as they found him eminently interesting.[18] It was in Rome that he met Giovanni Salzilli who presented him with a "eulogistic epigram, ranking him above Homer, Virgil, and Tasso."[19] Milton repaid the favor with "Ad Salsillum." At Naples, he met the kind patron of Italian letters Giovanni Battista Manso, to whom he addressed another Latin poem as the result of his travels.[20] Then, returning to Rome where the scholar Holstenius

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[11] William Riley Parker, *Milton: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 1:124.
[12] Parker, 1:125.
[13] Parker, 1:126–27.
[14] Parker, 1:145.
[15] Parker, 1:145–47.
[16] Parker, 1:127.
[17] Parker, 1:152.
[18] Parker, 1:171–72.
[19] Parker, 1:173.
[20] Parker, 1:174.

showed him the Vatican Library, he was personally greeted as a great man of letters by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, counsellor to his uncle Pope Urban VIII.[21] At Rome too, he heard the diva Leonora Baroni sing and from that we have three Latin epigrams "Ad Leonoram."[22] Back in Florence he was lionized by the Italian intelligentsia. During this time he met Galileo.[23] About this year in Italy, Parker concludes: "Although the Hammersmith and Horton days had seen him confident of poetical ability, the Italian experience confirmed and clarified this confidence."[24] After the seclusion of the earlier years, going to Italy was essentially a welcoming reception, ironically enough in a Roman Catholic country, for a great English and Latin poet.

The occasion for "Elegia Prima" was Milton's suspension from Cambridge in the Lenten term of 1626, after a quarrel with his tutor, William Chappell. He used his punishment to model the poem on Ovid and to express his joy in *otium*: "Si sit hoc exilium patrios adisse penates, / Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi" (ll.17–18) (If this be exile, to have returned to the paternal home and to be carefree to enjoy a delightful leisure). In other words, he is happy for the *otium*. The leisure consists of attending plays, the stock comedies of Rome and university dramas (ll.27–36), or of reading Greek tragedy, particularly Aeschylus and Sophocles, as he will do in "Il Penseroso" (ll.37–46). The place for contemplation is in remote nature as it will be in the English poem (*Elegia* ll.49–50; *Il Pen.* 1.50).

In "De Idea Platonica," Eternity is pictured as living in leisure and guarding the records of creation and of all time. As a Platonic personification, she is invoked to reveal the first being, eternal, incorruptible, unique, and universal, in whose image the human race has been molded: "Antro recumbis otiosa Aeternitas" (l.1) (Eternity, far away where you lie at ease in some cave). In addition to the melancholy man's reading of Plato in "Il Penseroso" (ll. 89–96), the "De Idea Platonica" later mentions Hermes Trismegistus, also cited in the English poem (ll.32–33). Both philosophy and magic are the leisure reading of Milton the student and Milton in rustication.[25]

"Ad Sasillum" refers to the groves which we find in the "trim gardens" of "Il Penseroso" (l.50): "Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos / Numa, ubi beatum degit otium aeternum, / Suam reclivis semper Aegeriam spectans (ll.33–35) (Numa himself will marvel under the dark groves where he often lies forever entertaining the leisure of eternity in the contemplation of his Egeria.) As Douglas Bush comments, the legendary second king of Rome

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[21] Parker, 1:176–77.

[22] Parker, 1:177.

[23] Parker, 1:178–79.

[24] Parker, 1:180.

[25] Douglas Bush cites Ficino's mention of Hermes, a collection of second- and third-century writings from Egypt. *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970), 1:230.

learned the arts of civilization from Egeria.[26] And so, *otium* is praised again.

Finally, in "Ad Patrem," the supreme poem of tribute to his father by Milton for his *otium*, we find specific use of the classical term: "Sed magis excultam cupiens ditescere mentem, / Me procul urbano strepitu, succesibus altis / Abductum, Aoniae iucunda per otia ripae, / Phobaeo lateri comitem sinis ire beatum" (ll.73–76). (But rather, because you wish to enrich the mind which you have carefully cultivated, you lead me far away from the uproar of cities, into these high retreats of delightful leisure beside the Aonian stream, and you permit me to walk there by Phoebus' side, his blessed comapanion.) Recalled are the quiet shady groves of "Elegia Prima" (ll.49–50) and of "Il Penseroso" (ll.132–49). Always, leisure is found in nature.

Viewed in the contexts of Milton's own leisure time, we see that he was not only absorbing knowledge but producing, in addition to the works we are studying in this essay, a body of poetry, both in English and in Latin, that would endure. While pursuing his master of arts at Cambridge from 1629–32, he wrote "Elegy V" (1629); "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (Dec. 1629); "Elegy VI" (Dec. 1629); Sonnets I–VI (1630); "Elegy VII" (1630); "The Passion" (1630); "On Shakespeare" (1630); the poem to Hobson, "On the University Carrier" (1631); "An Epitaph On the Marchioness of Windsor" (1631); and crowned all of this achievement with "L'Allegro" as well as "Il Penseroso" (1631–32). The conclusion is that in addition to his already considerable production as an undergraduate at Cambridge, Milton is very much a poet who was the product of his education.

While the period Milton spent at Hammersmith yielded little in poetic production, "On time" (1633), "At A Solemn Music" (1633), and a translation of Psalm CXIV, Milton was studying intensively. Later at Horton he would produce two of his masterpieces, *Comus* and "Lycidas." *Comus* far transcends anything from the English Renaissance in the mask form, so much so that it forms an intellectual drama of the first order. "Lycidas" has been called one of the three greatest elegies in the English language, along with Shelley's "Adonais" and Arnold's "Thyrsis." *Comus*, especially, looks forward in many of its elements to Milton's greatest achievement, *Paradise Lost*, a poem we also remember created out of the *otium* enforced on Milton by his exclusion from politics, his blindness, and his increasing age.

In his days at Cambridge (1625–32), at Hammersmith (1632–35), at Horton (1635–38), and on his trip to Italy (1638–39), largely thanks to his father, Milton was able to enjoy an *otium* to pursue his studies. As a result of these studies, he was also given leisure time to create his own poetry which never ceased to praise that time of life so dedicated to arts and letters.

Northern Illinois University

[26] Bush, 1:266.

Some Versions of Peter Martyr

GEOFFREY EATOUGH

The first Decade of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* was published in 1511.[1] It represents the Columban version of the discovery of America and it is also distinguished by a liberal attitude towards the native peoples of America. Three versions of a translation and adaptation of the first Decade appeared in print before the publication of Martyr's book. In 1504 *Il Libretto de tutta la Navigatione de re de Spagna de le isole et terreni nuovamente trovato* appeared without author.[2] This text often keeps very close to the first Decade, but there are omissions, the effect of which is to present an impoverished view of the Indians. The *Libretto*, with orthographical changes, was then included in Fracanzano da Montalboddo's *Paesi novamente retrovati*

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[1] Peter Martyr, *Opera: Legatio babylonica, Oceani decas, poemata epigrammatica* (Seville: J. Cromberger, 1511). [PM] Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457–1526) was an Italian humanist who moved to Spain in 1487, to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was there when Columbus made his first voyage to the New World and, apart from an embassy he undertook to Egypt, he remained in Spain the rest of his life, though towards the end of his life he was made Bishop of Jamaica. He knew Columbus well and some sections of his Decades may be regarded as a defence of Columbus's interests. The New World, however, had a fascination for him which went well beyond Columbus, and he continued to write about it long after Columbus's fall from grace. Besides the particular importance of the early translations or adaptations of Martyr's first Decade, the first three Decades, published in 1516 as *De Orbe Novo* (Alcala de Henares: A. G. Brocar for A. de Nebrija), are a major, and often unique, source of information on the New World. Martyr's *De nuper sub D. Carolo repertis insulis simulque incolarum moribus . . . enchiridion* (Basel: A. Petri, 1521), in effect his fourth Decade, contains accounts of the discovery of Mexico, including Cortes's expedition, which anticipate Cortes's *Carta de relacion* (Seville J. Cromberger, 1522). Richard Eden published a translation of this last piece of Martyr's, along with the first three Decades, in a work entitled *The decades of the new world or West India* (London: W. Powell, 1555). This was meant to be a stimulus to English imperialism. The complete eight Decades of Martyr were published under the title *De Orbe Nove Decades* (Alcala de Henares: M. de Eguia, 1530).

[2] *Il Libretto de tutta la Navigatione de re de Spagna de le isole et terreni nuovamente trovato* (Venice: A. Vercellensis, 1504). [L]

(1507).[3] This work in turn was translated back into Latin with small but significant alterations by Archangelo Madrignano and published in 1508 as *Itinerarium Portugallensium e Lusitania in Indiam & inde in occidentem & demum ad aquilonem.*[4] Sabin said of Madrignano's translation, "After Columbus's letter this is the most important contribution to the early history of America."[5] It is difficult to assess importance. There were in this same year, 1508, two German translations of Montalboddo as well as a reissue of Montalboddo's Italian version, with Vespucci's name prominent in the title. The appearance of the Vespucci narratives from 1503 onwards was also obviously influential. Nonetheless Madrignano's version was a Latin rendering of a popular edition in an important period for Latin. Long after the appearance of Martyr's complete version of the first Decade, the *Libretto* continued to be read in these later versions of Montalboddo and Madrignano, and it is in Madrignano's Latin translation that it turns up in the great collection of voyages compiled by Johann Huttich and edited by Simon Grynaeus, published in 1532.[6]

The relations between the three printed texts are complicated by the existence of manuscript copies of adaptations from Martyr. The *Libretto*, despite major omissions, additions, and rearrangements, closely follows a manuscript version of Angelo Trivigiano or Trevisan completed in 1501, and can for the most part be thought of as the printed copy of Trevisan.[7] I want nonetheless in this short paper to avoid the long and complicated question of origins, and concentrate on some of the impressions or images presented by the printed versions of Martyr. We can for convenience think of there being three printed versions of Martyr: Martyr's 1511 edition; the Trevisan/*Libretto*/Montalboddo text; and Madrignano.

Madrignano keeps fairly close to Montalboddo though he can be more fulsome. Rather curiously, he sometimes moves from the third person plural to the first person plural as if seeking a kind of spurious authenticity. He is firmly pro-Columbus, but his translation is the furthest removed from Martyr and on occasion a betrayal of Martyr's intent. When the *Santa Maria* was wrecked, the natives came to the help of the Spaniards. Martyr says the natives acted so quickly and cheerfully that no kinsman of our own could have

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[3] *Paesi novamente retrovati. Et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio* (Vicenza: H. & G. M. de Sancto Ursio, 1507). [Mnt]

[4] Archangelo Madrigrano, trans., *Itinerarium Portugallensium e Lusitania in Indiam & inde in occidentem & demum ad aquilonem* (Milan: J. A. Scinzenzeler, 1508). [Md]

[5] Joseph Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana; a dictionary of books relating to America* (New York: Sabin, 1868–92; repr., Amsterdam: N. Israel; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961–62), 500–58.

[6] Huttich, comp., and Grynaeus, ed. *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum.* (Basel: J. Herwagen, 1532).

[7] *Italy. R. Commissione Colombiana. Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione colombiana pel quarto centenario della scoperta dell'America*, Part 3, vol. 2 (Rome: Ministro della Pubblica Instruzione, 1892–96).

been moved with greater pity in helping his fellows. Montalboddo abbreviates the description with "Cum tanta carita che nihil supra." Madrignano does not translate the critical phrase.[8] In Paria the natives receive Columbus "hilares et animo laeto." Montalboddo translates this as "*amorevolemente.*" In Madrignano it has become "*honoreficentissime.*"[9] Later, in Martyr's eighth chapter, Alfonso Nino is received with great kindness by Indians. Montalboddo again says "*amorevelissimamente,*" Madrignano "*honorifice.*" In Martyr these Indians were described as gentle, simple, innocent, and hospitable, in Montalboddo humane, in Madrignano "not at all savage."[10]

The Spaniards made a distinction between gentle Indians and Cannibals. The presence of Cannibals gave the Spaniards an excuse to interfere in the New World. Martyr accepts the distinction but in various ways blurs the division between the two groups. The bravery of the Cannibals was admirable. Montalboddo, following Martyr, describes the gallant final stand of the Cannibals in their first encounter with the Spaniards, "combatendo valentemente furono presi dali nostri"; in Madrignano this becomes "ubi tandem a nostris sunt expugnati." The outstanding champion in the encounter was a Cannibal woman who killed one Spaniard and severely wounded another. Madrignano says a Spaniard fell, shot by women.[11]

Madrignano also shows his prejudice against native women. A native woman, whom the Spaniards had rescued from the Cannibals and given the name Catharine, jumped ship along with seven female companions to reclaim her freedom. They swam three miles of rough sea and the Spaniards, following them in boats, only managed to recapture three of them. Martyr makes the point that she did a greater deed than Cloelia fleeing Lars Porsenna. Montalboddo omits the classical reference but reports substantially the same facts. Madrignano does not mention the issue of freedom, that is, even though they had been rescued from the Cannibals, these women still wanted to be free. He describes their escape as a deception; he does not mention the distance swum nor does he draw attention to the fact that the Spaniards were pursuing them in boats.[12]

According to Martyr the first encounter between Spaniards and Indians occurred when the Spaniards chased a crowd of Indians and caught just one woman. Martyr says that when they had brought this woman back to the ships they filled her "full of our foods and wine and adorned her with clothes (for all that race, both sexes, live their lives completely naked, content with nature)," and let her go free. Even in Martyr there is an element of grossness in the picture of the naked woman being wined, dined, and

[8] PM chap. 1; Mnt & Md chap. 87
[9] PM chap. 6; Mnt & Md chap. 105.
[10] PM chap. 8; Mnt & Md chap. 109.
[11] PM chap. 2; Mnt & Md chap. 92.
[12] PM chap. 2; Mnt & Md chap. 93.

then clothed. In Las Casas's version she is merely clothed and then given presents.[13] This jars slightly with Martyr's own easy acceptance of naked Indians living content with nature. The grossness is intensified in Madrignano who says that she was almost swollen with wine and feeding.[14] In Martyr the Indian woman displays her finery and the generosity of the Spaniards when she returns to her people; Madrignano reminds us that she was full, almost stuffed, and decently dressed in unaccustomed garb when she returned to her own.[15] Madrignano was unhappy with nudity. Columbus ordered women who had fled to them from the Cannibals to be given gifts; in Madrignano he also orders them to be adorned according to our practices.[16] Montalboddo, following Martyr closely, had described the Canary islands as inhabited by a naked people who live without any religion. Madrignano says they are a wild people who have no religion, no fear of God and no shame, seeing that they go about naked.[17]

The natives were not interested in making clothes, either. Martyr says it is agreed that this is a people given to leisure, since sometimes when winter is upon them those in the mountains tremble with cold, and although their woods are packed with cotton they make no effort to work on clothes for themselves. Montalboddo repeats this except that he says the Indians do not *know* how to make clothes. Madrignano makes a bitter attack on the idleness of the natives. The charge of idleness was used as an excuse to oppress the natives with work. Having described in rhetorical detail the beauty of the island, he says these places are inhabited by an idle people who are of almost no account, and who spend most of their time at leisure, no, rather in a torpor. Although they are completely intolerant of cold and have woods packed with cotton, yet they do not know how to use it.[18]

Madrignano misunderstands or misrepresents the way that the Indians, driven by desperation, uprooted their own crops in an attempt to starve out the Spaniards, only to succeed in bringing total misery on themselves. In his version it is the Spaniards who uproot the crops, and reduce the Indians to paying tribute, no doubt a common tactic in war but far removed from the desperation of the Indians.[19]

In his first Decade Martyr never used the term *barbari* of the Indians. In the fourth chapter of the first Decade he reports Columbus's excuses for the lack of profits: the laziness and seditious behavior of the Spaniards. Therefore it had not been possible to conquer or subdue the islanders and break

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[13] PM chap. 1; Bartolome de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. Agustin Millares Carlo, (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1965), 1:258.

[14] Md chap. 86.

[15] PM chap. 1; Md chap. 87.

[16] PM chap. 2; Md chap. 92.

[17] PM chap. 1; Mnt & Md chap. 85.

[18] PM chap. 3; Mnt & Md chap. 97.

[19] PM chap. 4; Md chap. 99.

their strength in order to take free control over the island. In Montalboddo this becomes, "and furthermore the men of this island who had a touch of the barbarian about them were quite unsubdued." In Madrignano the Spaniards are said to have caused the barbarians, viewed as naturally lawless and unbridled, to become more and more wild, bursting out and degenerating from every approved way of life.[20]

In Mariatambal, Yanez Pinzon and his men found the inhabitants gentle and sociable but without anything from which they could profit, such as precious stones or gold. Instead, they took away thirty-six captives (*captivos*). Montalboddo says they took thirty-six slaves (*schiavi*); while Madrignano condemns the greed of the Spaniards but rather curiously says they *bought just* thirty-six slaves. Here the word for slaves is *mancipia* which has a hint of legality about it.[21]

The Spaniards and Indians often had difficulty communicating. Martyr describes the great annoyance the Indians felt on one occasion when after using sign language they could neither understand nor be understood by the Spaniards. Montalboddo repeats this. Madrignano speaks of these Indians as if they were a people who used signs instead of speech and says it was the Spaniards who were annoyed at the mutual unintelligibility. He also inserts the comment that they were wasting time by this resort to gesture instead of conversation. The Indians are for the moment portrayed as a people without speech.[22]

Despite the changes he has introduced, Madrignano keeps close to Montalboddo. The differences between the Libretto/Montalboddo and Martyr are much more radical. It may be significant that Martyr describes Columbus as wanting to voyage to spread the Christian religion and so that an unimaginable abundance of pearls, spices and gold might be easily had. In this instance Madrignano, a priest, merely mentions the religion, while the *Libretto* refers only to wealth.[23] The author of the *Libretto* has narrower interests than Martyr. For example, he does not share to the same extent Martyr's interests in the new foods of America, which were to be perhaps of more importance than the more obvious material wealth of America. He has less room for the geographical theorizing of Columbus, which finds an echo in Martyr. Martyr himself was sceptical of some of Columbus's ideas, yet they were exciting and one needed to think of the location of these new lands. So, in the *Libretto*, passages and lines are omitted which propose that Hispaniola might be Ophir, that discuss whether Cuba is mainland, or South America India, that suggest one sails uphill to South America. How-

[20] Mnt & Md chap. 100.
[21] PM chap. 9; Mnt & Md chap. 113.
[22] PM chap. 6; Mnt & Md chap. 105.
[23] PM chap. 1; Mnt & Md chap. 84.

ever, perhaps it characterizes the *Libretto* that there is room for the theory that the mines on Hispaniola are King Solomon's mines.[24]

Political nuances are missed. Martyr presents Columbus as a caring person concerned about the men he had left behind at Navidad. He does not arrive at Hispaniola; instead, he arrives at the *longed for* Hispaniola. He had been unaware, "*ignarus,*" that he had been leaving them to a miserable death. Martyr moves into the high style as he describes the shock of that discovery on Columbus and the other serious people (*caeteros viros graves*). It was important that Columbus did not seem to have misjudged Guacanagari, the Indian cacique with whom he left the men. In the *Libretto* the Admiral and the others begin to suspect that Guacanagari was behind the massacre, whereas in Martyr it was Melchior the Spanish emissary who had the suspicions, but Martyr leaves the matter up in the air.[25]

Martyr oscillated between talking of his work as letters, essays, or as history. The publishers of the *Libretto* broke up the ten long letters/essays of Martyr into thirty chapters, some of them very short. The style, inherited from Trevisan's manuscript, is compressed and with it an expansiveness, which was essential to what Martyr wanted to say, is lost. Martyr's classical allusions were discarded (and these were functional, not mere ornament), some of his light humorous touches disappeared, and, most seriously, major episodes which show the high morality and nobility of some of the Indians do not find a place.

The new Europeans were not afraid to say that they were greater than the ancient Romans. Martyr makes this claim, quite rightly, on behalf of the Indian woman, Catharine, who jumped from Columbus's ship and swam three miles relying on the strength of her own shoulders. He says that she did a deed greater than that of Cloelia.[26] At the court of Beechio thirty beautiful naked women with palm leaves in their hands met the king and his Spanish guests, dancing and singing. Martyr, who offers more detail on the beauty of these women than the *Libretto*, adds that they thought they had seen lovely dryads or the nymphs who live in springs, as in the myths of antiquity.[27]

One of the most famous and influential passages in Martyr occurs in the third letter where, following an astonishing sermon delivered to Columbus by an old man on Cuba about the rewards of the after-life, Martyr writes,

> It has been discovered that, with them, the land is common like the sun and water, nor does 'mine' and 'yours,' the seeds of all evils, fall among them, for they are content with so little that in that ample earth there are fields to spare rather than a lack of anything. Theirs is a golden age. They do not enclose their estates with ditches or walls

[24] Mnt chap. 101.
[25] PM chap. 2; L chap. 10.
[26] PM chap. 2.
[27] PM chap. 5; L chap. 20.

> or hedges. They live with open gardens, without laws, without books, without judges. By their own nature they cultivate what is right.[28]

The importance of the golden age theme for Martyr is shown by the fact that in the 1516 edition he duplicates the statement and gives it a sharper classical point. When Columbus discovers the death of the men at Navidad he makes enquiries from Guacanagari. Guacanagari says that there are other kings on the island greater than him and two of these were to blame for the deaths. For a moment Martyr suspends investigations to make a comparison between Hispaniola, with its plethora of kings, and the Latium of Aeneas. It is of course flattering that these native kings should be compared at all with epic dignitaries. The associations of Latium with Saturn prompt Martyr to make a further comparison by saying that the peoples of Hispaniola are more fortunate than those of Latium because, naked, without weights, measures or deadly money, living in a golden age, without laws, without slanderous judges, without books, they pass their lives content with nature, with little concern for the future.[29]

The Indians are cultured, even the Cannibals. In his account of the Cannibal house and the remains of the Cannibal feast there is a tension between the horrors of the discoveries and the higher culture of the Cannibals. The *Libretto* loses Martyr's fine writing and also some of the subsidiary detail. On the one hand, in Martyr the Cannibals just casually toss on one side the bones they do not require. On the other hand, their kitchen is full of specialized pot containers with Roman and Greek names. They are believed to worship nothing but the divine power in the sky; this, in the *Libretto*, becomes the sky with its planets.[30]

There are two humorous episodes where native behavior is in different ways superior to European. On Cuba the Spaniards find one hundred pounds of fish being smoked on spits along with two huge eight-footed crocodile-like reptiles (*iguana*). They eat the fish but leave the reptiles as Martyr laconically notes. Afterwards they find other reptiles in the woods, some with their teeth out, and eventually spy the owners of the animals. When they finally communicate with the natives, the natives explain that all this was preparation for a solemn feast for a king. The natives express relief that the Spaniards had eaten the fish and not the reptiles, for the reptiles were a valued food with them and it was no more permissible for their commoners to eat reptiles than it was for ours to eat pheasants or peacocks.[31] The whole story is told in an urbane way and important cultural points are made. Later, at the high court of Beechio, Bartholomew Columbus and his men are induced by the king's sister, revealed in the 1516 edition as the fa-

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[28] PM chap. 3.
[29] PM chap. 2.
[30] PM chap. 2; L chap. 9.
[31] PM chap. 3; L chap. 15.

mous Anacoana, to overcome their repugnance to the reptiles and they become addicted to the taste.[32] The *Libretto* does not tell the first story quite as well as Martyr; for example the nice detail on the reptiles with their teeth pulled out is missing, he omits the comparison with pheasants, and does not tell the Anacoana anecdote at all.

Columbus was desperate to find people who were not naked, and therefore of a higher culture. A Spanish archer wandered off into the woods to hunt. He was suddenly confronted by a man dressed in a white tunic whom he thought at first was one of their friars. Then two others appeared and eventually thirty men, all covered in clothing. He ran back to the ship as fast as he could, shouting, while the natives clapped their hands and tried by every possible means to persuade him not to be afraid. Two attempts to regain contact came to nothing. First Columbus ordered armed men to proceed forty miles inland if necessary to make contact with the clothed men, but they only proceeded one mile, being hampered by the long grass. During a second venture they fled in terror on seeing large animal footprints. So in a sense Columbus was left unable to prove that he was in India or China. The *Libretto* omits the man shouting, the natives telling him not to be afraid, Columbus's orders to proceed forty miles inland and the farcical ways the two attempts are thwarted.[33]

The account of Bartholomew Columbus's encounter with the cacique Beechio and his sister Anacoana is full of nuances which hint at a rather graceless intruder and his gracious hosts. Columbus and his men go looking for the forests of kings which consist of brazil wood. They find the forests, enter them, and cut them down. The valuable trees, lofty and never touched till then, fall. Columbus then comes upon Beechio and immediately demands tribute from the king, who had heard of a foreign race greedy for gold. He says he cannot pay because there is no gold in his kingdom. Columbus outmaneuvers him by replying that he would not want to be thought to be imposing a tribute on people which they could not pay. He is willing to accept cotton, hemp, and similar supplies. Beechio, relieved, takes Columbus and his men back to his royal house where they are received by Beechio's thirty beautiful wives, given a sumptuous meal and assigned houses according to their rank. The king knows how to behave. On the next day they witness a mock battle put on for their entertainment, which is fought with such intensity that four men are killed. Here, I think, Martyr makes a clever comparison; he says they clashed like enemies in pitched battle intent on fighting for wealth, hearths, children, empire and finally life itself.[34]

During this period there were many sick Spaniards. The *Libretto* says they were distributed among the fortresses, while Martyr says among the for-

[32] PM chap. 5.
[33] PM chap. 3; L chap. 15.
[34] PM chap. 5; L chap. 20.

tresses and in the neighbourhood of the fortresses, in the houses of the islanders.[35] Bartholomew Columbus and his men reached a state of very low morale. They were cheered by Beechio paying his tribute and inviting them to return to his royal home. This leads to one of the most evocative episodes described by Martyr and none of it is in the *Libretto*. Spaniards and Indians are seen to be easy in one another's company, and it seems that Anacoana is attracted to Bartholomew Columbus. She is described as urbane, witty, and clever, and later witty, clever, and of high intelligence. With her the Spaniards learn to eat iguana, and when Anacoana expresses a wish to see a Spanish ship they stay at her home *en route*. Her treasury, says Martyr, was not gold, silver, or gems, but only utensils: things for human use, chairs, plates, dishes, basins, all made from shiny black wood worked with amazing artistry, without the tools available to Europeans. Anacoana insists on going out to the ship in the same boat as Columbus and a delightful scene ensues as he amazes Anacoana and her brother with a demonstration of western technology. In the very next line after this happy occasion, we are told how Bartholomew Columbus travelled across the island to confront the rebel Francisco Roldan who was brutalizing the island.[36]

Another group of important episodes omitted by the *Libretto* concerns a king Guarionex who was driven to rebellion, captured by the Spaniards and then delivered from captivity by a tremendous show of affection from his subjects. He preached to his followers the virtues of appeasement. This did not profit him. He was driven to violence and then cast as an outlaw by the Spaniards.[37] He took refuge with another king, Maiobanex, allegedly of Cannibal origins. Martyr gives this king two brief speeches of high moral tone, in the second of which the king stands alone against his people, who argue for expediency, and says Guarionex was a good man and deserved well of him. He explains that he would prefer to suffer to the end with him the very worst that could happen, rather than offer his detractors the chance to revile him for handing over a guest. Martyr goes on to show how Maiobanex suffered for his principles.[38]

The sixteenth century was a great age of translation. The present paper is intended to show that a comparison of translations with the original version can take one into areas of study which go beyond questions of style and linguistic accuracy. The treatment of the native peoples of America by the Europeans is an emotive issue in this quincentenary year. It was also an emotive issue in the years when the New World was first being discovered. Martyr's account of the New World is certainly inhibited by the politics of the period. His attitudes were also influenced and shaped by the views of

[35] PM chap. 5; L chap. 21.
[36] PM chap. 5.
[37] PM chap. 5.
[38] PM chap. 7.

his sources and informants, prominent among whom was Columbus. Nonetheless, he was respected as a historian by Bartolome de las Casas, the famous defender of the American Indians. A comparison of Martyr with his translators helps us to define Martyr's position in the controversies about the Indians, and to appreciate the humanism which made him receptive to the discovery of a new world and its peoples.

University of Wales, Lampeter

Historiography In Norway (1536–1614)

INGER EKREM

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the last male descendant of the royal Norwegian house, the Hårfagre stock, died, at a time when the realm of Norway included many islands in the Atlantic and large tracts of modern Sweden. The Hårfagre dynasty had ruled the country for about 500 years. In the same century the Black Death and other negative factors devastated the country and decimated the population so that historians estimate the number of inhabitants at no more than 150,000 people in the first part of the sixteenth century. After the king's death Norway entered different unions with Sweden or Denmark or both of them, the longest of which was with Denmark, lasting from 1380 to 1814. This was a union starting with both countries as equal partners and with a common king.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Danish officials in Norway and Norwegians who had studied abroad brought thoughts of humanism to Norway. The first Norwegian printed literature consists of two books which appeared in 1519, after a literary vacuum of about 200 years. Both books are in Latin and written for the Catholic church. About 1530 we find the first translation into Danish of the old Norwegian laws which were still in use in Norway. They were actually written in old Norse, but that language was not commonly understood by this time, and not by the Danish officials. Danish now became the official written language. A list of kings and a table of their genealogy was appended to the translation, showing that the Danish kings originated from the oldest Swedish and so from the old Norwegian kings. It is in the light of this view of the contemporary Danish kings (of the Oldenborg lineage) that most Norwegian national-historic works should be read. Though the Danish king resided in Copenhagen, he was regarded as the natural heir to the Norwegian royal family. Most people did not question the fact that an Oldenborg was king. The question was rather what qualities the king had, and the problem was that he resided so far away.

In 1536 King Christian III in his Coronation Charter declared that Norway should be a province of Denmark and no longer an equal part of the

kingdom. One year later, the Lutheran faith was introduced overnight, landed property was confiscated, and the king himself became the head of both State and Church. Danish officials were appointed directly by the king to the highest ecclesiastical and secular positions without being obliged to settle down in Norway. That meant that the Norwegian nobility slowly disappeared and that the clergy lost its wealth and power. Schools were founded in the four diocesan towns to educate clergymen. None of the schools had more than four classes in the sixteenth century, and at the maximum there were no more than 50–100 pupils in each of them, in Stavanger even less. All in all, we know of two traveling booksellers in the country before 1575, there was no printing press until 1643, and a university was not sanctioned by the king until 1811. Censorship was introduced, repeated and intensified during the century. All literary products had to pass through the University of Copenhagen or the bishops before they were printed and sold by booksellers.

It is traditional to speak about two groups of humanists in sixteenth-century Norway:

I. The "Westland" Humanists (1550–1614)

The most important are these:

Bergen:

Mats Stoerssoen: *The Chronicle and Deeds of Norwegian Kings*, an abridged version of Snorre Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, edited by the Dane Jens Mortenssoen in 1594.

Absalon Pederssoen Beyer: *The Realm of Norway*, printed 1781.

Stavanger:

Laurents Hanssoen: *The King's Book*, a translation of parts of Snorre Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, printed in the 19th century.

Peder Claussoen Friis: *The Chronicle of The Norwegian Kings*, a translation of Snorre Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, edited by the Dane Ole Worm in 1633.

The topographic work *The Veracious Description of Norway and its Surrounding Islands*, edited by O. Worm in 1632.

Though it is a fair question to ask if one should call the "Westland" Humanists a group at all, they had several things in common: they were all encouraged to write by Danish officials in Norway, they all wrote prose in Danish for a home audience, and except for Absalon P. Beyer, they were mostly influenced by Nordic authors, probably educated in Norway and very good at old Norse. None of their works were printed until after their deaths and finally they all made literary contributions on national subjects. That is to say that they did not write in a common national spirit, but out

of their own personal experiences and out of their own special and local backgrounds. They also connected the name of Snorre Sturluson to *Heimskringla*, even before the Icelander Arngrimur Jónsson knew about it. And as Snorre's work and Saxo's differ a lot, one might say that they in this way cleared the ground for textual criticism in the future.

Norway as a country has always covered a large area and in those days the distances were felt even larger. While Bergen was involved indirectly in the Seven Years' War between Denmark and Sweden, Lister in Stavanger lay more isolated. On the other hand Stavanger was probably the diocese which was most neglected by the Danish authorities. So while Stoerssoen in Bergen shows his benevolence towards the Danes, and Absalon in Bergen his contempt for Hanseatic merchants and Swedes, Peder Claussoen Friis has quite a different attitude. He was Dean of Lister, and the person who made the best translation of *Heimskringla* into Danish. His topographic work, *The Veracious Description of Norway and the Surrounding Islands*, is rather interesting in this connection. It was finished in 1613, but not printed until 1632 by Ole Worm. In his edition we find some changes from the text of the manuscript. These changes must have been made by Ole Worm.[1] They are all in connection with the question of Gothicism, and as Friis is the only Norwegian of this century who was concerned about the question, it might be worth while noting how Worm ingeniously changes Friis's theory of the origin of the Norwegians.[2] Friis says something like this:

> Whether they [i.e., the Norwegians] have come to this country [i.e., Norway] straight from Denmark or from the Goths in Sweden, one cannot tell, but the latter is most probable; when the Scythians attacked Sweden, the Goths who possessed the country [i.e., Sweden] fled to Norway.

Worm says something like this:

> Whether they [i.e., the Norwegians] have come to this country [i.e., Norway] straight from Denmark or from the Goths in Sweden, one cannot tell, but the latter is most probable; when the Scythians, who also come from Jutland in Denmark, attacked Sweden, these Goths who before were called Jutes and came from Jutland (which by some is called Gudland, Gotland, Witland and Judland) possessed the country [i.e., Sweden] and had their own kingdom, separated from these Swedes.

A little further down in the text both Friis and Worm have the following:

> That is why the Western Goths [i.e., the Western Swedes] and the

[1] *Samlede Skrifter av Peder Claussoen Friis*, ed. G. Storm (Kristiania, 1881), lxix–lxx.
[2] *Samlede Skrifter av Peder Claussoen Friis*, ed. G. Storm (Kristiania, 1881), 254–256.

> Norwegians have always agreed, even when their kings disagreed, because they were from the beginning one people.

But then Friis continues alone:

> But between the Danes and Norwegians there has always been an innate hatred and disagreement, which has remained to this day in the hearts and nature of Norwegians, because they like Germans, Swedes, Scots and other nationalities who settle down here better than the Danes, and above all they have a secret and innate hatred for the Jutes.

II. The Oslo Humanists (1596–1608)

Let us now turn to the learned circle of humanists in Oslo. In the last half of the sixteenth century we find several men with an interest in history. Of these Halvard Gunnarssoen, *lector theologiae* in Oslo from 1577 to 1608, is the most conspicuous. After finishing school in Oslo he studied in Copenhagen, Rostock and Wittenberg during the years 1566–1577. But only in Rostock had he the opportunity to attend lectures in history. There David Chytraeus held at least one series of lectures on Carion's *Chronica* in the late sixties, and probably also one in 1570. In his *De Lectione Historiarum* and in his *Chronologia Historiae Herodoti et Thucydidis* he invited the students first to get to know universal history, then national history, and this piece of advice was heeded by Halvard Gunnarssoen, as the following works show:

a. *Chronicon Carionis Philippicum*, Rostock 1596.
b. *Chronici Carionis Philippici Partes Duae Posteriores*, Rostock 1601.
c. *Chronicon Regum Norvegiae*, Rostock 1606.

Time is too short to say much about texts a and b, except that they are versifications in hexameters and elegiac couplets respectively of Caspar Peucer's 1572 edition of Carion's *Chronica*. Text b was reprinted twice which really was a feat for a Norwegian and a sign of success. Whether Halvard Gunnarssoen had anything to do with the reprints is to be doubted.

Halvard Gunnarssoen's *Chronicon Regum Norvegiae* (from now on called *Chronicon*) is, like the two chronicles mentioned above, primarily written for pupils in Oslo, about whom he was much concerned. The need for school books in Oslo was great, and of his thirteen works the major part is poetry written for school. He must of course have been aware of European readers and the fact that for the first time they had a chance to read about the history of Norway in a work written by a Norwegian. But his foremost concern was to furnish his pupils with proper material. By composing this book he could fulfill several objectives at once:

1. He could show his pupils the way to "eloquentia" (the highest aim

of education in his time) by writing Latin poetry in a classical way.
2. He could make them acquainted with the glorious past of their country at a time when conditions were at an all-time low.
3. By using chronology, genealogy and topography, as Chytraeus recommended, he could give them a short historic and geographic survey, which, written in elegiac couplets, was easy to remember by heart.
4. By his view of history, especially history as "magistra vitae," history as repetitions of events, and God as the almighty ruler, saviour and judge, he could, as a *lector theologiae*, take care of the religious aspect, as well as make them learn how to behave, act and speak.

Mats Stoerssoen's *Chronicle and Deeds of Norwegian Kings* furnishes Gunnarssoen with most of the content of his *Chronicon*. For chronology and genealogy he follows *Four Tables or the Genealogical Tree of the Kings of Denmark and Norway*, edited by the Dane Jacob Mattssoen in 1592, but written by the Danish Bishop of Bergen, Anders Foss; or, perhaps better, he follows Foss's now lost Latin edition from 1577. If Stoerssoen and Foss differ, Gunnarssoen prefers Foss. For his structure and view of history he follows the instructions of David Chytraeus given in *De Lectione Historiarum* in 1563 and in *Chronologia Historiae Herodoti et Thucydidis* in 1567.

Altogether the *Chronicon* comprises 2710 verses in elegiac couplets recounting the deeds of thirty–two Norwegian kings from about the year 800 to 1263, a point of time where Stoerssoen also stops. Gunnarssoen does not mention the following years up to 1376, but from then on he uses the Dane Sadolin's epigrams about the Danish kings, and thus Gunnarssoen brings his chronicle down to his own time. The time before the country was gathered under one king is left out, and also most things related to the Catholic Church, minor kings and noblemen. In short, he leaves out home and foreign affairs which he finds of less importance to his readers. The title of the book is not casual. The history of Norway is closely connected to the king's person. He is the symbol of the independent country. The book is filled with battles between rival kings, which make it monotonous and stereotyped, but underline the eternal circulation of events. The strict division of most chapters into three parts stresses this, and behind all is Gunnarssoen's consciousness of human beings being a part of God's law. As he and his times saw it, history is a mirror of life in this world. From the good king the reader can learn what he should do, from the bad king what he should avoid.

Besides Stoerssoen, Chytraeus and Foss, Halvard Gunnarssoen uses some other sources. The editions mentioned here are not necessarily the ones he actually used: Saxo's *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historiae*, edited by Christiern Pedersen (1514), Albert Krantz's *Chronica Regnorum Aquiloniorum* (1546) and his *Ecclesiastica Historia* (1547), Peucer's edition (1572) of Carion's *Chronica*, and perhaps Anders Soerensen Vedel's *The Danish Chronicle* (1575) and his edition of *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Adam of Bremen (1579). From Saxo he

takes dramatic material, positive as well as negative, and in this way he makes his description of certain events more detailed and vivid, though not always more probable. In places where Krantz in his *Chronica* has the same content as Saxo, Halvard sometimes prefers the turns of phrase and direct speech of Krantz. From Krantz's *Ecclesiastica Historia* he picks just one thing which can also be found in Adam of Bremen's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Elsewhere there are a few traces from Carion's *Chronica*. As for Anders Soerensen Vedel's *The Danish Chronicle* and his edition of Adam of Bremen it is questionable whether he used them. For my part I do not think so, but it is hard to prove because many of the things they have in common are of a more general kind or to be found elsewhere.

Nothing is known about the reception of the *Chronicon*, but it is probable that it was used in the school at Oslo. Except for studies in ancient historical authors, history as an independent subject in school was not customary in those days, either in Norway, Denmark or Germany, nor even at the universities, and I wonder if Gunnarssoen is the first to introduce it in Denmark-Norway. Anyway, his pedagogical gifts are unique for the time and there is no doubt that during the years of his lectureship the intellectual level of the school at Oslo was at its greatest. Halvard Gunnarssoen was not ennobled or honoured with the title of "poëta laureatus" or with a gift of money from the king. His works are not to be found in the catalogues of the bookfairs of Frankfurt and Hanover, yet a copy of his *Chronicon Regum Norvegiae* found its way to the library of King Christian IV.

If it was forgotten how Norway became a vassal state, memories of its great past were not forgotten. For Gunnarssoen, as for the "Westland" Humanists, it was important to uncover these memories of Norway's former greatness as an independent nation, to raise contemporary Norway to the same level as many other nations in Europe, but without any revolutionary thoughts about the *status quo*. One may ask what it meant to Norwegian literature that Norway came under Danish sway. On the one hand, many Norwegians started writing inspired by Danes, on the other hand much of their work remained unprinted, maybe for the same reason. Those who gave the impulse also had the power. It is interesting to see that the Oslo humanists went directly to Rostock with both their Latin and Danish works and that they managed to have them printed. How they would have written under other circumstances we shall never know. All in all, one can say that in spite of Christian III's Coronation Charter of 1536, Norway as a nation and Norwegians as a people still existed when the new century had its beginning, and authors for centuries to come would several times return to the spirit and to the works of the humanists of the sixteenth century. Throughout the union with Denmark, Norwegians never felt themselves to be Danes, but a people with their own law, oral language, history and traditions.

Oslo

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Olaus Magnus and the Limits of Credence

PETER FISHER

In 1555 Olaus Magnus published his *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* at his own printing press in Rome. This was a thoroughgoing description of the climate, geography, peoples, government, customs, methods of warfare, religion and natural history of Scandinavia, focusing particularly on Sweden. The author had been in virtual exile from his native land for twenty-two years, from the time that it became obvious that the monarch, Gustav Vasa, was siding firmly with the Lutherans and that there would be no longer any real place or function there for distinguished Catholic prelates like the two Magnus brothers. In the bottom left-hand corner of his 1539 map of Scandinavia, *Carta marina*, Olaus promises to supplement it later with books giving a full account of the area, but it is also clear from his personal writings that he hoped the Pope would some day seek to regain these lands for true Christendom, and his emphasis in the *Historia* on the mineral wealth and commercial advantages of the region looks very much like an attempt to enhance the attractiveness of such a venture. His approach to the wildlife of the region can be seen in the way he deals with the squirrel, one of the commonest creatures of northern climes. Here is part of the second of two short chapters on the animal. It is cast in straightforward, workaday Latin (See Appendix i), for, as he says, his writings are "austere, concerned as they are with the hardiest of races" (20.27), and this is generally true, apart from sections like the Preface, where he aims for a more elaborate, impressive style.

> This little creature [the squirrel] crosses over streams by floating on a small piece of wood and using its spread tail as a sail. It has no other method, for nature has denied it any means of swimming. Its body is diminutive, while the fur on its bushy tail is so thick that it would immediately become saturated with water and make the squirrel sink to the bottom, nor are its feet designed for such a need. In other respects too it displays great shrewdness: during the warm season it takes care to hide away foodstuffs to keep for part of the long winter inside the

> nest it made to sleep and rest in. This it closes or leaves open at the side, depending on the severity of the winds. It eats hazelnuts, beech nuts, and tender pine shoots. There is another species which only needs sleep for its food. Squirrels show remarkable agility in springing from one tree to another, balancing with their tails while in motion and skipping nimbly from branch to branch by the dexterous use of their sharp claws. Their frolics over the frozen surface of snow are a pure delight to watch. (18.18)

Here is a farrago of fact and fiction typical of Renaissance writers on natural history, much of it excerpted from earlier authors. The story of the squirrel crossing water on a piece of light wood, using its spread tail as a sail, comes out of Vincent de Beauvais,[1] but Olaus would have known it also as a widespread piece of folklore in Scandinavia, and indeed it has been reported as far away as Canada. Both Albertus Magnus[2] and Vincent, who copies much from him, comment on these creatures' remarkable agility and bushy tails, which the former says they move as they leap from tree to tree, as if to steer themselves ("ac si gubernent"), while the latter, less accurately, believes that they use them instead of wings. Olaus is correct with his "librant," for the tail does serve both as a balance pole and a rudder when the squirrel jumps. On the other hand he is quite mistaken in his own supposition that it cannot swim, though it is unable to manage long distances. Its habit of collecting food in summer for consumption in winter has always been well known and reported, but again Olaus is more specific in his mention of hazelnuts, a tasty delicacy for these animals. The correct fact about its sealing off the windward entry to its nest stems from Pliny,[3] often a closer observer of animal habits than he is given credit for. Unfortunately Olaus's next piece of information arises from a misunderstanding of Pliny's statement about their periods of sleep in winter, leading him to imagine that one species can take sleep instead of food. Albertus also remarks that squirrel meat is appetizing and wholesome, but Olaus verifies this a little earlier from the evidence of hunters, who have told him that their roasted flesh is a pleasure to eat. In fact most of his description of this animal is given over to its fur, the coloring and quality in different areas (he knows that the northernmost varieties have the most prized coats), and its value as a commodity for export to the rest of Europe, since he inherits the notion that nature has created all living species for man's benefit.

His almost slavish repetition of source material, going back through the medieval encyclopedists to Roman and Greek authors is regular practice among writers of his age, so that even Conrad Gesner, the most famous of

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[1] Vincent de Beauvais, *Bibliotheca mundi*, 4 vols. (Douai, 1624), 1, *Speculum naturale*, 19.102.

[2] Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus*, ed. H. Stadler, 2 vols. (Münster, 1916–20), 22.2.1.134.

[3] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, ed. & trans. H. Rackham, W. H. S. Jones, D. E. Eichholz, Loeb, 10 vols (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1938–63), 8.58.138.

natural historians contemporary with Olaus, reproduces all the authorities from Aristotle onwards, while adding much of his own to convey everything that was known or imagined about animals in his time.[4] The rediscovery of many ancient sources of knowledge was relatively new, and much excitement was still being generated by them among Renaissance humanists; even such a close anatomical observer as Vesalius builds on the recently found works of Galen. A little earlier, Vives had been one of the few to condemn dogmatic acceptance of Aristotelian teaching and recommended a return to close observation and experiment, a procedure advocated by Aristotle himself. Albertus Magnus, however, had adapted Aristotle's natural history for Christian use and Olaus was on the whole rather fortunate in having these genuine scientific investigators as two of main sources for his later books. Criticism of Pliny rarely extended yet beyond emendations of copyists' and printers' errors, so that it is not surprising if Olaus seldom disputes his authority. By and large he cannot readily discriminate between good and bad sources and, like many of his contemporaries, is quite willing to resort to Johannes de Sacrobosco's outdated astronomy or to general compilations like that of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, both of whom were still what might be called best-sellers in the sixteenth century.

Writing in book I about the effects of lightning and the way snakes lose their poison if they are struck by it, a proposition from Vincent which we would hardly be inclined to doubt, Olaus inserts the marginal gloss, "admiranda potius quam inquirenda," a rationale that lies behind many of his statements about the puzzling, often incredible phenomena of the universe. Far better to fall back on the experience and opinions of classical and medieval authors who have stood the test of time. Besides, neither Roman nor Lutheran churches were particularly keen to encourage free speculation about God's wonders as manifested by His handmaid, nature. A Faustian *curiositas* that attempted to pry too closely into divine secrets could be dangerous; consequently scientists should accept that the more bizarre and baffling manifestations of the universe must remain unexplained (21.37). Nevertheless Olaus hopes that, if his style and presentation are not too deficient, his researches will illuminate certain natural phenomena for his readers and be an advantage to scholarship.

As a result the *Historia* presents an astonishing mélange of accurate observation on the one hand and folk belief or received lore on the other. In book VI a detailed account of extracting and smelting ore is juxtaposed with reports of the activities of demons in mines (6.10). Beavers, we learn, when they are constructing a dam, will use one of their idler members or one from another colony to transport timber by rolling him on his back, piling logs on his stomach between the fore- and hind-legs, and tugging him along with their teeth, a fantasy which can be traced back through Bartholomaeus

[4] Cf. Conrad Gesner, *Historia animalium*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt, 1603–17), 1, s. v. *sciurus*.

and Giraldus Cambrensis,[5] and, according to John Granlund, the Swedish editor, first appears in Europe in the twelfth-century Danish *Lejrekrønikan* (18.5). One finds him rather credulous, too, of ideas that probably came to him by word of mouth: bears, he tells us, root about in ants' nests to stop their noses itching (22.20), and he seems to have believed an old soldier's tale that the danger of receiving an arrow in your face hindered you from raising the visor of your helmet, and this was very inconvenient because it prevented you spitting (9.30).

Even so, certain far-fetched propositions inherited from his sources are often hedged about with words which might imply a light skepticism, as when he reports the declaration of Orosius ("asserit") that in the fifth year of Caligula's reign a monster nearly four miles long sprang from an abyss off the coast of Thera (21.7). The Icelanders believe ("creditur") that beneath Mount Hekla lies a place of punishment and expiation for the souls of the damned (2.3). It is a general belief in Norway that the huge statues which stand next to some mountain paths were once giants or devils turned to stone on the supplication of St Olaf ("immo et fama et fide receptum videtur") (2.15). By inserting such verbal phrases he distances himself slightly from the report without committing himself to its corroboration. Occasionally he goes farther: in a section on strange and supernatural creatures in book III he writes: "in Chapter 44 Solinus mentions satyrs and the Himantopodes, who are supposed to be strap-footed; this shows the ridiculousness of blind pagan beliefs" (3.11). Elsewhere (19.27) he enlists the support of Pliny and Albertus to deny the existence of griffins, but cannot resist inserting a whole chapter of fabulous matter on their habits, though how they could have had any connection with Scandinavia is hard to imagine.

In the description of squirrels you will have noticed Olaus's expression of delight in watching their gambols over the frozen surface of snow. This accords with his continual joy in all that God has created, whether it be in exclaiming over the wonderful intricacy of insects' bodies (22.Preface) or describing how tall trees bend towards the earth in winter when the snow freezes and sticks on their branches, so that they will quite often crack under the insupportable weight. When a thaw finally comes, "after such a tremendous, long-protracted struggle in nature, with the returning moistness these bent trees rise up to their former freedom and beauty, stretching higher into the sky" (19.35–6) (See Appendix ii). Everywhere in his work there is the same evidence that the author always kept his eyes (and ears) open, avid for new sights and information about the world. His description of seal-hunting, which, he informs us, comes from personal observation, tells how the hunter, camouflaged with a black skin and carrying a harpoon, crouches out on the ice and imitates the bark of a seal, until one of the

[5] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (Strasbourg, 1505), 18:28; *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, Rolls Series, 8 vols. (London, 1861–98), *Itinerarium Kambriae* (vol. 6), ed. J. F. Dimock, 2. 3.

males approaches under the delusion that it is going to take another mate (20.5). He relates with great interest how on a voyage he has seen ambergris strewn over the surface of the Ocean, greyish-blue with a tinge of white, and clotting together in lumps of various shapes, though he mistakenly believes that it is an excess of semen produced by the whale (21.18).

In the Renaissance there appears to have been a close connection between art and scientific observation, witness the many anatomical drawings by Leonardo or Weiditz's illustrations for Otto Brunfels's *Herbarum vivae eicones* (1530–1536), in which forty new species of plant are described and depicted. Like Leonardo, Piero della Francesca or Dürer, Olaus displays an interest in all the manifestations of human achievement from architecture to music, and shows a strong appreciation of art and the beauties of nature. He exclaims at the attractive colors of amber, remarks how weavers imitate the patterns of leaves reflected in water, and has a fine description of swans, which at the onset of winter "may be perceived flying off in V-formation among the white snowflakes and dark clouds. Revealed by a single call, they present a most beautiful sight as they wing their way through the highest heavens" (19.15) (See Appendix iii). From his suggestions in his Preface that it is a good idea if a writer can also practice drawing or painting, it seems probable that Olaus himself was an amateur artist, and he may well have done preliminary sketches of northern artifacts for his Italian engraver to copy. Science and the practical arts had also gone hand in hand since antiquity, for the purpose of science was admittedly to gain power over nature. That Olaus shares this interest in medicine, agriculture, military engineering and all forms of technology and utilitarian accomplishments can be seen everywhere in the *Historia*. There are chapters on clocks, windmills and watermills, brewing and baking, swimming and horsemanship, while the greater part of his book on insects is devoted to the skills of beekeeping. We even learn how to get rid of gnats and bed bugs, and are given all the uses of goose-fat, from adding flavor to foods, to staunching a flow of blood, to healing erysipelas, carbuncles, sores on the tongue, chapped skin and lips, and earache (19.10).

Olaus's keen eye for details of life in all ranks of sixteenth-century Swedish society has made him of greatest value as an ethnographer, and he is frequently cited by social historians as a source for the daily occupations, customs and beliefs of the common people of his time. But a spin-off from his all-embracing curiosity is that he turns his gaze on many aspects of the natural world, often before anyone else. Though he is usually content to accept a mixture of sources without much question, he is still the first writer to draw attention, for example, to the wonderful multiplicity of shapes in snowflakes, which, he says, will elude the powers of any artist. He himself has counted over twenty different patterns. Just as much variety can be seen in the ice crystals of frost on the outside of the windows of heated cabins—nature's embroidery (1.22). He notes that after a stroke of lightning new veins of metals, including silver, may be exposed on mountain tops (6.11);

he has heard that sailors encounter a good deal of dangerous driftwood off the coast of Greenland (2.10); or how just before the ice starts to break up on Lake Vättern, deep rumblings are heard from the bottom (20.18). He devotes five chapters of his first book to accounts of various halo phenomena which occur round the sun and moon in northern regions, with close descriptions of their appearance, color and duration (1.14–18). Olaus tells of his pleasure in meeting Adolf von Schaumburg, archbishop of Cologne, at the Council of Trent in 1551, for they soon discovered a mutual interest in the manifold aspects of nature, and the Swedish prelate was able to satisfy many of his queries about the natural phenomena of Scandinavia. At this time natural historians were beginning to collect and exchange specimens, and Olaus mentions the head of a sea creature, apparently a walrus, preserved in salt, which his friend Archbishop Walckendorf of Trondheim sent to Pope Leo X in 1520.

Nevertheless he has several shortcomings to preclude his qualifying as a true scientist. While he is important to social historians for his diligence in recording folk beliefs and superstitions, there is every reason to believe that he shared the same convictions. If a pregnant woman eats the meat of a hare, or is misguided enough to jump over one, he says, her baby will be born with a hare lip (18.11). A stork will pluck the feathers from a weakling among its young and topple it from its nest as a payment of its tithes to the farmer whose property it lives on (19.13). Needless to say, birds give many predictions of the future: if swallows shun a particular house when they are building nests, then the roof is bound to cave in (19.29). Colonies of ants advancing up a tree to war on others forecast an insurrection in the kingdom (22.20). Some of these superstitions go back to antiquity, such as the notion, found in Pliny, that seals are never struck by lightning—hence the wearing of sealskins or construction of tents from them (20.4).[6] Nor does Olaus take pains to hide his belief in witches, of whom he has some excellent stories, and in the face of Herodotus and Pliny's statements that these are only fairy tales,[7] he strongly maintains the existence of werewolves (18.45–47).

His halting attempts at taxonomy do not strike us as very convincing, seeing that one of his major sources, Aristotle, had already classified animals according to body plan and was feeling his way towards the distinction between vertebrates and invertebrates. Olaus tries to categorize the different types of eagle (19.6) but mixes them up with falcons; later, he tries his hand with different types of vulture (19.49) but confuses them with eagles. He even managed to put some of the same species in both lists. At the outset of the same book he divides birds in general by the ways they take their food

[6] Pliny, *Natural History*, 2.56.146.

[7] Herodotus, *Histories*, ed. & trans. A. D. Godby, 2nd ed., 4 vols., Loeb (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1922–38), 4:105; Pliny, *Natural History*, 8.34.80.

or by differences in voice and behavior, but also suggests looking at the shapes of their wings, beaks and feet (19.1–2). He is more successful with fish, for besides habitat, he looks at differences in shape and body covering, though here he lumps together sharks, seals and hippopotami, because he thinks they all have hairy hides (20.32). But the very attempt to systematize and order his different kinds shows him taking a step in the right direction. Gesner, who was listing every known animal species in his *Historia animalium* at about the same period, still arranged his creatures in alphabetical order (as Olaus does with his animals and birds), and made no advance on Aristotle in his taxonomy, even putting habitat before morphology. Plants were still largely arranged as they had been by the Greek physician, Dioscorides, according to their medicinal properties. Only Guillaume Rondelet at this time is making any real attempt at classification, in his *Libri de piscibus marinis* (1554), a study of Mediterranean fish, where he marks their differences as completely as possible, not only in parts of the body, but in habitat, food, taste and odor.

In the end Olaus Magnus is typical of an age which devoted a great deal of its energy to magic, astrology and alchemy, for he has little idea where to draw the line between science and pseudo-science. Like Gesner he assigns a chapter (21.43) to a sea-serpent two-hundred feet long. But his interests are encyclopedic, and unlike most contemporary scholars he is concerned with the practical arts: farming, mining and metal-working, or shipbuilding. Although often crude, the woodcuts supplied for so many chapters are a genuine attempt to convey information more immediately to his readers than can be effected by the written word, and point forward to the much more accurate drawings of animals in Gesner or plants in Aldrovandi. When he does provide useful scientific information, on ice crystals, the sea-level in the Baltic, drift ice, halo phenomena, etc., it is almost incidental, part of his obsessive desire to record every fact.

Bacon was later to put the whole emphasis of science on observation, as being the only true path to discovery, which itself has its end in the improvement of the human condition. Perhaps it is indicative of Olaus's failure to comprehend this that later writers remember him mainly for his strange lore. Robert Burton, for example, who knows him well, has a reference to his account of the Lapps selling winds to merchants (3.16) and to the way fishermen sometimes extract a thick cluster of live swallows from the water (19.29).[8] In the sixteenth century systematic investigation was beginning in astronomy and anatomy, but though naturalists were starting to lay foundations for their discipline, zoology was still largely seen as an extension of the findings of classical authors, and the proper study of insects had really to wait until the invention of the microscope. The Frenchman, Pierre Belon,

[8] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. T. C. Faulkner, N. K. Kiessling, R. L. Blair, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1989–90), 1.2.1.2, 2.2.3.1.

seems to have been the first to dissect birds and fish, but not till the late seventeenth century with the work of John Ray, the Cambridge botanist, was any true idea of the relationship of species formulated, and it was left to one of his successors in the same field, Linnaeus, to develop this into a fully-fledged system. Finally we are able to admire the indefatigable industry of Olaus Magnus, but cannot expect him to be much more than a product of his own era. Investigators were only starting to ask the right sort of questions and to base their researches on observation rather than on reasoning and traditional lore. Olaus moves just slightly in this direction, as in one simple instance, when he reports with pleasure his experimental discovery during the Danish siege of Stockholm that drinking old beer was an excellent remedy for getting rid of stones in the bladder (13.29).

Cambridge, England

Appendix

(i) Tranatat haec bestiola per amnes exiguo ligno, caudam habens pro velo expansam: non enim ei natura alium concessit natandi modum, propter exiguum corpus, et nimiam pilorum densitatem in cauda villosa: qua cito imbuta aqua, mergeretur in fundum. Neque pedes habet huic necessitati accommodatos: alioquin sagacissima est tempore caloris, ut cibos habeat pro parte longae hyemis reconditos, ubi dormiendo, et quiescendo reposuerat nidos: quos claudit ad latus, vel aperit iuxta flatuum asperitatem. Nuces autem corylinae, et faginae, sive pinei pampini, sunt cibus earum. Estque alia earum species, quae somno pascitur pro cibo. Mirae pernicitatis sunt in saliendo de una arbore in aliam: caudaque librant motum, et agilitate ungularum acutissimarum in ramis exultant, ludosque pulcherrimo spectaculo super congelatas nives ostendunt.

Historia, 18:18.

(See pages 409–410 for translation)

(ii) Adhaeret enim nix densa, latioribus ramis frigore congelata: augeturque frequenti nivium casu, ut saepius importabili onere vastae arbores vel rumpantur, vel in partes dividantur. Haecque nivium magna pressura continue durat, usquequo solis ascensu, et Austrino vento consumitur. Deinde post tantum, tamque diuturnum naturae certamen, redivivo humore huiusmodi arbores incurvatae, ad pristinam libertatem, et decorem resurgunt, eminentius in sublime tendentes. 19:35–36.

... for the cold makes the thick snow stick and freeze on the broader branches. This is made worse by frequent snowfalls, so that mighty trees quite often crack under the insupportable weight, or split into pieces. This huge pressure of snow lasts right on until there is a thaw, caused by

a tremendous, long-protracted struggle in nature, with the returning moistness these bent trees rise up to their former freedom and beauty, stretching higher into the sky.

(iii) Aves istae durante tepiditate, longiori se continent mora: et tandem frigoribus superatae acerrimis, sese in sublime efferunt, et evolant ad calidas regiones: tuncque inter nives candidas, permixtas atris nubibus, sola voce prodeunte in magnis agminibus, ordine etiam literali pulcherrimo spectaculo per altissimas nubes evolare cernuntur, prognostico incolis terrarum relicto, quod hyems validissima sit secutura. 19:15.

Swans linger as long as it remains tolerably warm, but in the end the piercing cold gets the better of them and, sweeping into the air, they fly away to hot countries. At that period vast teams may be perceived flying off in V-formation among the white snowflakes and dark clouds. Revealed by a single call, they present a most beautiful sight as they wing their way through the highest heavens. Their departure forecasts to the dwellers in those regions that a robust winter is to follow.

From Dialectics to Poetics: Johann Sturm's Definition of Dialogue

DONALD GILMAN

In her study on the emergence of eloquence in Renaissance Italy, Hanna H. Gray describes dialogue as "the most flexible form of discussing ideas of all sorts."[1] Although she does not trace the formation of humanist dialogue, her observation suggests the evolution of a genre that may have resulted from a redefinition of the place and function of dialectics and rhetoric in medieval and Renaissance learning. In examining arguments proposed by Petrarch, Lorenzo Valla, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Ermolao Barbaro, she sees scholasticism as a method of inquiry narrow in focus and separate from rhetoric. For Italian humanists, though, eloquence embraced the arts of dialectics and rhetoric; and, conveying a "harmonious union between wisdom and style,"[2] it combatted scholasticism on aesthetic and intellectual grounds.

The development of humanist dialogue reflects this broadened perspective. Scholastic dialogue appears as a type of dialectical disputation presented through an exchange of questions and answers. According to a thirteenth-century thinker, dialectics is an "ars opponendi et respondendi";[3] and, as Lisa Jardine and K. J. Wilson have demonstrated, the cut-and-thrust of debate is its appropriate expression.[4] C. J. R. Armstrong, moreover,

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[1] Hanna H. Gray, "Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (1963): 512.

[2] Ibid., 498.

[3] G. Wallerand, ed. *Les Oeuvres de Siger de Courtaic* (Louvain: Institut supérieur de philosophie de l'Université, 1913), 21 n. 3, quoted in K. J. Wilson, "The Continuity of Post-Classical Dialogue," *Cithara* 21 (1981): 33.

[4] Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discourse and the Art of Discovery* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1974), chap. 1; K. J. Wilson, *Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1985), 47–62.

notes the association of dialectics and dialogue in early sixteenth-century treatises.[5] Even the humanist Carlo Sigonio, in his *De dialogo liber* (1561), explains emphatically and elaborately the essential role of dialectics in Renaissance dialogue.[6] In spite of the undeniable significance of dialectics in scholastic and humanist examples, Renaissance dialogue diverges from its medieval antecedent in style and structure. Erasmus, Castiglione, and Bonaventure Des Périers had artistically employed fictitious characterization, conversation, setting, and story within the framework of a discussion of ideas. This transition did not pass unnoticed; later, critics attempted to reconcile practice with precept. Tasso, for example, views the dialogue-writer as a poet and dialectician; and Sidney describes him as a "maker" who shapes the subject matter of philosophy to the craft of poetry.[7] By the end of the sixteenth century, then, the concept of dialogue had become more inclusive. Such an enlargement of form has recently prompted K. J. Wilson to characterize the genre as an "incomplete fiction."

For both medieval schoolmen and Renaissance critics, classification determines definition. By assigning a topic or text to a particular science, theorists, according to Bernard Weinberg, postulated the aim, function, and characteristics of the subject which, in turn, corresponded to the nature and expectation of its respective categorization.[8] The theorization of dialogue seems to have followed such a course. Recently, Jon R. Snyder has examined the theories of dialogue advanced by sixteenth-century Italian critics who situate the genre in the poetic canons and then proceed to identify its fictional qualities.[9] In this analysis of the designation of dialogue as a sort of poetic imitation, Snyder overlooks previous views of the genre as a type

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[5] C. J. R. Armstrong, "The Dialectical Road to Truth: The Dialogue," in *French Renaissance Studies, 1540–70: Humanism and the Encyclopedia*, ed. Peter Sharratt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1976), 36–51.

[6] Carolus Sigonius, *De dialogo liber*, ed. Johannes Jessenius (Leipzig: H. Osthausus, 1596), 109–69. For analyses of Sigonio's thoughts on the place and function of dialogue, see Jon R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1989), 64–75; and Donald Gilman, "The Reconstruction of a Genre: Carolus Sigonius and the Theorization of Renaissance Dialogue," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, ed. Alexander Dalzell, Charles Fantazzi, and Richard J. Schoeck (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991), 351–54.

[7] Torquato Tasso, *Discorso dell'arte del dialogo*, ed. and trans. Carnes Lord and Dain A. Trafton (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1982), 40; Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1973), 97. Quintilian, in his *De institutione oratoria* (5.11.39 and 10.1.81), had reached a similar conclusion. Sixteenth-century theorists repeating the idea include Bernardino Daniello, *La Poetica* (1536; repr. Munich: W. Fink, 1968), 22–23; Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, *De poeta* (1539; repr. Munich: W. Fink, 1970), 16–17; and Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (1561; repr. n.p. Petrus Santandreanus, 1586), 13–14.

[8] Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (1961; repr. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974). 1:1–37.

[9] Snyder studies, in particular, the theories of Signio, Speroni, and Tasso.

of dialectical discourse. Medieval traditions cannot be dismissed, and the evolution of dialogue from dialectical disputation to humanist discussion appears to proceed from an expansion of the definition of dialectics. The Strasbourg schoolmaster Johann Sturm (1507–1589), contributes to this revised definition. Indeed, by building upon Rudolph Agricola's thoughts on the interrelation of the arts of the trivium, he proposes a theory of dialogue which links dialectical discourse with rhetorical expression, and which invites later inclusions of the genre into the poetic canons.

Biographers of Johann Sturm attribute this humanist's most significant contributions to the area of educational reform.[10] After his studies in Liège, Louvain, and Paris, he served as a lecturer in classics at the Collège de France. In 1538, he founded the Strasbourg Gymnasium and, as headmaster until 1567, implemented a curriculum that reflected humanist pedagogy. Through numerous letters and his treatise, *De litterarum ludis recte aperiendis* (1538), he attacks scholastic abuses and promotes reforms set forth by Rudolph Agricola. Sturm's writings extend to rhetoric. In his *De imitatione oratoria* (1574) and *De exercitationibus rhetoricis* (1575), he enumerates and analyzes tropes and techniques. His editions of, and commentaries on, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1570), Cicero's *Partitiones oratoriae* (1539), and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1540) attest to his knowledge of the theory and practice of classical rhetoric. Further, as Walter Ong has pointed out, Sturm's study in Paris coincides both with the popularity of Agricola's topical logic and with the study of Hermogenes's rhetorical treatises.[11] His subsequent translations of, and commentaries on, several of Hermogenes's manuals indicate an interest in humanist rhetoric that conflicts with Parisian scholasticism. In his *Partitionum dialecticarum libri IV*, he suggests the interrelation of dialectics and rhetoric which supports Agricola's educational reforms, and which enables him to revise thought on the form and function of dialogue.

Sturm's *Partitionum dialecticarum libri* is, as its title indicates, a manual of dialectics.[12] Widely disseminated throughout the sixteenth century, it takes the form of a colloquy in which the Strasbourg schoolmaster instructs two pupils in the principles of effective argumentation. Begun in 1539, and completed in four books in 1560,[13] it presents precepts of dialectical invention, judgment, demonstration, and sophistic reasoning. In book 4, chapter 18,

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[10] See the book-length studies by Charles Schmidt, *La Vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm* (Strasbourg: C. F. Schmidt, 1855); Louis Kückelhahn, *Johannes Sturm, Strassburg's erster Schulrector* (Leipzig: J.F. Hartknock, 1872); W. Sohm, *Die Schule Johann und die Kirche Strasburgs* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1912).

[11] Walter J. Ong, S. J., *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), 232.

[12] Johann Sturm, *Partitionum dialecticarum libri IV* (Lyon: J. Tornaesius, 1561). All folio references correspond to this edition.

[13] Ong, 233, gives the date of completion as 1560. Armstrong, 48 n. 19, cites a printing of the four-book edition as early as 1548 and a second edition as 1554.

Sturm turns attention to the substance, style, and structure of dialogue. Like Aristotle who defines disputation as a "question-and-answer examination of an accepted belief,"[14] Sturm sees dialogue as a verbal exchange of interlocutors who, through questions and demonstrations, examine premises and contest beliefs. In subsequent chapters, he details argumentative strategies and techniques which suggest a definition of dialogue as a sort of disputation.

Argumentation provides the substance and strength of the genre; and dialogue, dependent upon the resources of dialectics, is a mode of expression that assists in the examination and debate of topics. But Sturm does not see dialogue solely in terms of dialectical discourse; and, in relating dialogue to the principles of rhetoric, he parts company with his scholastic predecessors. In the preface, Sturm opposes any separation of the use of reasoning from the art of discourse. Dialectics is essential for effective teaching (A iii v), for speaking without reasoned thought is meaningless. Conversely, dialectics by itself, without copiousness and ornamentation, does not adequately convey the force and subtleties of a subject. Dialectics and rhetoric combine to produce an eloquence that literate persons employ in feasts and other gatherings. Through their practice of these two arts, they exclude fatuousness, impoliteness, and inaccuracies from their thought and speech, and thereby examine and investigate issues with learning and elegance. The importance of grammar, the first art of the trivium, cannot be dismissed. As he notes later in the opening chapter (1 v), it assures intelligible expression and, along with dialectics and rhetoric, results in a discourse that argues and informs.

According to Sturm, dialogue reflects this principle. Through frequent allusions to Plato's dialogues (bk. 4, chap. 18), he demonstrates the relationship between dialectical disputation and rhetorical structure that characterizes the genre. Like orations, dialogues exhibit a tripartite structure that includes (1) an opening statement similar to the *exordia* of Cicero's speeches, (2) a presentation of the argument, and (3) a conclusion summarizing the points of debate and permitting the departure of the interlocutors. Speeches in dialogues recall the writings of Cicero and Varro that attempt to persuade listeners of a particular point of debate. And the prologues in the plays of Terence resemble the *exordia* in Cicero's orations and conform to the structural patterns of Plato's dialogues.

As Michel Ruch has noted, ancient critics categorized dialogue as a poetic genre.[15] Sturm does not take this explicit stance. Substantively, dia-

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[14] Aristotle, *Topics*, ed. and trans. E. S. Forster. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965), 1.2.

[15] Michel Ruch, *Le Préambule dans les oeuvres philosophiques de Cicéron: Essai sur la genèse et l'art du dialogue* (Paris: Les "Belles Lettres," 1958), 19 n. 2, notes references to the classification of dialogue as a poetic genre in Demetrius (*On Elocution* 215) and Cicero (*Orator* 67). Sigonio, 52–54, also mentions references in Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 1.2) and Plutarch (*Table-Talk* 8.8.711c).

logue is a form of disputation, and dialectics affords appropriate argumentation. But like Aristotle (*Poetics* 1447b), he does not deny the poetic qualities of the genre. However, in affirming the interdependence of the arts of the trivium, and in applying this thesis to dialogue, he appears to be borrowing a concept which, set forth by Rudolph Agricola, enables him to revise the definition of dialogue.[16]

Earlier, in his extensively used textbook, *De inventione dialectica libri tres* (1515), Agricola expands the scope and function of dialectics.[17] Instead of seeing this art solely as a practice of examining premises, he describes its nature as a faculty of discoursing[18] and designates its aim as one of instruction.[19] Teaching proceeds through speech which, in turn, depends upon dialectics to attain its end. The dialectician becomes therefore an orator who, through his discourse, presents cogent arguments more effectively through the delighting and moving of the reader-listener (4). Although Agricola subsumes rhetoric to dialectics, he, like Sturm, does not deny the relevance of grammar; for the dialectician must articulate his thoughts correctly and clearly. However, by appropriating grammar and rhetoric to the needs of arguing convincingly, dialectics goes beyond the validation of statements, and becomes the "dux illa directrixque omnium artium" (144).

Agricola's association of dialectics and disputation evolves from medieval doctrine and practice. But in spite of these shadows of scholasticism, Agricola enlarges its aim and applies this view to his concept of dialogue. In the opening chapter (1.1), he distinguishes two sorts of discourses: exposition which demonstrates the certainties and complexities of a thesis; and argumentation which, divided into two types according to the degree of probability, is employed to induce belief. Agricola does not refer directly to dia-

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[16] Agricola's influence on Sturm's philosophy of education and his thoughts on the interconnection between dialectics and rhetoric have been documented and examined by Schmidt, chaps. 1 and 4; Ong, 239; William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance* (1906; repr. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1967), 86; and Anton Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt: Akademie in Strassburg, 1538–1621* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977). According to Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1986), 163, Peter Ramus attributes to Sturm the advancement of Agricolan dialectics.

[17] Although critics have overlooked Agricola's shaping of the definition of dialogue, studies that have examined his thoughts on dialectics include Woodward, 79–103; Ong, 92–130; and J .R. McNally, " 'Dux Illa Directrixque Artium': Rudolph Agricola's Dialectical System" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 52 (1966): 337–47.

All citations and page references correspond to Rudolph Agricola, *De inventione dialectica libri tres* (1528; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1976).

[18] "Erit ergo nobis hoc pacto definita dialectice, ars probabiliter de qualibet re proposita disserendi, prout cuiusque natura capax esse poterit." (155).

[19] ". . . erit nimirum dialectices finis, probabiliter re proposita dicere: quando huic soli rei est instituta. Id scilicet est quod initio dixi, docere aliquid eum qui audit." (157).

logue. But as Armstrong has noted,[20] he sees discourse as orations and disputations. And the logics of scientific demonstration and dialectical disputation that he borrows from Aristotle provide later for Sigonio and Tasso the bases for a definition of two dialogic structures:[21] *expositio*, which facilitates instruction on an incontrovertible topic (e.g., mathematics, music, astronomy), and *inquisitio*, which examines and elucidates a controvertible subject (e.g., ethics and political theory).

Although Agricola does not relate the taxonomy of arguments to a classification of dialogues, he does describe the possibilities of the form as a discrete genre (3.4). In convincing and moving the reader, the dialogue-writer assumes a dual role of dialectician and rhetor. Persuasion, pleasure, and the arrangement of topics all play their part. Digression, he notes, is especially well suited to the genre:

> Est autem huius rei cum apud multos videre exempla, tum apud Platonem Lucianumque in dialogis, quo pacto sumpto diductissimo exordio, a re proposita paulatim et occulto gradu ad id quod instituut: adrepant. (345)

Agricola does not discard syllogism and enthymeme, and *dispositio* requires the arrangement of material that results in belief. But this chain of logical links must be embellished by rhetorical tricks of the trade. In particular, he points to the significance of *enargeia* which, through vividness and force, affects the reader's mind.[22] Characterization, he continues, is an especially effective means of realizing this end, enabling the dialectician-rhetor to animate and concretize debate:

> Est apud Platonem videre, tam diligenter effictas differentes personas, ut non Platonis, sed personae, non verba audire, sed vultus intueri videaris. (347)

Agricola does not invoke the dictum of *docere* and *delectare* as proposed by Ci-

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[20] Armstrong, 38.

[21] Sigonio, 131–67, and Tasso, 28–31, describe the structures of dialogues in terms of Aristotelian argumentation as summarized by Diogenes Laertius, *Life of Plato*, 3. 47–65.

[22] The notion of *enargeia* or *evidentia* is a rhetorical principle employed by poets and defined, in particular, by Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 1411b21–1413b1), Cicero (*De oratore* 3.163), Quintilian (*De Institutione oratoria* 8.3.61–62), and Erasmus (*De copia*, bk. 2, method 5); and is applied to dialogue by Tasso, 36–41. Kathy Eden, *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 71–75, 88–94, studies the principle defined and practiced by ancient rhetoricians. Neil L. Rudenstine, *Sidney's Poetic Development* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), 149–71; Forrest G. Robinson, *The Shape of Things Known: Sidney's "Apology" in Its Philosophical Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1972), 131–35, and S. K. Heninger, Jr., *Sidney and Spenser: The Poet as Maker* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1989), 96–97, 261–62, trace the principle in ancient criticism and analyze its uses in English Renaissance poetry. Snyder, 171–80, studies Tasso's appropriation of this rhetorical concept to the theorization of dialogue.

cero (e.g., *Brutus* 185–200) and Horace (*Ars poetica* 343–46); but the presence of interlocutors enlivens the argumentation and, by inculcating pleasure, advances instruction. Thus, the non-fiction of scholastic disputation emerges as a literary genre which, through thoughts and words, becomes for Agricola a "speaking picture," "picturam loquentem" (149).

Sturm, then, seems to be placing dialogue within the context established by Agricola. In elaborating on the tripartite structure of dialogue, for example, he emphasizes the fictional qualities of the genre. In the introduction, the dialogue-writer presents the issue to be discussed, describes the circumstances of the imaginary meeting, and enumerates the points of debate. Characterization must complement the argument, and diction must be consistent with the character, emotion, and thought of the respective speaker. Although Sturm stresses the significance of decorum that delineates character in terms of situation and expectation, he only alludes to the role of verisimilitude. In referring to Cicero's absenting of the aging and easily fatigued Scaevola from the second and third dialogues of *De oratore*, he suggests the need to create an illusion that enhances credibility and assists argumentation. Later, Sigonio applies more fully and elaborately the principles of decorum and verisimilitude to the writing of dialogue.[23]

Both dialectical ploys and rhetorical techniques promote the plausibility of the arguments recorded in dialogue. In viewing the form as a means to examine a controvertible topic, Agricola seems to propose a sort of dialogue which, in exploring the assumptions and pronouncements of a subject, resembles the aim and structure of Cicero's *disputatio in utramque partem*. Sturm, however, emphasizes eristic or "match-winning" debates which, practiced by Plato and the scholastics, result in resolution. Match-winning, according to Sturm, necessitates an understanding of psychology which aids in a furtive influencing of the thoughts of one's opponents. By concealing his goals and strategies, moreover, the debater employs narratives which, like Plato's use of myths in his *Phaedrus*, eventually disclose a conclusion derived through deduction, induction, and the discovery of common denominators binding diverse statements. By itself, competence in logic does not assure victory. But rhetoric, as Aristotle defines it, is "the counterpart of dialectics."[24] And Sturm lists rhetorical devices which, previously described by Aristotle and Quintilian, assist the debater to attain a successful outcome: suitable diction; expression of questions; length and arrangement of thought; conclusions implied from the situation and the presented arguments; circumstances defining the character and position of the interlocutors; the psychology of the speakers; the use of comparisons, examples, repe-

[23] Sigonio, 56–85. For Sigonio's theorization of decorum and verisimilitude in the writing of dialogue, see Snyder, 56–64, and Gilman, 349–51.

[24] Aristotle, *Rhetoric and Poetics*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York: Random House, 1954), 19 (1354).

titions, contrasts, and narration. In every dialogue, the interlocutor draws upon the instruments of logic and rhetoric. But if the dialectician's tools of examples and similarities heighten clarity of thought, the orator's stock of amplifications and circumlocutions direct and embellish discourse.

Sturm is aware of the dangers of sophistry. In his final chapter (4.23), he recognizes that the philosopher employs, and thereby concludes with, the premises elucidated by demonstrative methods. On the other hand, the dialectician-dialogist, who probes probable or controvertible issues, draws upon less certain proofs (i.e., enthymemes). The designation of the dialectician-rhetor reduces the stature of the dialogue-writer who does not analyze in order to profess and explain verifiable knowledge. Rather, he depends upon probabilities to plead his argument and to dissuade the reader from accepted opinions. The setting of dialogue may recall historical incidents and geographical locations; but, imaginatively conceived, the course of debate reflects the posturings and maneuverings of a cat-andmouse game. In spite of his role to convince, however, the dialecticiandialogist instructs; and, striving to attain the ideal of a *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, he employs dialectics and rhetoric to dispel the misleading and to direct his reader-listener to learning and truth.

By applying Agricola's revised definition of dialectics to a theorization of dialogue, Sturm affirms the interrelationship of dialectics and rhetoric in the development of this emerging humanist genre. Rhetoric, however, is not poetry. But rhetoric and poetry are kindred arts; and, as we know, imaginative writings in prose reflected practice in the "art de la seconde rhétorique."[25] Further, as Bernard Weinberg tells us, Horace's use of rhetorical principles in his critical analyses of poetic works supports and even authorizes sixteenth-century theorists to interrelate rhetoric with poetry.[26] Indeed, is the rhetor's effort so different from the dramatist's (and dialogist's) use of decorum? Nevertheless, in adopting Agricola's expanded definition of dialectics to his notion of dialogue, Sturm reaffirms Agricola's thought and enables later theorists to classify dialogue as a poetic genre. In fact, Carlo Sigonio draws upon Plato's mimetic modes to demonstrate the poetic attributes of this humanist genre.[27] Later, Speroni, Tasso, and Sidney concur, and endorse a genre philosophical in subject matter but poetic in style and struc-

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[25] Grahame Castor, *Pléiade Poetics: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Thought and Terminology* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1964), chap. 2, surveys this relationship in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century French literature and criticism.

[26] Weinberg, 1:71–249.

[27] Sigonio, 30–37, 53–54. See Snyder, 47–52, and Gilman, 347–49, for discussions of Sigonio's theory of poetic mimesis as applied to dialogue. K. J. Wilson, *Incomplete Fictions*, 4–19, places the problem within a larger critical context that enables theorists to classify dialogue in the poetic canon. Tasso, 18–25, sees poetic imitation primarily in terms of the representation of action or an "imitazione di ragionamento" (20). For an examination of Tasso's theory of poetic imitation as related to dialogic discourse, see Snyder, 158–66.

ture. In spite of the flourishing of a genre in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, the theorizations of Sturm should not be discarded. In integrating narrow scholastic notions of dialectics with enlarged humanist views of discourse, he advances the definition and facilitates the development of a philosophical-poetic genre, scholastic in its traditions but humanist in its adaptations.

Ball State University

Translation, Imitation, Transformation: Du Bellay as Self-Translator

ELLEN S. GINSBERG

A phenomenon well-known to scholars of the Renaissance is the proliferation of writing and rewriting: that is, the open-ended quality of so much of the literature, notably of Rabelais, Ronsard, and Montaigne in the French vernacular, and of Erasmus in Latin.[1] Unlike these writers, Joachim Du Bellay (1522–1560) made few changes in his work and did not constantly rewrite his texts. In one sense, however, Du Bellay did rewrite those poems which appear in two versions, a Latin and a French one. The Latin poems were published in the *Poemata* (1558), the vernacular poems, in one of the three French collections also published by Du Bellay in 1558, upon his return from Rome. While several of these Latin and French versions have been studied by scholars, including myself, their interest has not yet been exhausted.[2]

The Latin poem I will examine is drawn from the *Tumuli*, the fourth book of the *Poemata*:

Romae ueteris
Montibus e septem totum diffusa per orbem,
Sidera sublimi uertice Roma tuli.
Sub pedibus terras utroque ab littore pressi,

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[1] See Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) for an in-depth presentation of the problematics of writing in the Renaissance.

[2] Cf. G. Sutherland, "Etude littéraire comparée de la poésie latine et française de Joachim Du Bellay," diss., Univ. of Paris, 1952; E. Ginsberg, "Joachim Du Bellay's Latin poem *Patriae desiderium* and his Vernacular Poetry," *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis* (Paris: Vrin, 1980), 529–36; and "Peregrinations of the Kiss: Thematic Relationships between Neo-Latin and French Poetry in the Sixteenth Century," *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreani* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986), 331–42.

Atlantem tenuit dextra, sinistra Scytham.
Iuppiter hos etiam disiecit fulmine montes,
Et tumulos iussit corporis esse mei.
Incubuit capiti rupes Tarpeia nostro,
Pressa Quirinali pectora nostra iacent.
Crura Palatinus, geminos hinc inde lacertos
Collis Auentinus Vimineusque tegunt.
Exquiliae hinc surgunt, et surgit Coelius illinc:
Haec quoque sunt pedibus facta sepulchra meis.
Sic quae uiua sibi septem circundedit arceis,
Mortua nunc septem contegitur tumulis.

The parallel French poem is the fourth sonnet of the *Antiquités*:[3]

Celle qui de son chef les estoilles passoit,
Et d'un pied sur Thetis, l'autre dessous l'Aurore,
D'une main sur le Scythe, & l'autre sur le More,
De la terre, & du ciel, la rondeur compassoit:
Juppiter ayant peur, si plus elle croissoit,
Que l'orgueil des Geans se relevast encore,
L'accabla sous ces monts, ces sept monts qui sont ore
Tumbeaux de la grandeur qui le ciel menassoit.
Il luy mist sur le chef la croppe Saturnale,
Puis dessus l'estomac assist la Quirinale,
Sur le ventre il planta l'antique Palatin:
Mist sur la dextre main la hauteur Celienne,
Sur la senestre assit l'eschine Exquilienne,
Viminal sur un pied, sur l'autre l'Aventin.

This first epitaph of the *Tumuli* celebrates the most illustrious of the dead: Rome itself. As often in epitaphs, the dead person speaks in the first person, in her own voice, to an implicit *viator*, contrasting her past glory with her present ruin. Rome is personified as a giant, who when alive straddled the earth, with her head supporting the heavens. Struck by Jupiter's thunderbolts, the seven hills which define her topography make up her tomb, one hill covering each of the principal parts of her body.

This fourteen-line Latin epitaph in distichs or elegiac stanzas was turned into a sonnet by Du Bellay. Although the number of lines is identical in the translation (a difficult achievement when passing from a synthetic to an analytic language), he makes small but significant changes in the poem to adapt it to its new setting in the *Antiquités*. The speaker is no longer Rome herself, but an anonymous narrator who describes his impressions of Rome. The

[3] The texts of these poems are taken from the following modern editions: Geneviève Demerson, ed., *Oeuvres Latines: Poemata*, (Paris: Nizet, 1984) 169, vol. 7 of *Oeuvres Poétiques*, and *Les Regrets et autres Oeuvres Poëtiques suivis des Antiquitez de Rome*, eds. J. Jolliffe and M. A. Screech (Geneva: Droz, 1966), 276.

grandeur of Rome is again compared to a giant, encompassing the earth with her hands and feet, while her head surpasses the stars, but Du Bellay has changed the terms of the description. The head of the giant no longer holds up the heavens. The four cardinal points which represent the extension of the Roman Empire are now represented by Tethys (the Ocean or the West), Aurora (the East), the Scythians (the North), and the Moors (the South). These four terms replace "utroque ab littore" (from shore to shore or between the two shores) for East and West, and Atlas and the Scythians (for South and North).

Atlas or "Atlantem" refers to Mount Atlas or King Atlas, who was changed into a mountain by Perseus and bears the heavens on his shoulders. The Atlas mountains, found in North Africa, would represent the southernmost limits of the Roman Empire. In another version of the myth, Atlas is a giant, son of the Titan Japet or Iapetus. Having fought with the giants against Jupiter and lost, he is condemned by Jupiter to bear the heavens on his shoulders. His place of residence was generally considered to be the extreme west. The reference to Atlas in the Latin poem was entirely appropriate, both in his role as a Titan involved in the war against Jupiter (although Rome does not directly compare herself to the giants or Titans in this poem), and as the bearer of the heavens upon his shoulders: "Sidera sublimi uertice Roma tuli." The French version of this verse: "D'une main sur le Scythe, et l'autre sur le More," eliminates all reference to Atlas by substituting a real people, the Moors, parallel to the Scythians, and who symbolize the southernmost part of the Roman Empire. At the same time Du Bellay has eliminated the reference to Atlas's punishment by substituting the notion of Rome as "Celle qui de son chef les estoilles passoit."

The verse which defines the eastern and western boundaries of the Empire has also undergone transformation. The general term "utroque ab littore," is replaced by two proper nouns, Thetis or Tethys and Aurora, which give the broadest extension possible to the Roman Empire. Du Bellay introduces a Titaness, Tethys, wife of Oceanus, as the Western limit of the empire, thus inserting an allusion to the battle of the Titans and the Gods. Aurora, symbol of the East, is also a Titaness. Du Bellay ends the first quatrain of the French sonnet by making explicit the dominion of Rome over the heavens as well as the earth: "De la terre et du ciel, la rondeur compassoit."

The second quatrain echoes the fifth and sixth verses of the Latin poem but alters them considerably. It gives an explanation of Rome's downfall: her overweening pride. The narrator compares her explicitly to the giants, whom Jupiter vanquished and buried under Ossa and Pelion. So Rome, because of excessive pride, was struck down by Jupiter and buried under the seven hills which became her tomb. This addition was prompted by Du Bellay's desire to analyze the reasons for Rome's fall, a constant theme of the *Antiquités*. The new version is also justified by the switch from the first person to a third-person narrator. Rome does not speak directly of her pride but the impersonal narrator does so.

The explanation of the cause of Rome's fall allows Du Bellay to present

the glorious state of Rome during the height of the Empire, the cause of her decline, and a description of the result of her fall in a single complex sentence which fills the two quatrains, while the Latin epitaph showed no cause and effect relationship and thereby posited a gap between grandeur and punishment.

The two tercets of the sonnet which correspond to lines 7–12 of the epitaph detail the seven hills and the parts of Rome's body which they cover. The disposition of these parts is not quite the same as in the Latin original, nor is the order of the hills the same. The Tarpeian rock becomes the "croppe Saturnale" (a reference to Saturn, dethroned by Jupiter from the heights of Olympus, another allusion to the great myths of origin) and holds down the head of Rome (both references are, appropriately, to the Capitoline). The Quirinal crushes Rome's chest. The Palatine covers her "ventre" rather than her legs. Her hands are pinned down by the Caelian and the Esquiline hills, instead of the Aventine and the Viminal, which in the French version press down her feet and end the sonnet.

The Latin epitaph is not yet finished. It is brought to a conclusion by an explanation of the ironic meaning of the seven hills, source of Rome's initial grandeur, which become her seven tombs in the final couplet. Du Bellay did not carry this explanation over into French, because the meaning is perfectly clear without an explication, because this idea appears in the second quatrain, and because he chose to rework the poem to fit the seven hills and the seven parts of the body of Rome within the two tercets of the sonnet. Although the general structure and movement of the poem remain the same in both languages, the French version is far from being an exact translation of the Latin. The changes made by Du Bellay are related to the need to arrange the content to fit the sonnet form, to relate the poem to its context within the sequence of the *Antiquités*, and to the influence of the various subtexts which he might have used.

From the point of view of their form and content, which are necessarily interwoven, the two versions reflect the difference between a fourteen-line poem in Latin and a French sonnet. The Latin poem is divided into seven distichs, each of which has its meaning complete. From the point of view of its content, the poem may be divided into four parts. The first part consists of four lines which describe Rome's former situation as mistress of the world by analogy to the giant who was the last and greatest threat to Jupiter: Typhon. Lines 5 and 6 resume Jupiter's fight against the giant Rome and its result: his thunderbolts displacing the seven hills and turning them into Rome's tomb. The allusion to Jupiter's struggle against the giant is continued and the role of the seven hills is stressed, echoing the first verse of the Latin: "Montibus e septem totum diffusa per orbem." The next six lines form a unit in which the seven hills pin down seven parts of the body of the giant Rome, as we have seen. The seven parts of the body echo the five parts of the body mentioned in lines 2–4. Lines 13–14 sum up the whole poem by repeating the notion that Rome, which began from seven hills

while alive, is now made up of seven tombs (see lines 1, 5–6).

This Neo-Latin poem exhibits the form of a funeral epigraph and the content of an epigram. It uses many rhetorical techniques such as personification, antithesis, symmetry, paraphrase, and enumeration. The symmetry, opposition, and enumeration are obvious and somewhat heavyhanded, especially when reinforced by the first couplet ("Montibus e septem"), the third couplet ("montes/tumulos"), and the last couplet ("septem . . . arceis/septem . . . tumulis").

The French sonnet has adapted the material to the sonnet form. The content is divided into three parts. The two quatrains correspond to the first six lines of the Latin poem, presenting in the first quatrain the greatness of Rome and in the second her destruction by Jupiter, linking them in a cause and effect relationship within a single complex sentence in which Rome is highlighted by her initial place in the sonnet ("Celle qui. . .") and then subordinated by her syntactical role as direct object of the action of Jupiter ("Juppiter . . . l'accabla. . . ."). The emphasis is placed on Jupiter's fear, on Rome's pride, and on Jupiter's swift victory which crushed Rome under its hills. The symmetry of the description of the giant is emphasized in the French version by the double reiteration of verses 2 and 3: "Et d'un pied . . . , l'autre/ D'une main . . . , et l'autre . . ." reinforced by "De la terre et du ciel" of verse 4. To the four cardinal points already spelled out, a third dimension, that of heaven vs. earth, is added. Instead of beginning with the seven hills as in the Latin, Du Bellay emphasizes them in his French version by the alliterative repetition of verse 7: "sous ces monts, ces sept monts." The advantage of the sonnet form in the vernacular and of its rhyme scheme is most evident in the tercets where the poet is able to use six of the names of the hills in the rhymes, like so many nails in Rome's coffin. The effect is made more powerful by the simplicity of the verbs describing Jupiter's actions: "Il luy mist / assist / il planta / Mist / assist" in verses 9–13, whereas the final verse of the sonnet has no verb at all but uses the figure of chiasmus to emphasize the two hills, "Viminal" and "Aventin." The fallen glory of Rome is still present through the accumulation of the names.

Du Bellay's French version is certainly not without its rhetorical figures, many of them carried over from the Latin. Personification, antithesis, and enumeration remain the chief ordering principles of the poem. The effect, however, is less rhetorical as the point of the poem is not hammered home in such a declamatory fashion.

In the French version of his poem, Du Bellay has taken care to integrate *Antiquités* IV into the sequence and into its immediate context. The introductory sonnet invokes the "Divins Esprits" of the Romans, calling upon them to emerge from their tombs (the ruins under which the ashes of the dead are buried) while he sings of their past glory. Sonnet II compares the seven hills of Rome to the seven wonders of the ancient world and finds them "sept miracles du monde." Sonnet III describes the ruins, all that re-

mains of the past glory of Rome and sets up the antithesis which will be the basis of sonnet IV: "Voy quel orgueil, quelle ruine." Rome, which conquered the whole world, conquered herself and became the prey of time. Sonnet IV then presents both the past glory and the present ruins in terms of the seven hills and of Jupiter's triumph over the giants. The myth of the giants is the dominating myth of the *Antiquités*; it appears explicitly first in sonnet IV, but also in XII, XVII and XXVII. The greatness, the pride, and the fall of Rome evoke the image of the sons of the Earth who tried to conquer the gods and failed. Rome, a living giant, defies Jupiter, and like the Titans or Giants or Typhon who sought to overthrow the gods, is punished by Jupiter who piled Pelion and Ossa on them. But in its detailed working out, the punishment resembles that wreaked by Jupiter on Typhon who was buried under Sicily, with his head, hands, and feet pinned down by various parts of the island, including Etna which held down his head.

The classical sources of both poems are evident. They have been enumerated in the critical editions and the critical literature on the *Antiquités*.[4] Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Horace, Ovid, Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris, Apollodorus, and others have been cited as sources of or influences on these poems. Since these founding myths are reiterated so often in the literature, and repeated by Erasmus in one of his *Adages*,[5] it would be difficult to pin down particular subtexts, although the Latin version does offer precise verbal echoes of classical poets such as Propertius, Virgil, and Ovid. By comparing Rome's ascension and decadence to the enterprise of the giants and their fall, Du Bellay gives to the rise and fall of Rome the grandeur and the fatality of the great classical myths of the origins of the gods and of the creation of the universe. At the same time, by using the myth of the punishment of Typhon, as presented by Ovid, Du Bellay links Rome to the generation of monsters also produced by Earth (Typhon himself was the father of Echidna, Cerberus, Hydra, the Sphinx, and the Chimera).

George H. Tucker, in his recent book on Du Bellay and the *Antiquités*, *The Poet's Odyssey* (1990), offers some interesting new suggestions as to subtexts De Bellay might have known while he was in Rome.[6] Tucker shows that Du Bellay's poetry in the *Antiquités* is the result not just of Classical and Italian vernacular models but also of the Neo-Latin tradition. First among the Neo-Latin sources is Janus Vitalis, whose *Elogia* (1553) contains a diptych of Rome (*Roma Prisca* and *Roma Instaurata*) which doubtlessly influenced Du Bel-

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[4] See G. Demerson 313–14; *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. H. Chamard, 6 vols. (Paris: Didier, 1961) 2:7; Jolliffe and Screech 276–277; J. Vianey, "*Les Antiquitez de Rome*, leurs sources latines et italiennes," *Bulletin Italien* (Fac. des lettres de Bordeaux, *Annales*, 4th series) 1, 1901, 187–99; V.-L. Saulnier, "Commentaires sur les Antiquités de Rome," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 12 (1950), 114–43; George H. Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990), 115–20, 133–36.

[5] *Adagia* 3.10.93, "Gigantum arrogantia."

[6] Tucker, 115–20.

lay. Vitalis's tableau of ancient Rome opposed to the new Rome reflects a commonplace of the time. Du Bellay may also have known the works of the Hungarian humanist, Janus Pannonius, which must have circulated in manuscript before they were published in Padua in 1559. Two epigrams by Pannonius develop an idea similar to the main theme of the quatrains of *Antiquités* IV. The two epigrams of Pannonius are themselves related to several poems of the *Greek Anthology*, which Du Bellay could also have known.

Of particular interest to us here is that Tucker posits different sources for the French and the Latin poem. He finds that Du Bellay's Latin epitaph is related to the *form* of one of Pannonius's poems, which is also a funeral inscription, while the French sonnet is closer to the *theme* of the two epigrams which present the terrestrial threat to Olympus from the perspective of the fearful Jupiter. Tucker also finds specific verbal echoes in the Latin epitaph of Du Bellay to another poem in Vitalis' *Elogia* ("totum diffusa per orbem"), Apollodorus, Virgil, and Ovid. Du Bellay's vernacular sonnet assimilates elements from Vitalis, Pannonius, the *Greek Anthology*, Apollodorus, though not necessarily the same elements. Verbal echoes here tend to be related to the other sonnets of the *Antiquités*, rather than to classical or Neo-Latin works. Tucker thus speaks of the differences between the French and the Latin poems as being the product of textual mediation and suggests that Du Bellay was influenced by different texts in each case.[7] Creative imitation rather than translation would be a better description of the technique used by Du Bellay in passing from one poem to the other, but I would point out that imitation of different texts is not the sole or sufficient cause of the variations in the two poems.

There remains the question of the chronology of these poems. Critics have posited an earlier date for the Latin texts which Du Bellay would have then translated or transposed into French.[8] This judgment seems to have been based on the general perception of the neo-Latin poetry as inferior. The vernacular poems would thus be the "perfected" versions.

In reference to these particular poems, however, Verdun L. Saulnier in his "Commentaires sur les *Antiquitez de Rome*" (1950)[9] suggests that because the topography of Rome (the seven hills) when superposed on the body of the giant gives a strangely contorted position to the giant, this poem must be one of the oldest ones of the collection, before Du Bellay had a good knowledge of Roman sites. He also suggests that since the "Romae veteris" gives a "much more natural topography and anatomy of Rome," the Latin text, which reveals a better and less abstract knowledge of the site, would

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[7] Tucker, 133–36.

[8] See H. Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay, 1552–1560* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 358–61; H. Weber, *La Création Poétique au XVI^e siècle en France de Maurice Scève à Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris: Nizet, 1955) 1: 414–16; and V. -L. Saulnier, *Du Bellay* (Paris: Hatier, 1968), 79, *inter alia*.

[9] Saulnier, 115–16.

have come later. Tucker takes exception to Saulnier's interpretation of the relationship between the seven hills and the parts of the human body and to Saulnier's conclusion concerning the early composition of this poem by the newly arrived poet.[10] Tucker alludes to the influence of Apollodorus (for the first quatrain) whose works were first published in 1555 and whose description of Typhon was clearly known to Du Bellay. He suggests that Du Bellay might have been influenced by the anonymous treatise *De Roma Prisca et nova* with its insistance on enumerations in series of seven, and by the sevenfold enumeration of Macrobius' *In Somnium Scipionis*, for his description of the fallen giant.[11] I would agree with Tucker that Saulnier's argument in favor of earlier composition of the French poem does not hold up to analysis; not only could Du Bellay have easily gotten hold of a plan of Rome soon after arriving in Rome and thus been more "realistic" in his portrayal of the fallen giant if he had wanted to do so, but his contorted representation of the giant was most likely done on purpose: "Juppiter hos etiam *disiecit* fulmine montes, / Et tumulos iussit corporis esse mei." The desire to present an artistic representation of a contorted fallen giant pinned down by the seven hills which were themselves tossed about and scattered by Jupiter is a more likely explanation than the biographical-historical explanation suggested by Saulnier. Although slightly different, both versions of the fallen giant present a contorted figure; whether this variation is due to the use of different sources, as Tucker suggests, or to the obvious differences between the Latin and the vernacular languages and rules of poesy, would be difficult to determine but makes literary speculation interesting.

Whichever poem may have been written first, and no matter when both poems were written, "Romae veteris" is appropriately in its place at the beginning of a book of epitaphs, devoted mostly to historical figures Du Bellay knew in Rome or who died while he was in Rome. In similar fashion, sonnet four of the *Antiquités de Rome* is in its proper place within a program which presents of Rome a "générale description de sa grandeur, et comme une déploration de sa ruine."

Washington, D.C.

[10] Tucker, 134 n. 59.

[11] Ibid., 133–36.

Equality in Hobbes's De cive

ROBERT GINSBERG

The undisputed leviathan of British political thought is Thomas Hobbes. His *Leviathan* (1651) is an enduring masterpiece of English letters. Subsequently rendered into Latin by Hobbes (1668), that version has faded from attention. Hobbes earlier wrote *De cive* in Latin (*Elementorvm philosophiæ sectio tertia de cive*, 1642), which was to be translated into English under the more pretentious title *Philosophical Rudiments Concerning Government and Society* in 1651, the year of *Leviathan*.[1] *De cive* has always taken a second place in the appreciation of Hobbes's political thought, overshadowed by the masterpiece. Yet *De cive* is a first-rate formulation, a clear, non-polemical guide to the main lines of Hobbesian theory, which some have thought is more philosophically coherent than the longer, more ambitious, and often digressive *Leviathan*.

This study proposes a close textual reading of the work in critical discussion of Hobbes's position on human equality and its consequences for political equality, a topic that remains of keen interest to liberal thought in our time. We will trace an idea through a text in order to grasp a theory that bears on life.

The Dedicatory Epistle signals at the start of Hobbes's inquiry what

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[1] The English translation of *De cive* was long attributed to Hobbes so that Sterling P. Lamprecht could claim in the introduction to his abridged edition (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949), xviii: "the English text here given has equal authority with that of the original Latin." In his critical editions of the Latin and English versions of *De cive* for the Clarendon edition of the *Political Works of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), vols. 2 and 3, Howard Warrender explores the evidence and decides in favor of Hobbes as self-translator. In "Did Hobbes Translate *De cive*?" *History of Political Thought* 11 (Winter 1990): 627–38, Philip Milton arrives at a negative answer; consequently, "the English translation does not have the same authority as the Latin original" (637). I am indebted to Dr. R. W. Truman for this reference. The texts of *De cive* cited in the present study are those of Warrender's editions, "L" designating the Latin text, and "E" designating the 1651 English version—whoever translated it. References to *Leviathan* are to the edition by C. B. Macpherson (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968).

would lead men to turn from the state of nature, "cum omnia essent omnium," ["when all was equally every man's common"] (L:75; E:27), to the civil state in which individual ownership takes precedence. The loss of one kind of equality of access—common ownership—I would say is compensated by the gain of another kind of equality, our twentieth-century notion of equality of opportunity as applied to private ownership. But Hobbes is not concerned here with preservation of the original value of equality. Preservation aims deeper—at the fruits of our acquisitiveness. We are motivated by a "cupiditatis naturalis," delightfully rendered in English as a "concupiscible part" of human nature (L:75; E:27), rather than by any ideal notion of moral equality or communal identity. In the state of nature, indeed, we are equally beyond moral considerations. A difficulty in practice drives us to exchange communal equality for private property. The "community of goods" will lead to disputes ("ex communitate rerum bellum") which must divide the natural community of persons. In *Leviathan* (1.13) Hobbes explains this natural result as following from diffidence whereby we each give greater weight to how we see things even if our vision is equal.

Psychologically, equality means difference. Reason then leads us to make the move by means of contract which will protect us from things falling apart. Private property calls for a civil protection that is lacking when all is held in common. In a nutshell Hobbes has given us his political theory. A rational principle works in conjunction with our desiderative nature. Moral principles and civil law are introduced by an agreement when we discover the inconvenience of living without them in the original condition. The communal character of property gives way to the private. Most important for Hobbes, the grounds of dissension and strife are replaced by conditions of peaceful co-existence.

In *De cive* 1.1.3., Hobbes defines natural equality in a most thought-provoking way: "Æquales sunt qui æqualia contra se inuicem possunt," ["they are equalls, who can doe equall things one against the other"] (L:93; E:45). The Latin is more pungent in its answering of "sunt" by "possunt." A better English version would be: "Equals are they who equally each other may harm." Equality is not a substantive characterization of our identities, something that we each *are*, but it is the power to inflict harm on others. What a distance from the modern notion of equality of which we are enamored, as in Kant's formulation of the equal worth of individuals. Hobbes's negative characterization poignantly culminates in the recognition that we can all inflict upon one another the greatest harm, namely death. Even the weakest can find means to kill the strongest. Hobbes follows much the same pungent wording in *Leviathan* (1.13): "For as to the strength of body, the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest." What may strike us, as well as some among Hobbes's contemporary readers, as a demeaning portrayal of humanity is ironically support for a great axiom whose echoes have continued for centuries: "Sunt igitur omnes homines natura inter se æquales," ["All men therefore among themselves are by nature equall"] (L:93; E:45). This

is stated in much the same wording in the Latin section headings: "Homines natura æquales inter se esse," though the English headings render it with greater simplicity: "That men by nature are all equall." Section headings are always worth reading in Hobbes. In *Leviathan* the heading becomes: "Men by nature Equall" (1.13).

Do the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights owe their wording to Hobbes? But Hobbes is analyzing natural equality; he contrasts it with widespread observational inequality which is introduced ("introducta est") under civil society. The verb is more dynamic in the English version: "hath its spring" (L:93; E:45). Inequality will not merely occur in society; it is going to flourish there. That potentiality of our killing one another which so startled the reader will be restrained in civil society. Indeed, this is the great reason for civil society. If we are harmdoers by nature then we need civil society to protect us. Our original equality is dangerous; once it is controlled by the civil realm inequality flourishes. The human equality Hobbes had announced was couched in a wording that spoke of being equal among ourselves. To the reflexive grammatical form is added the exclusionary sense that the condition is not operative under society. The primary meaning of natural in this philosophy is that which is distinct from artificial or socially arranged.

So far Hobbes has scored two points for inequality in civil society against natural equality: our equal access to property and our equal threat as killers is replaced by a new order of life together.

In 1.3.6 Hobbes draws the distinction between justice and equality. In distributive justice "Agnosco hic distinctionem quandam æqualitatis," ["I acknowledge here some certaine distinction of equality"] (L:110; E:65). He is talking about equal distribution. Hobbes protests: "Sed quid hæc ad iustitiam?" ["But what is all this to Justice?"] (L:111; E:65). He is trying to keep distinct the ways of calculating equality from any of the ways of justice. Yet he is moved to make a concession: "Negari tamen forte non potest quin iustitia sit æqualitas aliqua; nimirum quæ in eo tantum sita sit, vt cum æquales natura omnes simus, alter non arroget sibi plus *iuris* quam alteri concedat, nisi id *iuris* sibi pactis acquisitum sit," ["yet perhaps it cannot be deny'd, but that Justice is a certain equality, as consisting in this onely; that since we are all equall by nature, one should not arrogate more *Right* to himselfe, th[a]n he grants to another, unlesse he have fairly gotten it by Compact"] (L:111; E:65). A great insight makes its breakthrough in Hobbes's thinking. Equality has been left behind in the natural state, while justice is worked upon as conformity to law in the civil realm. Yet equality is not altogether eclipsed by the new order. If we have not otherwise agreed, then our natural equality should be respected in our rights to things. In the distribution of things we have a mutuality of right founded on our original condition. This is the only concession Hobbes is willing to make here to equality, and his emphasis is on regulating ownership by contract. We would not need to consult

natural equality if all things were covered by agreements. Let us see if equality makes its way back into the civil picture in other ways.

In 1.3.13 Hobbes returns to his earlier insistence that "natura omnes homines æquales inter se esse," ["all men by nature are equall"] (L:113; E:68), and that inequalities come from the civil order. He takes a stand against Aristotle's principle that some men are fit by nature to rule while others are meant naturally to obey. Whatever the truth may be regarding our equality and inequality, Hobbes requires as principle our mutual recognition of equality. By a law of nature, "Vt unusquisque natura vnicuique æqualis habeatur," ["every man [shall] be accounted by nature equall to another"] (L:114; E:68). He explains why polity requires this equality-regarding principle: "Siue igitur natura homines æquales inter se sint, agnoscenda est æqualitas; siue inæquales, quia certaturi sunt de imperio, necessarium est ad *pacem consequendam vt pro æqualibus habeantur*," ["Whether therefore men be equall by nature, the equality is to be acknowledged, or whether unequall, because they are like to contest for dominion, it is necessary *for the obtaining of Peace, that they be esteemed as equal*"] (the italics are in the Latin and English versions). Prerequisite to peaceful co-existence is that equality which we would exercise to our mutual benefit in establishing the civil realm. We equally establish rule over ourselves, although rulership will go into the hands of few—preferably into the hands of one—while we differentiate ourselves in society by every sort of inequality.

The goal is peace. Civil society is the antidote to the natural war of all against all. Peace protects all of us, we who could naturally kill one another. When Hobbes comes in 1.4.11 to give scriptural support to the laws of nature, he will bolster recognition of our natural equality first with the teaching of Jesus, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 5:3; L:125; E:80): a noteworthy grounding for a tough political theory.

1.14.3 reminds us that the mutual acknowledgement of natural equality also applies to recognition of rights. Without an equality of natural rights, we would each press for our advantage over others in the forming of the polity, and this would merely duplicate the contentions threatened by violence that beset the natural realm. Inequality in nature leads to disaster. Inequality as foundation for polity also leads to disaster: we would not choose it since it continues a disadvantageous condition. Equality in nature leads to disaster. But equality as principle for creating polity is worthy of choice: it will protect us all. Hobbes is working out the logic of the state of nature: the presuppositions and consequences of a theoretical realm. This is an exciting and ingenious way of conducting political philosophy. The analysis is not of the ostensible reality of politics but of what lies outside what we see. That outside realm comes to bear upon the visible as justification. Without this hypothetical state of nature with its natural equality we could not take a stand anywhere from which to assess political reality. We would be stuck in that reality, dependent upon whatever polity in which we chanced to live.

Hobbes is offering us a universal standard of explanation and judgment applicable to all existent states. While we may object to features in his stand, the very establishing of the stand opens our world to political correction, justification, and perfection. While distinguished critics, including David Hume and Bertrand Russell, have criticized theories of the social contract and the state of nature on the grounds that no such things ever existed in history or prehistory, enormous value may adhere to such theoretical constructs in our deciding how to change history. Just as Descartes sought Archimedian grounds to make a stand for all knowledge, so Hobbes is clearing Archimedian grounds for his stand on all of political life.

In the chapter of scriptural support for the laws of nature, Hobbes applies to the principle of equity discussed in 1.3.14, another powerful imperative: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self" (Leviticus, 19:18; *De cive* 4.12; L:125; E:81). Hobbes signals that we have here a principle for the holy life and for the civil life.

Hobbes brings home the connection between equal rights and equal persons in a rhetorical question in 1.3.14: "Quid enim aliud est æqualitatem personarum agnoscere in societate ineunda, quam æqualia ipsis tribuere, quos alioqui societatem inire ratio nulla exigit?" ["For what is it else to acknowledge an equality of persons in the making up of society, but to attribute equall Right and Power to those whom no reason would else engage to enter into society?"] (L:114; E:69). We may work our way backwards through the sentence to show Hobbes's reasoning. Entering civil society is a radical act for which people require decisive reasons. We who are making the agreement to permanently change our lives must recognize in one another fellow adherents to the agreement. We are all in the same condition as founders. Hence we need to acknowledge the equality of rights and powers in ourselves as founders. Two decisive powers each person possesses are that of killing any other person and that of agreeing to a contract for mutual protection against such killing.

In 1.3.15 Hobbes will derive the principle of equity from a division of right through natural equality. And in 1.3.16 he gets to things not divisible. He is taking equality through its rings and changes as he is engaged in defining the natural virtues and vices, though the context is not the improvement of character by ethical guidelines. Instead, Hobbes is laying down the attitudinal steadfastness called upon to make the political realm possible.

In Part II of his work, on Dominion, in the chapter on parental rights (2.9.2), Hobbes finds it necessary to return in theory to the state of nature in order to identify the natural relationships among family members. Thus, in that state, "propter æqualitatem naturæ, omnes homines maturæ ætatis inter se æquales habendi sunt," ["by reason of the equality of nature all men of riper yeares are to be accounted equall"] (L:164; E:122). As adult men we are not within one another's power, unless by conquest. But the newly born infant clearly comes into the world under the power of the mother. Hobbes makes a valuable case in 2.9.3 for the rights of women as

mothers, and thereby as women, with some independence from governance by men. The reference to equality is a convenient way to introduce considerations of inequality based on power.

The argument for monarchy as the highest form of government may be that for which Hobbes is chiefly noted—or blamed. He considers in 2.10.4 objections raised to being governed by one person. The objection against a single ruler also applies to an aristocracy. We, the governed, really want to get into the act of governing, since we start with equal right. Hobbes does well in catching the point that original equality seems contradicted by government in the hands of one or a few. His reply distinguishes civil inequality from the originative equality: "Quoniam autem ostensum est statum æqualitatis esse statum belli, ideoque inæqualitatem introductam esse consensu omnium; inæqualitas illa non est amplius habenda pro re iniqua, vbi plus habet is cui plus volentes dedimus," ["But because we have shewed that the state of equality is the state of warre, and that therefore inequality was introduc'd by a generall consent; this inequality whereby he, whom we have voluntarily given more to, enjoyes more, is no longer to be accompted an unreasonable thing"] (L:173; E:132). Two sides of the coin are insisted upon. On one side are the synonymous terms state of equality, state of nature, and state of war; on the other side are inequality, peace, and order. Turning the coin over is an act of general consent: the social contract. (This is a loose use of the famous term. Hobbes does make distinctions between contract, covenant, and pact or compact, although something is lost in the translation).

Therefore, inequality in society is perfectly reasonable. One person, or a few, can do the job we contracted for of protecting us. We cannot expect to have an equal share in their conduct of the government. We ought not conflate the political realm with the natural where equality abounds. We had to replace the natural with the political. Political ends are best served by that highly unequal delegation of power into few hands. The clincher in Hobbes's argument is the grim reminder that equality and war are the same state. If we want peace then we should be willing to renounce self-governance. Equal share in rulership is far from necessary for equal protection.

Here Hobbes has made the strongest bid for keeping natural equality from entering the political realm. He is wary of allowing popular government any foundation. We cannot claim political equality among ourselves because inequalities flow from our life in the civil realm. The ordinary citizen, the petty criminal, and the magistrate are not equal. Yet Hobbes takes pains to fit this doctrine of political inequality to a natural and divine principle of equality. A brilliant achievement of thought. The realm of absolute equality is inadequate; it is self-destructive. Whence our replacement of it by the civil realm: Farewell equality!

Locke had to rethink Hobbes's distinctions here since the whole question of representative government vs. monarchy rests on them. Something had to favor basing government on the equal voice of those in society; our nat-

ural equality suggests that we have the same worth and rationality. Locke and Hobbes agree that we manifest this worthy equality in making the social contract. That's the end of equality for Hobbes; for Locke our original equality carries over into the civil realm we have created. I—and I hope you—side with Locke on this. Yet this is not so much an overthrow of Hobbes's theory as a straightening out of its own terms. We can have our cake and eat it too. A Hobbesian analysis may be retained along with a salvaged human equality.

In 2.13.16 Hobbes makes a parenthetical remark in the course of his discussion of law and punishment: "æque enim transgredientes æqualiter puniri iubet æquitas naturalis," ["for naturall equity commands that equall transgressors be equally punished"] (L:203; E:166). To be effective the laws should have a known punishment. Fear of the punishment deters lawbreakers. Deterrence operates by precedent. If I know what happened to others who committed the crime before me, then I know what will likely happen to me if I persist in commiting it. Equal punishment for equal crimes is the maxim of equity as well as efficiency. Hobbes has a double-barreled justification here of equality in treatment: its usefulness under a system of law and its conformity to the law of nature. The equal treatment maxim is both rational and practical.

A whole book could be written taking this parenthetical remark as its foundation, since equal treatment within the civil realm keeps order, sustains mutual respect, allows clarity in administration of law, and resolves many disputes. Hobbes had made the case that even if we were unequal in the state of nature we should regard one another as equal in the institution of the social contract, which then engenders inequality. We may offer this counter-argument: even if we are unequal in the civil realm we should be treated *as if* we were all equal. And this treatment might best serve the original purposes in entering the contract.

Hobbes himself has opened the door to pre-contractual principles once the civil realm has been constituted (2.7.18). We do not give up the right to protect our life when the state fails to protect it or even when the state threatens to take it. For to remain passive when our life is threatened is to lose the advantage for which the polity in which we live was created. Such a self-contradiction is overruled by taking action in our own hands. Technically, the individual then falls back into the state of nature. The polity too may dissolve into the state of nature where no further protection is afforded its subjects. This is the worst of public events, according to Hobbes, since it exposes us all to that very war we sought to escape in our original condition. Civil war is the worst evil that may befall a polity. Revolution is just such a war. The Hobbesian argument works in two directions. Anything is preferable to civil war, since that condition contradicts the purpose of civil society. Yet we may fight against such a contradiction in defending our necks against the official executioner or some other party.

Hobbes is able to justify self-defense in the social realm because we do

not ever give up our natural rights. The natural realm is not something forever left behind. It was not a mere stage in prehistory that has been permanently superseded by a new order. Underlying the present order are natural principles which may be called upon in its judgment. Hobbes prefers not to look back, yet he keeps looking back. Having been reminded that we make the contract, we can move on to appreciation of its implications in society. But to move on we need to keep in mind the reasons for the contract and what it replaced. Hobbes has laid the groundwork for the very undermining of his strict position against representative government and against revolution. We may consult the supposed origin of civil society to judge whether its present form and practice conform to the ends we had in view. Hobbes allows this for consideration of our individual safety. We will do this by necessity, but then that necessity is a kind of right. By pushing the argument another step, as does Locke, we can make a rightful necessity of requiring government to fulfill its obligations in accordance with our founding of society.

Hobbes has pushed equality back off the stage, as emphasized by the very structure of his Latin sentences—rhetorical, parenthetical, concessionary, interrogative, exclusionary, contestive. The stylistics of his thinking expresses the grounding of his values. But we may call equality back on to the stage of life in the political realm where we should be regarded as each counting for one, each individual of equal worth, having equal rights in society and deserving of equal treatment under law, for the truth is, we are, *by nature of being human*, all equal.

The Pennsylvania State University, Delaware County Campus

Traces of Stoicism and Neo-Stoicism in Neo-Latin Utopias

URSULA GREIFF

In this paper I am going to consider all the neo-Latin utopian writings which have been listed by Winter in his *Compendium Utopiarum*.[1] This book, starting in antiquity and coming up to the time of the German Frühaufklärung (early Enlightenment), gives all the works which can in any way be regarded as utopian; the Fürstenspiegel, mirrors for princes, which Winter also includes, I am not going to consider. I selected those neo-Latin utopias in which traces of Stoic or neo-Stoic thought can be found, or the possibility of Stoic influence can at least be discussed. The result is a collection of five works which will be presented in chronological order.

Before I start, some considerations concerning methods must be made. Looking at utopias through philosophical eyes, we face the problem that only a few of the authors reveal their philosophical background or give information about the philosophical sources of the particular ideas which they express, though there certainly are influences of philosophical schools. There are exceptions, however, as for instance Thomas More's explicit reference to the Stoics in his marginal annotation "Hoc iuxta Stoicos," *Utopia*, 162/19ff.:[2]

> Nunc uero non in omni uoluptate felicitatem, sed in bona, atque honesta sitam putant. ad eam enim uelut ad summum bonum, naturam nostram ab ipsa uirtute pertrahi, cui sola aduersa factio felicitatem tribuit. Nempe uirtutem definiunt, secundum naturam uiuere ad id siqui-

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[1] Michael Winter, *Compendium Utopiarum: Typologie und Bibliographie literarischer Utopien*, 1. Teilband—Von der Antike bis zur deutschen Frühaufklärung. *Repertorien zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 8 (Stuttgart, 1978).

[2] St. Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. Edward Surtz, S. J., and J. H. Hexter, *The Yale Edition of The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 4 (1965; fourth printing, New Haven, 1979).

> dem a deo institutos esse nos. Eum uero naturae ductum sequi quisquis in appetendis fugiendisque rebus obtemperat rationi.

There is another instance of this kind, where the author mentions, and at the same time rejects, the Stoic principle of the equality of all sins:

> Nam neque ... probanda sunt ... Stoica scita, ut omnia peccata adeo existiment paria, uti nihil iudicent interesse, occidatne aliquis hominem, an nummum ei surripiat, inter quae (si quicquam aequitas ualet) nihil omnino simile aut affine (72/14–17).

These two passages in More's *Utopia* are, as I said, rare exceptions. In most other cases, in which the philosophical background is not declared, ideas which look Stoic can either be derived directly from Stoic philosophy, have come to the author through Christian religion, or originate in commonplaces, which, again, can be originally Stoic or Christian. It is therefore necessary to weigh these ideas carefully within the context, which means to regard the philosophical tendency of the whole writing, if possible; and as far as neo-Stoicism is concerned, external evidence must be included. In the one case of a neo-Stoic utopia which I know, Legrand's *Scydromedia*, dependence on the neo-Stoic Justus Lipsius must be proved, because here recognition of Stoic ideas is not sufficient.

With this I come to a second question of method, which is that the difference between the revival of Stoic thought in early modern times and neo-Stoicism must be properly appreciated. During the sixteenth century it became almost a fashion which lasted up to about 1660, especially in France, to quote Stoic authors,[3] but neo-Stoicism is more than that. Integrating the progressive elements of late Nominalist and Renaissance thought within the fields of ethics and politics, it creates a system, for instance of politics, which is analogous to the rationalist methods of the natural sciences, which seemed already given by nature.[4] The starting point is not, as it is in ancient Stoicism, the assumption of an intact cosmos which maintains itself by the natural teleologic movement of its elements, but the awareness of the loss of this natural order and an attempt to regain regularity and control by applying the rational methods of the sciences:

> Die neuzeitliche Welt hingegen konstituiert die ihre eigene Vernünftigkeit nicht primär aus einer intakt gedachten Naturvorstellung, aus einer umgreifenden Ordnung des Kosmos heraus, sondern nimmt ihren Ausgang in einer Konflikt- und Problemkonstellation, deren Grundmerkmal gerade der Verlust einer unbefraglichen und teleologischen Naturbasis ist, um von hier aus auf dem Wege vernünftiger

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[3] Günter Abel, *Stoizismus und frühe Neuzeit: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte modernen Denkens im Felde von Ethik und Politik* (Berlin, 1978), 15.

[4] Ibid., 10.

> Konstruktion so etwas wie Naturordnung in sekundärer Weise (und nicht als primäres teleologisches Vermögen) allererst zu produzieren.[5]

This means that the neo-Stoic systems are no longer confined to references to the authorities of ancient Stoicism, but include everything that could be appropriate for the formation of a stable rational order, for example of the state.

We can now start looking at elements of Stoicism and neo-Stoicism in utopian writings. I have already quoted two statements from Thomas More's *Utopia*, which are the most obvious references to Stoicism in that work.[6] Nevertheless, the idea that More's Utopians live strictly in harmony with nature, as we read above, cannot be claimed as a sign of Stoic conviction, nor does reference to the Stoic definition of virtue mean that the author approves of this notion. It means that the Stoic principle, as the commentary in the Yale Edition of the *Utopia* rightly says, is "ostensibly turned against the Stoics, actually helps to water down even further an already modified Epicureanism,"[7] or, as Elizabeth McCutcheon found, there is a paradoxical integration of Stoic and Epicurean thought, caused by "employing a Stoic vocabulary to discuss Epicurean principles,"[8] and leading to "a Stoicized Epicureanism, or Epicurean Stoicism, with significant Platonic undertones."[9]

The second example which must be treated here is Gasparus Stiblinus, *Commentariolus de Eudaemonensium republica*, published in 1555 at Basel.[10] This utopia shows a republic structured in a very rigorous way according to principles derived from the thinking of the ancient world. The author uses ancient, especially Greek, sources in a quite eclectic manner, referring for instance to Plato's convictions concerning the life of human souls after death (88), having the state governed by the best and wisest men of the people as it is in Plato's *Politeia* (89), or telling us that the ancient authors who are studied by Stiblinus's "utopian" people, the Macarenses, are Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch and Theophrastus (93). Moreover, the ideal state of Stiblinus is clearly Christian. But besides that, he also works with Stoic principles, and in general follows a concept which could owe something to

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[5] Ibid., 8.

[6] For more details concerning Stoicism in More's *Utopia* cf. Elizabeth McCutcheon, "More's *Utopia* and Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*," *Moreana* 86 (July 1985).

[7] Cf. the commentary on *Utopia* 162/19–20 in the Yale Edition of *Utopia*, 447. The modification of Epicureanism is to be seen in the idea of communism in *Utopia* and the beliefs of the Utopians in divine providence, immortality, and judgement after death, as first showed by Edward Surtz, S. J. , *The Praise of Pleasure: Philosophy, Education, and Communism in More's "Utopia"* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 26f.

[8] McCutcheon, 15.

[9] Ibid., 16.

[10] *Coropaedia, sive de moribus et vita virginum sacrarum, libellus . . . : Gasparo Stiblino autore. Eiusdem, de Eudaemonensium republica commentariolus* (Basileae, 1555).

Stoic rationalism. So we find that the Eudaemonenses see their political association as not having been begun by chance, but brought about by divine providence (78). The purpose of forming a political community is for them the happy life, which means to them life in accordance with virtue (79). Every one of them knows that in himself there is the image of divine nature (ibid.). Nothing seems to them more in harmony with nature than to live in a chaste, sober, severe, righteous, and pious way and to put all their energy into the welfare of society:

> nihil tam secundum naturam esse putant, quam caste, sobrie, seuere, iuste et pie uiuere, omnesque conatus suos ad communem utilitatem conferre. Contra omnium maxime naturae aduersari, turpem, libidinosam et impiam, sineque contentione aliqua, traducere aetatem. Qua re sedulo cauent, ne quid in Deum et Naturam peccent, ac delinquant: non tam propter impendentis supplicii metum, quam quia turpe sit, quod ex sui natura fugiendum arbitrantur (80).

From Stoicism the author also derives the conviction that people will learn to do the right thing by following an example. In the first place, their leaders follow God, and can imitate his virtues. This is related to the Christian belief that God created man as an image of himself (". . . respiciunt ad conditorem, archetypum suum," 79f.). The Eudaemonenses also take care that famous, great men are followed as examples by others (81f.). The list of virtues which can be seen in the life of the Eudaemonenses is supplemented by the Stoic rejection of all kinds of passion, also following the example given by God: "Deus nihil non perspicit, nihil non sentit, nullis affectibus corrumpitur: ita Senatores suarum partium esse putant, prudenti consilio omnia prospicere, et administrare, nihil omittere quod ad publicam salutem pertineat, nullo affectu a iustitia et ueritate abduci" (87). As a result, we can state that there is a synthesis of Christian beliefs and Stoic principles in Stiblinus's *Eudaemonensium Republica*.

We find similar notions in the third example to which I should like to call your attention, the *Dialogi de rei-publicae dignitate* written by Marco Girolamo Vida, Bishop of Alba, and first published only one year after Stiblinus's utopia, in 1556 at Cremona.[11] This work cannot really be considered as a utopia, though Winter does so, referring to Gibson's and Patrick's *Morus-Bibliography*,[12] because in the whole dialogue we cannot find a fiction of an ideal state; there are only conjectures concerning people's way of life in a

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[11] My text is *Marci Hieronymi Vidae Cremonensis Albae Episcopi Poemata quae extant omnia. Quibus nunc primum adjiciuntur ejusdem Dialogi De rei-publicae dignitate*, 4 parts in 2 vols., vol. 2, part 4 (London, 1732). Modern edition in Giuseppe Toffanin, *L'umanesimo al Concilio di Trento. In appendice M. Gerolamo Vida, Elogio dello Stato*, ed., trans. Antonio Altamura (Bologna, 1955), 75–228.

[12] Winter (40) quotes Reginald W. Gibson and J. Max Patrick, *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography of his Works and of Moreana up to the Year 1750* (New Haven and London, 1961).

time before states were created and considerations on the nature of human association in general. Vida's two books contain nothing but a dialogue in the manner of Cicero's *De re publica* about the best possible state. Yet I decided to include this work, because it has two very interesting aspects, as far as philosophy in utopian literature is concerned.

The first reason to include this dialogue here is that the author reflects on the philosophical foundation of utopias. He says that for his idea of the best state he will not draw upon Greek or Roman philosophers, because they have often contradicted each other and even contradicted themselves; that he is convinced that without the rule of Christ a community of people cannot really be called *res publica*. He wants to look for support among Christian theologians (6–8). The Greeks, he thinks, had not found anything in reality upon which they could model their ideal state. So they had constructed models out of their own mind according to what they thought to be eternal. The result was:

> fingebantque ideo interdum illas civitates, quae nusquam essent, neque unquam fuissent, neque ullo tempore futurae forent; commenti etiam nescio quas fortunatorum populorum insulas, ac civitates, meras hercle nugas, vanaque rerum simulacra, quorum usus esset nullus (9).

For Vida the only source of a new concept of the state is the kingdom of God,

> a cuius eximiae civitatis coelesti exemplari primigeno ac summo, in hanc inferiorem omnis pietas, omnis sanctitas, omnis virtus, cunctaque recte vivendi ratio inundavit, ac nihil boni in ulla mortalium civitate, aut re-publica esse potest, quod non ab illa una coelesti defluxerit, cum sit instar omnium, unde aliarum quasi ductae imagines exprimuntur (10).

The second reason why I include Vida's *Dialogi* is that, in spite of his clear decision in favor of a Christian foundation for the state, Stoic philosophy is reflected in that dialogue[13] and—what is most interesting—it is taken as a basis for quite divergent concepts. For, besides referring to Aristotle, to notions ascribed to Socrates, and to other philosophers, the author asserts that the existence of human communities conforms to the law of nature, and this he does by referring to Chrysippos:

> Chrysippus, Stoicae familiae princeps, dicebat, caetera animantia propter homines esse nata; homines vero ad congregationem, & ad so-

[13] Peter Eck, *Die Staats- und Rechtsphilosophie des Markus Hieronymus Vida* (doctoral dissertation, Koblenz, 1929), attributes Vida's convictions to an intellectualism in the sense of Thomas Aquinas, "thomistische[r] Intellektualismus"(13), and gives little attention to possible Stoic sources, except on one occasion (49); a discussion of Stoicism might have been pertinent, for instance, in the context of Vida's statements about *natura* and *ratio*, which he quotes (13).

> cietatem humani generis, suaeque ipsorum coniunctionis causa procreatos, affirmabat (21).

On the other hand, there seems to be an influence of Stoic philosophy on the side of his opponent in the dialogue, M. Antonius Flaminius, as well. He, for instance, asserts that only with the formation of states—which means with the replacement of natural interaction—did infinite evil become part of human life (30), because this was the beginning of every kind of corruption to befall mankind (32). Flaminius clearly says that he will never be able to agree with Vida when he compares the life of his own time with the age when people

> Arcadum, & Cyclopum ritu, liberi, ac soluti, vitam degebant in montibus, & silvis, in sua quisque familia, & domo, nulli communitati obnoxii; cum ius, & bonum, non legibus, sed natura, colerent sancti, atque innocentes; cum ... secundum naturam viventes, nullis indigerent, neque LYCURGI, neque SOLONIS legibus, neque Romanorum XII tabulis, aut ullius populi institutis, plebiscitisve (32; author's capitals).

The political structure of the world seems at that early time to have been the Stoic cosmopolitan state:

> Ante vero conditas urbes, una tantum omnium civitas universus hic mundus habebatur; unus cunctorum rector, & gubernator; qui etiam extiterat eorundem conditor, molitor, & effector Deus. Eius nomen, suadente ipsa natura, tacitaque ratione colebant, & verebantur, eique suapte sponte subjiciebantur: ac quotquot erant domus, aut familiae, tot erant res-publicae (37).

Flaminius adds that freedom as well is by nature indispensable for human beings and that it is very much against the nature of man not to live according to his own opinions (41f.).

It is obvious that these philosophical arguments go together with, or could even be a source of, ideas for the many other utopias in which fictitious peoples are transplanted to new Arcadias, to a state before civilization. The authors of these utopias may not have been conscious of the possible philosophical foundation, and an essential part of their motivation must certainly be seen in the stimulating effect of the discovery of exotic countries on the imagination of people in Europe. I am thinking of utopias mainly written in vernacular languages, as for instance, Nicolas Gueudeville, *Voyages du Baron de la Hontan dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, (Amsterdam, 1703), where a noble savage by the name of Adario explains to the European visitor that only life in harmony with nature can protect man from the decay of morals to which Europe is subjected. Other examples are François Maximilien Misson, *Voyage et avantures de François Leguat, & de ses compagnons,*

en deux isles désertes des Indes Orientales, (London, 1708); Ambrose Evans (pseudonym), *The Adventures, and Surprizing Deliverances, of James Dubourdieu, and his Wife: Who were taken by Pyrates, and carried to the Uninhabited-Part of the Isle of Paradise...*, (London, 1719); William Rufus Chetwood, *The Voyages, Dangerous Adventures and Imminent Escapes of Captain Richard Falconer: Containing the Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Indians in America...*, (London, 1720).

The next utopia to be considered is Johann Valentin Andreae, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae descriptio*, (Argentorati, 1619).[14] I want to mention this utopia not because it is an example of the life of Stoicism in early modern literature, but because it shows in a few items similarities in Stoic and Christian ethics which are certainly the consequence of the assimilation of some points of Stoic philosophy by Christian thinking. From the whole context, which shows an ideal of Christian life (13) and a concept of the Christianization of society (15), we can be sure that Andreae has Christian virtues in his mind when he speaks for instance of "oculis modestis, lingua circumcisa, moribusque castis" (38), which the visitor has to have if he wants to be admitted to the city, and traits he must exemplify: "animi tranquillitatem, frontis pudorem, linguae ligamenta, oculorum quietem, corporis obsequium,"[15] which make him appear almost like a wise Stoic; and there is indeed little difference between the Stoic and the Christian wise man.[16] This understanding of Andreae must certainly be extended to the place where he talks about the competition between the different crafts in which the craftsmen are able to show that reason, which he also calls the spark of divinity, is the dominating force in them (58).

The last utopia to which I want to call your attention is *Scydromedia*, written by the Franciscan theologian and philosopher Antoine Legrand; it was first published in 1669 in London.[17] I have shown elsewhere that *Scydromedia* is almost completely modelled in accordance with the neo-Stoic system of the state which was developed by Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), and which Legrand knew.[18]

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[14] Citations from: Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis 1619, Originaltext und Übertragung nach D. S. Georgi 1741*, ed. Richard von Dülmen (Stuttgart, 1972).

[15] Ibid., 42; see also 44, "mihi imperare."

[16] Cf. for instance Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1985), vol. 2, 54f., where this similarity is shown in St. Ambrose's letters to Simplicianus.

[17] Antoine Legrand, *Scydromedia seu sermo, quem Alphonsus de la Vida habuit coram Comite de Falmouth, de monarchia*, ed., trans., and comment. Ursula Greiff (Bern, 1991).

[18] In his book *Les caractères de l'homme sans passion* (anonymous reprint of *Le sage des Stoiques ou l'homme sans passions* [La Haye, 1662; Paris, 1663]), Legrand refers several times to Justus Lipsius's *Manuductio ad Stoicam philosophiam* (1604), and *Monita et exempla politica* (1605). It seems very likely that he also knew Lipsius's most important book on the theory of the state, *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex, qui ad principatum maxime spectant* (Leiden, 1589). In my dissertation, "Die Scydromedia des Antoine Legrand," I was able to show that Legrand follows Lipsius in almost every detail; the chapter of the dissertation which covers this point

In this utopia and in the dedication letter we find statements about the harmony of the state and some of the rules according to which it is governed, in conjunction with nature, as we found them in Stiblinus's book and Vida's dialogues. Scydromedia, for instance, is ruled by kings who are "naturae, rationis legibus subjecti" (74.24f.), and for the Scydromedienses it is a horrible thing to do anything that is not confirmed by the laws of nature (36.16f.; dedication letter). Finally, one of the main principles of that state, private property, is based on nature (48.16f.).

On the other hand, the description of the Scydromedian state shows clearly that harmony and stability are not naturally there, but must be achieved by an efficiently structured rational government—according to what is considered to be prescribed by *natura* and *ratio*. Here neo-Stoicism is seen most clearly. The main feature of this concept is centralization of the functions which are essential for the maintenance of power. Legislative and executive power are in the hands of the king, and judicial power depends on him in the final instance. Religion is unified and strictly controlled by a high priest. Another extremely important characteristic of that state is the *prudentia civilis* which derives from the king and from the magistrates under him. So, for instance, the king knows his people well, he tries not to frighten them by abrupt changes (74.9ff.), but on the other hand authorizes amendments to the law when they become necessary (96.9ff.). In *Scydromedia* we have an enlightened, absolute monarchy based on rational principles, which means, stuctured and governed in accordance with the demands of nature.

Scydromedia illustrates the final stage in the revival and use of Stoicism in early modern times. So far we have looked at utopias where single notions of Stoic philosophy can be more or less easily isolated. This also means that in some of these writings we have come upon central ideas about the best structure of a state, which we meet again in Legrand's *Scydromedia*. It is, for instance, amazing to see how much Stiblinus's *Eudaemonensium respublica*, which was written 114 years earlier, is already similar to *Scydromedia*. Additionally in Girolamo Vida's *Dialogi de rei-publicae dignitate*, first published 113 years before *Scydromedia*, we find in some places quite similar arguments, on the part of the author in the dialogue, for instance arguments in favor of monarchy, taken from nature.[19] In the field of utopian writing Stiblinus's utopia and Vida's dialogues exemplify very well the trend of political thought in early modern times, from the revival of the Stoic authors and the incorporation of individual ideas relevant to the theory of the state, up to the formulation of a complete system by Justus Lipsius, which was then adapted by Legrand.

Berlin

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will soon be published in *Daphnis—Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur*.

[19] Vol. 2, part 4, 92f.

Geoffroy Tory's Ædiloquium & Epitaphia

MONIKA GRÜNBERG-DRÖGE*

The text I would like to present here has long been known to scholars of French Renaissance "Latinitas," yet has met with little attention on their part. It bears the full title *Ædiloquium ceu Disticha, partibus Ædium urbanarum & rusticarum suis quaeque locis adscribenda. Item, Epitaphia septem, de amorum aliquot passionibus Antiquo more, & sermone veteri, vietoque conficta.*

Its author, Geoffroy Tory (Bourges 1480—Paris 1533) was a reputable French editor, printer and librarian as well as an author and a translator.[1] He is best known for his vernacular *Champ fleury, auquel est contenu Lart et science de la deue et vraye proportion des Lettres Attiques, quon dit autrement Lettres Antiques, et vulgairement Lettres Romaines, proportionnees selon le corps et visage humain* (Paris, 1529) to which the now lost *Reigles generales de Lorthographe du langaige francois* may perhaps have formed a complement.[2] The *Champfleury* is a kind of typographer's Bible, rich in information on the use and pronunciation of the French language of the sixteenth century. It largely contributed to the introduction of the Roman *antiqua* into French printing, an endeavor Tory largely justified by esoteric and mythopoetic means, derived from the concept that proper lettering permits the rediscovery of the secrets of the universe.[3] In fact, Tory may well have entertained a bias in favor of alchemi-

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[1] On Tory see A. Bernard, *Geoffroy Tory, peintre et graveur* (Paris, 1865; repr. Nieuwkoop, 1963); also J. Mégret, "Geoffroy Tory: Ein Pariser Gelehrter, Drucker, Verleger und Buchkünstler," *Philobiblon* 4 (1931): 275–87, 315–24, 361–70, 407–15; and K. Reichenberger and T. Bercher, "Preface" to the Slatkine reprint of G. Cohen's 1931 edition of Tory's *Champfleury* (Geneva, 1973).

[2] Cf. Bernard, 146.

[3] In so doing his sources were not so much the original monuments of antiquity as contemporary treatises such as Fra Luca Paccioli's *De Divina Proportione* (Venice, 1509). On the metaphysical significance of proper lettering see also B. Bowen, "Geoffroy Tory and the Re-

cal lore and theory, as his discussion of the proportions, form, "sex" and "numbers" of the letters in the *Champfleury* demonstrates.[4] His association with the Bourges notable Jean Lallemant le Jeune,[5] who was known for his hermetic interests, and with the painter Jean Pérreal de Paris,[6] who had composed an alchemical work entitled *Complainte de Nature à l'Alchimiste Errant*,[7] tends to support this assumption.

Geoffroy Tory is mainly remembered for his pronounced defense of vernacular French. A language purist, he fulminated against such "ruffians," "escumeurs de latin, plaisanteurs, jargonneurs" and "innovateurs et forgeurs de motz nouveaulx"[8] who mar the "bon usage" of French, but he equally criticized the often ingenious corruptors of Latin, who pride themselves in coining hybrid words and tongue twisters such as "Conturbabuntur Constantinopolitani innumerabilibus sollicitudinibus" or "Gaudet honorificabilitudinitatibus Hermes, / Consuetudinibus, sollicitudinibus."[9] Instead of such disreputable practice he aptly recommends: "Loquere verbis presentibus et utere moribus antiquis."[10]

The *Ædiloquium ceu Disticha ... & Epitaphia septem ...* under discussion is a thin and rather rare booklet of forty-six pages, in-8° (measuring some 16 x 10.5 cm).[11] There seems to have existed only one edition, printed—somewhat surprisingly for this particular kind of text—in italics.[12] The title-page

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storation of Good Letters," *Words and the Man in French Renaissance Literature*, French Forum Monographs, vol. 45 (Lexington, Kentucky, 1983), 27–44.

[4] cf. C1–G. Dubois, "Corps de la lettre et sexe des nombres," *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 179, (1980): 77–91.

[5] Jean Lallemant le Jeune, treasurer of Languedoc and mayor of the city of Bourges in 1510. Tory, who appears to have been his fellow student, dedicated two of his editions (of 1510 and 1512) to him.

[6] Jean Perréal, alias de Paris (ca. 1460?–1530), prized painter and master of entrées under the French Kings Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I. Tory saw in him his friend and drawing master (*Champfleury*, 46v). For a bio-bibliographical survey see P. Jodogne, "Études sur Jean Perréal," *Studi francesi* 9 (1965): 83–86.

[7] cf. A. Vernet, "Jean Perréal, Poète et Alchimiste," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 3 (1943): 214–52.

[8] *Champfleury*, "Aux Lecteurs," r and v.

[9] From the dedicatory epistle to the *Table de l'ancien philosophe Cebes...*, translated and published by Tory in 1529; quoted in Bernard, 128.

[10] Ibid., 129.

[11] Its best known surviving copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; it has preserved its original binding with Tory's own mark of the "Pot cassé." Other copies, presumably all belonging to the same edition, are in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Harvard College Library and the British Library. A facsimile edition, with a Swedish translation by Casimir Fontane, was provided by Nils Nordqvist, *ÆDILOQUIM Huskväde eller Distika ... Jämväl SEPTEM EPITAPHIA Sju gravskrifter...*, Bokvännes Bibliotek no. 68 (Stockholm, 1964).

[12] On the italics see Bernard, 47, and Mégret, 365–7. They are probably to be attributed to the printer De Colines and not to Tory; yet since only the first part of the book is in verse, there is no real reason for their continued use in its second part, the *Epitaphia*, where capitals

informs us that it was printed "Parisiis, Apud Simonem Colinaeum, 1530 [i.e., between January and March 1531, *more gallico*]; cum Privilegio ad Biennium": yet the actual privilege—referring to the book as "Ædiloquium et Erotica"[13]—was received only later that year (on the 18th of June 1531), and extended over four rather than two years. Furthermore, both external and internal evidence appear to suggest a much earlier date of composition, perhaps around 1524, at the time of the publication of Tory's *In filiam charissimam, virguncularum elegantissimam, Epitaphia et Dialogi* (Paris, 1523 [*more gallico*, i.e., 1524]), containing twenty-four distichs on the death of his only daughter Agnes,[14] published soon after the conclusion of Tory's second Italian journey and just after the inception of the *Champfleurly* which was to mark the replacement of the use of Latin with that of French in Tory's career.

The booklet is divided into two parts, of which the first, the *Ædiloquium ceu Disticha, partibus Ædium vrbanarum et rusticarum suis quaeque locis adscribenda* is composed of 154 Latin distichs encased between two introductory poems attributed to "Eusebius Probulinus," which enjoin the "Lector candidus" to read what follows ("Lege"); at the close of the series of *disticha* a number of sententious recommendations to be inscribed in capitals in any house and home are provided. The distichs are disposed nine per page, except for the first group of eight and the final two. The *disticha* probably take their original inspiration from Martial's *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* (the latter's thirteenth and fourteenth books of epigrams)[15] where various objects of more or less daily use were similarly dealt with, though in an admittedly wittier form. Some influence of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (which Tory had edited for publication a few years before)[16] is also to be presumed here.[17]

According to the title the *disticha* aim at providing inscriptions *to be carved on existing buildings*. It was indeed not uncommon in sixteenth century France to decorate private or official buildings with devices, pictorial or verbal, referring to the owner or to the use to which the building was to be put. Most of these are found, in considerable numbers, from the middle of the century onward, such as for example King Francis I's device "NUTRISCO ET EXTINGO," (accompanying the salamander in Fontainebleau and elsewhere) or the Connétable de Montmorency's "APΛANOS" (in Latin and Greek

(as customary for epigraphic renditions) or minuscule *antiqua* (as in the *Hypnerotomachia*) would have been more appropriate.

[13] Bernard, 49, 139.

[14] Ibid., 110–122.

[15] Tory knew of Martial and quoted his epigrams (though not the books in question) in his *Champfleury*.

[16] Paris, 1512, for Berthold Rembolt and Louis Hornken.

[17] Alberti mentions house inscriptions briefly in the fourth chapter of the eighth book of his *De re aedificatoria*. He furthermore devotes books 5 and 9 to private habitations of varied kinds as well as to their ornamentation.

lettering), inscribed on various parts of his castle of Écouen. Infrequently, actual verses serve in this fashion, such as the Horatian ones, now lost, also from Écouen: ÆQUAM MEMENTO REBUS IN ARDUIS / SERVARE MENTEM. Earlier still, the manor of La Poissonière near Couture sur Loir (Loir et Cher), built and decorated by Loys de Ronsard (father to the famous Pléiade poet Pierre de Ronsard) in the first third of the sixteenth century, offers numerous Latin and occasionally French inscriptions of moral import, such as VOLUPTATI ET GRATIIS; DOMI(N)I OCULUS LONGE SPECU(LATUR); or VERITAS FILIA TEMPORIS. Yet Tory appears to have ignored (whether on purpose or not, we do not know) the actual taste and practice of his time, which renders the actual applicability of the *Ædiloquium* rather doubtful.

The preface and the introductory poems of the *Ædiloquium* appear to propose a more metaphorical reading, according to which the house under discussion and its various parts are merely *imaginary*, while the only *concrete* object available is the actual written book in the hands of the reader.[18] The *Ædiloquium* may then be considered purely as a literary genre, akin to the spirit of such "Ars memorativa" compositions as the *Artificialis memoriae regulae* by Jacopo Ragone da Vicenza.[19] Two parallel cases come to mind in this respect, both certified by Tory himself (in the *Champfleury*) as much admired and readily drawn upon sources: the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* by Francesco Colonna,[20] which also presents a large number of partly fictional, partly real ancient monuments with their inscriptions of more or less concrete or else esoteric or even alchemical import;[21] and Erasmus's *Convivium religiosum*, where the walls and gate of the garden of a certain Eusebius [*sic*]

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[18] cf. V. Bucheit, *Studien zum Corpus Priapeorum*, (Munich, 1962), 6–8. Compare also the third book of epigrams of the Anthologia Graeca (said to be taken from the temple of Apollo ni[a]s in Kyzikos), where the actual relationship between building and book of verse is uncertain.

[19] Composed 1434, and preserved only in manuscript form; cf. Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966), 82, 108. I wish to thank Dr. K. Pinkus for pointing out this author to me; his text established an explicit parallel between the process of mnemotechnics and the sequence of the various rooms and dependencies of a palazzo, a drawing of which is included in the copy in the British Library, Add. 10,438. Tory may equally well have been inspired, in establishing a parallel between the parts of a house and the "loci" of the "memoria artificiosa," by the *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian, which he himself had edited for Jean Rousselet of Lyons in 1510.

[20] Ed. by G. Pozzi and L. A. Ciapponi, (Padua, 1964).

[21] Cf., i.e., EQUUS INFOELICITATIS; UNI GRATUM MARE ALTERUM GRATUM MARI, or IMPURA SUAVITAS on various statuary monuments; gate directions such as GLORIA DEI, MATER AMORIS and GLORIA MUNDI; tri-lingual (that is, Hebrew and Greek as well as Latin) messages suh as those inside the elephant, next to the King and Queen by their sarcophagi, i.e., NUDUS ESSEM, BESTIA NI ME TEXISSET. QUAERE ET INVENIES. ME SINITO. On the esoteric connotations of the *Poliphilo* and its possible relationship to the alchemist Augurelli, see M. Calvesi, *Il sogno di Poliphilo prenestino* (Rome, 1980).

and a large number of objects there are described as being ornamented with tri-lingual or simply Latin inscriptions.[22] Yet Tory's *ædiloquia* are quite distinct from such precedents, mainly thanks to the replacement of any *ekphrasis* whatsoever by mere *tituli*, and the use of *disticha* rather than compact epigraphy.

In establishing the course of the "tour" through his ideal "aedes urbana" Tory may have had actual mansions in mind, such as Jacques Coeur's town palace at Bourges[23] or the home of his one-time patron Jean Lallemant le Jeune.[24] The "aedes rustica" on the other hand, whether country manor or even peasant's hut, appears to have been based on the Roman country villa, which, in the wake of the revival of interest in Cato's, Varro's and Columella's books on agriculture,[25] was capturing literary attention.[26] Tory views both town house and country manor as economically autarchic and at the same time as a retreat appropriate for moral contemplation, making the "vita activa" meet with the "vita contemplativa" in what appears to be a fruitful common venture. In either case, however, the absence of reconstructible *ekphrasis* and the often bewildering order of the elements present just as much of a problem as they did in Tory's classical sources. The architecture of his buildings and their various furnishings are to be inferred exclusively from the mainly one-word concrete *tituli*. Without proper *ekphrasis*, no clear structure emerges, not even a coherent or consistent path of progression,[27] although attempts at such a pattern—by means of a more or less consistent grouping of related elements—are occasionally recognizable. The main groups deal with food and drink storage, preparation and consumption of the same, rest and study, prayer and more worldly activities, as well as with animal and plant husbandry. The house itself,

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[22] E.g., on the doorgate, EGO SUM VIA, VERITAS ET VITA; next to the marjoram herb, "ABSTINE, INQUIT, SUS; NON TIBI SPIRO"; on the drinking cup, "NEMO, NISI A SEIPSO, LAEDITUR." The *Convivium religiosum* is dated around 1522.

[23] Jacques Coeur (1400–1456), finance minister to the French King Charles VII. Tory mentions his town palace at Bourges in the dialogue between himself and the personified city of Bourges included in his edition of the *De interpretandis Romanorum literis...*, by Valerius Probus Grammaticus (Paris, 1510, for Geoffroy de Marnef).

[24] Cf. n. 6 above. Jean Lallemant's town house is particularly known for its sculptural ornamentation, especially that of the ceiling of the so-called "chapel," which has been interpreted as an expression of alchemical thought.

[25] The "editio princeps" of these works was published by N. Jenson in Venice in 1472. Tory knew of Columella's work, which he mentions in the introductory epistle to his edition of the *De interpretandis Romanorum literis...*, and certainly of Cato's and Varro's as well (both of whom he mentions in the *Champfleury*), since these were the object of an improved edition (Bologna, 1494) by his teacher Beroaldus.

[26] As Erasmus's afore-mentioned *Convivium religiosum*—possibly localized in either Froben's Basle residence or Thomas More's house in England—demonstrates. Cf. M. Wackernagel, "Der ideale Landsitz eines christlichen Humanisten," *Festgabe für Alois Fuchs* (Paderborn, 1950), 159ff.

[27] It is not impossible however that such a structure should nevertheless emerge when considered in terms of the "ars memorativa" or some other external system of reference.

architecturally speaking, is approached by an entrance complex (including gate, moat, etc), beyond which it appears to divide into a tripartite structure (rich palace for the masters, country manor for the farmer, and—beyond the gardens, the orchards and the woods—the humble hut of the poor peasant). The exit leads through another triad composed of the road, the crossing and the monument, all three of which are to be considered symbolically.

Tory's introduction to the *Ædiloquium* prepares the reader to consider the house and its various components at more than face value: they should speak to him like the oak of Dodona or the hieroglyphs of Memphis, they should lead him as through a labyrinth, they should be an oracle to him. Yet the distichs barely keep the promise made by the preface, by the introductory poems or even by the *tituli*: if the latter attempt to convey some kind of progressive pattern, whether in the type of habitation, in the structure of the house, or within the several groups of components, the distichs remain quite pedestrian. There is no attempt at antiquization here, rather a more or less realistic presentation of an actual sixteenth-century habitation, more akin to the aforementioned house of Eusebius as described in Erasmus's *Convivium religiosum* than to the pretentiously reconstructed monuments of the *Hypnerotomachia*. The various items spoken of in the *Ædiloquium* appear as a catalogue of definitely realistic potentialities, of which some are admittedly given increased significance, as the greater number of entries demonstrates. Thus the oratory is spoken of five times, the kitchen in its various aspects is also frequently referred to, and the mirror is dealt with in twenty-one distichs—almost 1/7 of the total number!

In looking for source material which might prove enlightening for an interpretation of the significance of this text—besides the already mentioned "ars memorativa" treatises, Erasmus's *Convivium religiosum* and Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*—the very name of our "Eusebius Probulinus," the "honest, well-behaved good-servant" mentioned as the author of the two introductory poems does not fail to recall (besides the character of the abovementioned Erasmian dialogue) the Greek church father, Eusebius Pamphilius of Caesarea, who had so fervently defended the splendor of the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in terms suggestive of Christian theophany.[28] Eusebius Probulinus's remark that "Quod Domus ulla queat certa ratione profari/ Non aliquo debes addubitare modo" enforces the need to recognize hidden meaning in the following Ædiloquium. Just like the "Vates" used to render mute oracles intelligible through their interpretation, so the reader is to emerge wiser from this speaking "Labyrinth," thanks to the interpreting efforts of the poet Tory in this booklet. It is probable that the model for this endeavor lay in that other

[28] Eusebius of Caesarea in Migne, P. G. XX: *De vita Constantini* ch. 25–40 (columns 1086–99); Tory himself was to publish Eusebius's *Church History* (where a description of the Tyre basilica is included) in a French translation by Claude de Seyssel in 1532.

"pilgrim's progress," the *Pinax* or *Tabula Cebetis* so highly prised by the sixteenth-century humanists and which Tory himself had translated into French in 1529.[29]

As for the *disticha* of the *Ædiloquium*, these may be grouped by degrees of complexity. The simplest are mere unsophisticated descriptions, such as the charming "Stabulum Asinarium": "Fasciculos solitus dorso portare frequentes/ Hic cubat, & gratum stramen Asellus habet," or the one about the "Cella Promptuaria": "Scire cupis veniens ubinam penuria cella est?/ Hic est unde parat fercula mille Coquus." Others attempt to be witty or make puns on words, such as "In Culina": "Hic sua multa Coquus farcimina tracta, & ipse/ Salsa iocis miscens prandia lauta parat."[30] Trite sententiae are also offered[31] as well as more or less classical adagia.[32] Some other *disticha* ("Ad deum Oratio," "In eodem Sa[ncta] Exhortatio") bear touches of a pre-reformation spirit, although Tory appears to have been an orthodox Catholic; others present classical humanistic references to mythology (like the "Laurus" calling to mind the metamorphosis of Daphne pursued by Apollo, or the "Olivetum" recollecting the dedication of the olive tree to Pallas Athene). Plants in particular carry metaphorical overtones: thus the "Lilia candida" and the "Lilia purpurea," besides being Marian symbols, also refer to the royal French lily, as well as to Tory's own myth on the origin of writing.[33]

Particular attention is given to the theme of the mirror. Twenty-one consecutive references to it, basically derived from the Socratic adage "*γνῶθε σεάυτον*," mostly repeat and progressively elaborate the one upon the other, with the purpose of persuading the reader to replace his contemplation of externals with the appreciation of inner values or virtue. The postils (mirror reflections of the Peacock, Narcissus, the Siren, or the Virgin Mary) are used as exempla. Eventually Tory faces the reader with the dialogue "Speculum Authoris" in which he, the prophetic seer (*Vates*), presents his gift of both the moral mirror and the symbolic book to the reader, so that the latter may see and learn how to increase in virtue.

The tripartite conclusion of the "tour" is once again a bearer of moral meaning: the roadway ("Via") proposes to lead the student of virtue to the

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[29] Bernard, 126ff., also 43, 131. The mentioning of the otherwise incongruous "Pynacotheca" as part of the entrance complex appears to support this supposition.

[30] This presents a pun on French rather than Latin words ("farcimina" suggests the French "farce," meaning both stuffing and joke). The hiatus results from a printing error in deleting the final "t" of "tracta[t]."

[31] Cf. the "Mensa culinaria": "Innumeros homines Gladius pessundat & aufert. / Enecat at plures improba Mensa. Cave."

[32] Cf. "Rosetum": "Attrectare Rosas properus nec tangere noli,/ Spina latens foliis nam peracuta subest." Proverbial lore also provides the subject of at least four out of the seven envoys in the *Epitaphia*.

[33] Cf. *Champfleury*, fols. 9v, 29v–30r (Hyacinthus, Hyacinthiol, Lis flambé).

altar of Peace one stair at a time; the crossroads ("Compitum") recalls the dances of Diana (to be understood also as Hecate and the manifestation of Sapientia) among her nymphs; finally the commemorating roadside monument ("Trophaeum") celebrates old triumphs and the expulsion of detractors. We seem to have witnessed here the conclusion of a successful initiation rite, leading the reader—just as in the *Tabula Cebetis*—step by step up to the face of Wisdom, whereupon rejoicing ensues.

As to the actual message of the probably mystical "parcours," the concluding "Sententia in quaque Domo literis Maiusculis [that is, in a stressed manner] scribenda" enjoins the traveler/reader as follows:

> HOSPES HUC ADVENIENS, SALVE.
> INTROGRESSUS, GENIUM NULLATENUS DEFRAUDA.
> MANUS ET LINGUAM COHIBE.
> OCULIS VTERE.
> NEGOTIUM GERE.
> POSTMODUM IN REM TUAM SI VIS HINC IRE, VADE, ET VALE.

The mystery, whatever its nature, is here not revealed but protected. Touching (harming, stealing) or unduly breaking the silence are not to be condoned, and careful observation is strongly recommended. Eventually, in a fashion strongly recalling Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia*, the enlightened are allowed to return into the world and lead a non-contemplative existence.

The second part of the booklet is presented on the title page as *Epitaphia septem, de Amorum aliquot passionibus Antiquo more, & sermone veteri, vietóque confic-ta*. This title is also repeated before the first "epitaph." The text in question, extending to twenty-one pages, is encased between a prefatory verse address by the author to the reader and a similar verse conclusion (*Ad Lectorem Candidum*). It comprises seven prose fictional tales of more or less similar length, which pretend to be epitaphs inscribed on the joint graves of lovers. The titles consist of both the lovers' names, male before female, and the traditional funeral dedication D[iis] M[anibus] S[acrum]. The rendering of the plot is followed by short, almost poetical addresses to the reader, set beside brief woodcut illustrations. On the whole, "tumuli" are known as an epigrammatic genre common to both Latin and vernacular poetry; but our epitaphs are in prose, and one of a striking kind at that. Their style, which Tory pretends to be "sermone veteri, vietóque confict[um]," was conceived of as ludicrous in the seventeenth century, and criticized by Gilles Ménage for its unorthodox word coinages in imitation of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.[34] This long-disregarded linguistic insight is particularly helpful in pointing out the model for Tory's *Epitaphia*. Tory's avowed purpose—specified to the reader in the Preface, the Introduction and the Conclusion—is of

[34] Cf. *Menagiana*, vol. 4, 84 of the 1729 edition, quoted by Bernard, 87 n. 2.

a moralizing nature, warning by means of exempla against submission to the passion of destructive love, which the virtuous wisely avoid.

Collections of epigraphic inscriptions were in fact quite common in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Tory himself had made such a collection in his *Champfleury*.[35] His *Epitaphia septem* however make no use of real classical epigraphy[36] but rather imitate the equally fashionable modern fakes.[37] The concept of including epigraphic collections in fictional literature is not in itself novel. Two of the most influential allegorical romances of the time, King René of Anjou's French *Livre du Cuer d'Amours Espris*[38] and the above-mentioned italianate Latin or latinised Italian *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* make heavy use of this convention. "De casu" literature, such as Petrarca's *De remediis utriusque Fortunae*, Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate fortunae*, Nicolò Perroti's *Cornucopia*, or more simply François Villon's well-known refrain "Mais où sont les neiges d'antan?" is also relevant to our discussion. Yet if the literary genre of the "tumuli" was in the early years of the sixteenth century more familiar to Italian than to French poets, the conceptual relationship of epigraphy to architectural—that is, visual—monuments, was fully understood by the romancers, who occasionally embedded their literary "epitaphs" in book illustrations actually representing tombstones.[39] Such illustrative techniques may have proved too onerous for Tory and his publisher De Colines to imitate; but simpler frames—for which Tory was justly famous—could have done as well.[40] In renouncing those, the *Epitaphia*, even more than the *Ædiloquium*, abandoned any attempt at *ekphrasis*. Costs were not spared, however, in commissioning seven unoriginal woodcut illustrations to the text, of a kind corroborated by neither literary nor archeological evidence. These invariably represent two imbricated hearts pierced, surrounded or flanked by the instruments of the respective lovers' demise (such as an arrow, a boat, or a kicking horse). It is to these vignettes, accompanied as they are by envoys in poetic prose, that our booklet owes what little attention it received until now, mainly from emblem scholars.

The *Epitaphia* is just as much at pains to convey a significant pattern of progress as was the *Ædiloquium*. There is some progression from young to old, from "pure" and "innocent" to "worldly wise" and "wittingly sinful,"

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[35] Fol. 41.

[36] Tory does not even attempt to imitate it; he goes as far as to contradict the practice recommended by Alberti in his *De re aedificatoria*, bk. 8, chap. 4, where—in the wake of Plato—four lines of verse were considered appropriate enough for an epitaph, lest it should become tedious.

[37] E.g., the fake epitaph reported by Feliciano, Marcanova and others, referring to "Sercius Polensis parasitus histrio vester festvissimus"; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. 5, no. 1*.

[38] Composed 1457; cf. the critical edition by S. Wharton (Paris, 1980).

[39] Cf. Colonna's *Poliphilo* and King René's B. N. copy of the *Cuer*, Ms. fr. 24399.

[40] Cf. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 252 or 248; on Tory's frames see Mégret, 411 and Bernard, passim.

from the "golden age" to the "iron" one, but this is never fully corroborated by the complete sequence of tales. Their very number of seven (in itself suggestive of hidden allegorical meaning: seven sins, seven planets and their corresponding seven alchemical metals) is not really conclusive either. Since there are many groups of seven in the consciousness of the sixteenth century, it is difficult to determine convincingly which, if any, are relevant.[41]

The names of the unfortunate lovers listed in the *Epitaphia*, however, cry out for allegorical reading. With the exception of "Candida" and "Thrasillus"[42] all others are coined by Tory from a mixture of Latin and Greek. The opening pair, "Hyacintillus" (a recollection of the iris, which, according to the *Champfleury*, implied the beginning of all writing) and "Candida" (which metaphorically connotes the blank page to be written upon), tend to point in the direction of some typographic "mythography."[43] The concluding couple, the old and "half dead" "Hemithanes" and his "lovely, charming" "Charitea," whose name also connotes "pleasant talk, mock speech, joke" as well as "greeting" (comparable to the Latin "Vale") brings the narrative full circle. On the other hand, names such as "Thalerus" (Greek for "greening, sprouting, youthful, strong," with maybe just a hint of reference to a monetary unit) and "Chrysantilla" (meaning "bringing forth gold") carry transformational alchemistic overtones. Open criticism of immoral behaviour is introduced by names such as "Oenopinus" (Greek: the "wine-drinker") and his "Cantharina" (Latin: "drinking vessel").

The stories themselves, telling as they do of pirates, abductions, sea storms, long captivities and pitiful ends, love suicides and common burials, or of fatal accidents (a boating mishap, a house burning) as well as ludicrous incidents (a stray cat loosening a roof tile is the cause of one suitor's death; a wild sow disturbed in the very place where the lover planned his nightly assignation brings about the end of another), bear kinship to the Italian "novella"[44] or to Hellenistic and early Byzantine romances of the type of Hero and Leander or Daphnis and Chloe[45] rather than suggest some more symbolic significance. Careful observation however reveals that most of

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[41] Incidentally, the 154 *disticha* of the *Ædiloquium* and the 21 among them pertaining to the subject of the mirror are also multiples of the number seven.

[42] Athenian general, victor at Abydos in 411 BC, executed 406 BC. His name suggests bravery. Tory's epitaph of Thrasillus and his beloved Mellila, "the honeyed," may represent in a parodistic remake of the myth of Venus and Adonis, also elaborated in the *Hypnerotomachia*, 367ff.; cf. also Calvesi, 187ff.

[43] Thus Fusculus and Calliphila possibly also suggest the darkness of ink and calligraphic well-shapedness, whereas Polycerius and Mythiphilla may refer to the jotting down of tales on wax tablets.

[44] Cf. among others Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Second Day, Pamphilo's story, for similar unbelievable entanglements.

[45] Musaios's *Hero and Leander* was printed in Florence and Venice in 1494; Longos's *Daphnis and Chloé* only appeared in print in 1559 at Paris, but was probably known well before that in manuscript form.

Tory's epitaphs are mere pastiches of the ones reported by Colonna in his *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, where they are found in the ancient graveyard or "Polyandron," duly embedded in monumental frames realistically suggestive of antique gravestones. Tory's first story paraphrases—with due alterations, of which the conclusion of the plot is not the least—the main lines of Colonna's epitaph of Leontia and Lolius.[46] His last finds its inspiration in an anonymous epitaph concluding on a moral injunction inscribed in capital letters reading IN REM TUAM MATURE PROPERA. VALE.[47] Both the Fusculus and Calliphila plot and the one concerning Hemithanes and Charitea relate to motifs borrowed from the Lopidia and Chrysanthes epitaph in the *Poliphilo*,[48] while the story of Oenopinus and Cantharina finds a parallel, especially in as far as the cause of death is concerned, in the epitaph of Q. Sertullius and his wife reported there[49]. From these and other examples is is possible to document a clear dependence of our text on a source as yet insufficiently acknowledged, which provides its own keys to the interpretation of Tory's *Epitaphia*.

In this century the unillustrated *Ædiloquium* has been viewed as a probable source for Gilles Corrozet's fully illustrated *Blasons domestiques* of 1539,[50] and the *Epitaphia* have been occasionally considered as a forerunner of the emblematic genre.[51] However, these works of Tory's are also an example of how the vernacular (French, but also and mainly that hybrid Italian which is the linguistic vehicle of the *Poliphilo*) could work its way into a Latin text. All in all, the comparative value of Tory as a bilingual author, as a vulgarizer and as a bridge between Latin and vernacular appears to us convincing enough to wish to see his smaller writings—among which the *Ædiloquium et Epitaphia* are to be counted—saved from oblivion, a task to which we hope our modest contribution may prove of some effect.

Cologne

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[46] *Hypnerotomachia*, 252.

[47] Ibid., 258; also 61: PATIENTIA EST ORNAMENTUM CVSTODIA ET PROTECTIO VITAE, which greatly resembles Tory's first envoy conclusion printed in capital letters: RECORDATIO MORTIS VITAE EST ORNAMENTUM.

[48] Ibid., 257.

[49] Ibid., 263.

[50] Cf. R. Mortimer, *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part I: French 16th Century Books* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), vol. 2, 643–44 (item 525) and 188–89 (item 153).

[51] Cf. W. S. Heckscher and K.-A. Wirth, "Emblem, Emblembuch," *Reallexikon für deutsche Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, [1959] 1967) vol. 5, cols. 121, 127, 146–47, 151, 171 and 223.

Jacob Jasparus (fl. 1529–1549):

"Homerulus noster Danicus"[*]

PERNILLE HARSTING

Renaissance humanism was introduced into Denmark in two phases, the first of which is represented by the small group of Danish scholars who studied at the universities of Rostock, Wittenberg, Cologne or Louvain in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[1] Here they were introduced to the ideas of south European humanism, which, on their return, they tried to apply to literature and education in Denmark. The early Danish humanists thus paved the way for the greater changes to come. It was not until after 1536, however, when the Lutheran Reformation had been accomplished in Denmark, that Renaissance humanism, mediated through Lutheran Germany, made its way into Danish culture and society. After the dismissal of the Catholic clergy and the reorganization of the schools and the university, the Danish state was in need of properly educated theologians and teachers, and many Danish students went to Germany, first and foremost to Wittenberg and Rostock, to obtain their master's degrees at one of the Lutheran universities.[2] From the meeting with Lutheran humanism, and especially through the influence of Melanchthon in Wittenberg,[3] arose the learned Neo-Latin literature of the Danish Renaissance.

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[*] I wish to thank Minna Skafte Jensen, Henrik Rosenmeier, and Karen Skovgaard-Petersen for critical comments on earlier drafts of this paper; John Kendal for correcting my English; and Harm-Jan van Dam for encouragement when it was really needed.

[1] The preferred universities of the period 1511–25, cf. table, 78, in Jan Pinborg, "Danish Students 1450–1535 and the University of Copenhagen," *CIMGL* 37 (1981): 70–122.

[2] Vello Helk, *Dansk-norske Studierejser fra reformationen til enevælder 1536–1660* (Odense, 1987).

[3] Cf. Minna Skafte Jensen, "Melanchthon, the Muses and Denmark," forthcoming in *National Traditions: England and the European Renaissance*, ed. Jean R. Brink, and Pernille Harsting, "Epitalami latini della riforma in Danimarca (1536–1590): imitazione classica e rappresentazione luterana," *Res Publica Litterarum* 15 (1992): 97–106.

Born in Århus in Jutland, probably at the beginning of the century, Jacobus Jasparus Danus Arrhusiensis, as Jakob Jespersen often presented himself in his poetry, belongs to the period in between the two phases, a period of political and religious strife in the kingdom of Denmark.[4] Like several of his fellow countrymen, Jasparus left Denmark to study abroad[5] and, in 1529, he was matriculated at the *Collegium Trinlingue* in Louvain.[6] In contrast with the other Danes, however, Jasparus never returned to his native country. This was probably due to developments in Denmark. In 1523 there had been a rebellion against the king, Christian II, as a result of his policies, including the so-called Stockholm Bloodbath, in which the king had had at least 80 influential Swedes who opposed Danish dominion beheaded. The political and religious changes in Denmark may have meant better prospects for Jasparus in the Netherlands, where the family of the expelled king had taken refuge. Another reason for spending the rest of his life abroad was the fact, which appears from his poetry, that Jasparus was a fervent Catholic. An example of this is found in Levinus Crucius's *Parænesis* of 1543, an "exhortation to the Christian potentates, to turn the weapons of their treaty against the Turk, and against Luther and his conspirators."[7] At the end of the *Parænesis*, in a poem composed as a "propemptikon in librum,"[8] Jaspa-

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[4] On the life of Jasparus, see C. F. Bricka, "Jakob Jespersen, en dansk Humanist paa Reformationstiden," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 5, no. 4 (Copenhagen, 1883): 302–15. Whereas Bricka explicitly "could not think of seeing anything of importance in this man" (314), Henry De Vocht, "History of the Foundation and the Rise of the *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense* 1517–1550," vols. 1–4, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 10–13 (1951–55), describes Jasparus as "an enthusiastic and literary pupil of the *Trilingue*" (3:39); cf. also 3:244–7 and vols. 2–4 passim. Likewise *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 10 (Brussels, 1888–1889), 490–93; H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexicon*, vol. 4 (Copenhagen, 1927), 285–6; M. L. Lauster in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. P. G. Bietenholz (Toronto, 1986), 2:234–5; the present article is the first attempt at a critical examination of Jasparus's writings.

[5] Jasparus may have visited various universities. I am not convinced, however, of the very uncertain identification in *Corpus Reformatorum* vol. 1 (Halle, 1834), 835, no. 422, of Jasparus with the anonymous "adolescens Danus" in Melanchthon's letter, referred to in P. S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami* (Oxford, 1938), 9:382, introduction to letter no. 2570, and in Desmet-Goethals, 13 n. 31, as a proof of Jasparus's possible visit to Cologne in 1526, a date which is merely a conjecture in *CR*.

[6] 18 May 1529, cf. Ellen Jørgensen, "Nordiske studerende ved Universitetet i Louvain," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 9, no. 3 (1925): 389. Jens Worm, *Lexicon over danske, norske og islandske lærde Mænd*, vol. 1 (Helsingør, 1771), 495, suggests that Jasparus was one of the Catholic monks expelled from Denmark in connection with the Lutheran Reformation. More probably De Vocht is right in describing Jasparus as one of the Scandinavian students who "came to Louvain to find the development which their native land did not offer,"(3:369).

[7] "Parænesis Levini Crucii Curionis Boscepani, ad Potentatus Christianos, ut percusso inter se foedere, ferrum in Turcam, ac Lutherum, illiusque coniuratos, ac pertinaces asseclas convertant" (fol. A1).

[8] On Renaissance "propemptika in librum" and the history of this literary genre, see Pernille Harsting, "Latin Valedictory Poems in the 16th Century: Tradition and Topicality of a Classical Genre," forthcoming in *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature* ed. Minna Skafte Jensen.

rus recommends the book of Crucius as a safeguard against the Lutherans:

> I Liber, et falsas doctrinas hæreticorum
> Argue, Lutheri schismata carpe feri.
> Corripe pestiferam, quam non erat Arrius ausus
> Evomere, hæreseos illius illuviem. (fol. F1r, 1–4)

The poem is written "in Parænesin hanc Levini Crucii Enomii Aldernardini sui amici singularis." This is the same Levinus Crucius who was the headmaster of the school in Bailleul and later taught as parish priest in Boeschepe,[9] and with whom Jasparus began his career as a Greek teacher, probably after having studied for a period at the *Trilingue*.[10] The friendship with Crucius was lifelong and of great importance for Jasparus's introduction to various literary patrons.[11]

Much of our information on the life of Jacobus Jasparus comes from his own writings. Thus, in a letter of 1531, addressed by Jasparus to Erasmus of Rotterdam[12] in the hope that he might gain the *amicitia* of the latter, we learn that Jasparus used to belong to the court of Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, where he held the position as secretary to Jacobus Canta, the great Chamberlain of Campeggio.[13] This was in 1530–1531, when the Cardinal was representing the Roman Church as a legate to Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg and afterwards at the Imperial Court in Brussels and in Ghent. When Campeggio left the Netherlands, Jasparus—so he writes in the letter to Erasmus—did not want to accompany him to Italy and was offered the position as teacher of Greek to Nicolaus Olaus, secretary of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands and the sister of Charles V. In the dedicatory letter of the *Anactobiblion, et Heroepe* from 1544 (cf. below), addressed to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and to his elder brother Maximilian, Jasparus states that his service at the house of Olaus lasted for about ten years, that is until 1540–1541. Jasparus's life in the following years is documented by a series of Latin poems which he had printed in Antwerp from 1541 until 1549. In these books we can follow the career of Jasparus, who in the earlier works presents himself as "publicus professor Græcus, ac trium linguarum studiosus" (1541), "literarum Græcarum professor" (1544), and "pro-

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[9] Cf. De Vocht, 3:440.

[10] Cf. De Vocht, 3:244.

[11] Among these were Franciscus Craneveldius and Rutgerus de Taxis, cf. Desmet-Goethals, 14, with references to the correspondence of Craneveldius, edited by De Vocht in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 1 (1928).

[12] Cf. Allen, 9:383–6, no. 2570. The letter is dated Brussels, 19 November 1531. Cf. also the other preserved letter from Jasparus to Eramus, dated Brussels, 25 July 1533, in Allen, 10:277–8, no. 2849.

[13] Cf. Allen, 9:384, ". . . dominus meus Iacobus Canta Astensis, quem graece institui." On Canta, who is not mentioned in the *Diz. biogr. degli italiani*, see De Vocht, 3:111 n. 1; 173 n. 2; 244 n. 5, and J. F. d'Amico in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 1:258.

fessor Græcolatinus" (1544) and from 1547 adds an "M." for "magister" to his title, e.g., "M. Iacobus Danus" (1547).

There are still extant a limited number of copies of nine books by Jasparus (all of them printed in Antwerp, some of them in two editions), various poems and epigrams printed in works by other authors, and a few letters to Levinus Crucius and to Erasmus of Rotterdam.[14] All of Jasparus's writings, however, and thus our information on his life, appear to date from before 1 April 1549.[15]

The nine extant titles are:

1. *Genethliacon* and *Epitaphium*, 1544 (in two editions: BB, J 27 and BB, J 28, 4 fols.). A poem on the birth and an epigram on the death of the daughter of René of Chalons and Anne of Lorraine. Included one Greek and two Latin poems to René of Chalons.
2. *Anactobiblion, et heroepe*, 1544 (BB, J 29, 27 fols.) A collection of poems and letters to various members of the nobility, most importantly to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and his brother Maximilian, and to their father, King Ferdinand of Bohemia and Hungary.
3. *Encomium Angliæ*, 1546 (BB, J 30, 16 fols.). A letter and a poem dedicated to King Henry VIII. Various epigrams to various noblemen at the English Court.
4. *Epitaphia*, 1547 (in two editions: BB, J 31 and J 32, 2 fols.). Two Latin epitaphs for Francis I of France and his son Charles; in the later edition are also included translations of the epitaphs into French and Dutch.
5. *Epitaphium*, [1548] (BB, J 33, 2 fols.). Latin epigrams to Ida, the wife of Erasmus Schetz from Antwerp, followed by translations by J. Athenius (Dutch) and G. C. de Diest (French).
6. *Epitaphia*, [1548] (BB, J 34, 2 fols.). Latin epigrams with translations into French and Dutch to Isabella, the wife of Cornelius-Duplicius de Schepper, and to Elisabeth, the wife of Franciscus Craneveldius (cf. below).
7. *Neogynia*, [?] (BB, J 35, 2 fols.). A Greek and two Latin epithalamia for Iohannes Hilstius, a relative of the Schetz family, and Magdalena, the daughter of Franciscus Werner.
8. *Genealogia filiorum Nicolai Everardi*, 1549 (BB, J 49, 6 fols.). The book is dedicated to Nicolaus Grudius and deals with the children of

[14] On the works of Jasparus, see *Bibliotheca Belgica*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1964), 593–601 (hereafter BB), and Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi 1482–1550* (Copenhagen, 1919), 47–50 (LN). To the list of epigrams, I can add 5 Greek distichs and *Idem latine* by Jasparus in Levinus Crucius, *Viridarium Florum* (Antwerpen: Symon Cocus, 1548), fols. *2–*2v. Moreover, I have recently found a manuscript dedication, together with a few hitherto unknown manuscript poems by Jasparus, in a collection of some of his works. An edition of and a commentary on this autograph by Jasparus is under preparation.

[15] The date of Jasparus's dedicatory letter in the *Genealogia* (cf. BB).

Everardus, three of whom were the poets Nicolaus Grudius, Hadrianus Marius, and Johannes Secundus.[16]

As appears from the *Bibliotheca Belgica* the above titles are all to be found in libraries in Belgium. I can add that books 1[17] and 2 are also to be found in the Vatican Library.

Only one of Jasparus's works, in two editions, however, is now in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, namely:

9. *Epithalamium illustriss. D. Francisci à Lotharingia, Ducis Barri, Marchionis Pontis Montionis, ac inclytæ D. Christinae à Dania Ducis Mediolanensis Cæsaris Caroli Quinti Opt. Max. ex sorore neptis, ac Christierni eius nominis secundi, Danorum, Suecorum, et Norvegiorum regis filiæ, per IACOBUM IASPARUM DANUM Arhusiensem publicum Professorum Græcum, ac trium linguarum studiosum.* (From the frontispiece of the August edition, on which were also printed, apart from the colophon, three Hebraic quotations and a Greek epigram, cf. below).

This collection of encomiastic poems was published in two editions, both printed in Antwerp by Johannes Grapheus, the first in July (LN 101a) and the second in August 1541 (BB, J 25; LN 102). It is thus the earliest of the printed books by Jasparus, and also the first known Neo-Latin epithalamium written by a Danish poet. In 1760, the Danish student Christian Pedersen Brandt[18] produced a reprint of the August edition of the *Epithalamium* together with a dissertation on the book and its author (BB, J 26).[19] In the following, I shall introduce the *Epithalamium* and in examining the two editions of July and August 1541 as well as the reprint and the dissertation of 1760, I shall try to throw more light on the author, Jacobus Jasparus.

Like all of Jasparus's writings, the *Epithalamium* is an encomiastic tour de force. In presenting his poetry to the Imperial Court and to influential persons in the Netherlands and abroad, Jasparus appealed for recognition as a learned poet and made himself known to the various patrons who might supply him with the means of earning a living.[20] Jasparus expresses this most clearly in one of the epigrams of the *Epithalamium*, addressed to the bridegroom, *Aliud ad sponsum, quo hortatur et admonet eum liberalitatis in doctos viros*:

Sis modo Mecænas haud deerunt Sponse Marones,
Artis enim nutrix extitit omnis honos. (fol. B1)

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[16] My brief description of this book relies on BB (cf. n. 29 below).

[17] In the edition printed by Loëus (= BB, J 27).

[18] On Brandt (1733–1780; from 1762 "famulus" at the Royal Library in Copenhagen), see H. Ehrencron-Müller, vol. 2 (Copenhagen, 1925), 31–32.

[19] The dissertation is to be found in several copies in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, two of them with Brandt's manuscript annotations in the MS. Gl. Kgl. Saml. 2549 in quarto.

[20] Thus, the *Encomium Angliæ* serves as an introduction of Jasparus to the English Court. In all likelihood, however, Jasparus never carried out his intention of visiting England.

The Maecenases whom this particular Maro wanted to glorify were the Princess Christina of Denmark and Francis of Lorraine, the Duke of Bar. The *Epithalamium* celebrates their wedding which took place in Brussels, on 10 July 1541.

Christina was born in 1521 or 1522, the youngest daughter of Elisabeth of Austria (the sister of the Emperor Charles V and of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands) and the above-mentioned Christian II, King of Denmark. On the frontispiece of the printed book, Christina is presented as the daughter of "Christierni eius nominis secundi, Danorum, Suecorum, et Norvegiorum regis." Although in 1523 Christian II was forced to take refuge in the Netherlands and, in 1531, when trying to recapture the Danish crown, was condemned to lifelong captivity in Denmark, neither Christina, nor her elder sister, Dorothea, who had grown up together at the Imperial Court in Brussels, ever abandoned their claim to the three kingdoms as their rightful inheritance. Jasparus's dedication is quite in line with this conviction. Princess Christina had already been married once, in 1534, to the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, who left her a thirteen-year-old widow and Duchess of Milan in 1535.[21] The bridegroom, Francis of Lorraine, was born in 1517 and died in 1545, only four years after having married Christina.

The *Epithalamium* by Jasparus consists of eight fols. with fifteen poems which may be divided into three sections. The first section is formed by five poems (of 20, 18, 32, 12, and 96 verses), four of which are written in elegiac distichs while the last is polymetrical. The poems all describe the bride, the bridegroom, the celebration of the wedding, and ideas on marriage. The second section consists of six epigrams in Latin, followed by a Greek translation. They were addressed to (1) Mary of Hungary, (2) the bridegroom, (3) the bride, (4) René of Chalons, (5) the Chancellor of Brabant, and (6) the bridegroom. The third section includes a *Carmen extemporale* (66 distichs), a *Hendecasyllabon* (41+4 verses), a Greek *Homerokentron* (28 verses), and finally an *Epithalamium cæci* (28 verses) and two distichs *De autore cæco. Votum.*

In the first poem of the collection, the *Epithalamium*, Jasparus allows Christina to present herself in a monologue:

> Inclyta Christierni Cimbrorum filia regis
> Regis Danorum sum minor atque vocor
> Regis Danorum, Suecorum, Norvegicorum
> Nata minor natu corpore maior ero.
> Gratior est multo procero in corpore virtus,
> Quamvis exiguo sint sua dona data. (fol. A2, 1–6)

In his use of the monologue, Jasparus follows the example of the *Danish Chronicle*, a fifteenth-century rhymed history which, owing to its popularity,

[21] The marriage may not have been consummated; at least this is what Jasparus wishes to indicate in a printed note on fol. A2 in the August edition of the *Epithalamium*: "Puellam vel virginem vocat, quia multae etiam in coniugio virgines manserunt."

was the first book to be printed in Danish in 1495. Already in the opening of the poem we get a clear impression of Jasparus's poetic style. In his description of the imposing stature of Christina, who is "nata minor natu corpore maior," one suspects Jasparus of having chosen the Plinian expression "procero in corpore" (*Ep.* 4.9.23, *Par.* 4.7 etc.) instead of Seneca's "pulchro e corpore" (*Ep.* 66.2) because of his (i.e., Jasparus's) obvious fascination with stylistic figures. Thus the poem opens with an epanastrophe between the verses 1 and 2: "regis" / "Regis," and continues with an anaphora (verses 2–3): "Regis Danorum" / "Regis Danorum." In verse 4 Jasparus has combined chiasmus, antithesis, alliteration, and paronomasia:

	Nata	minor	natu	corpore	maior	ero
chiasmus		A	B	B		A
antithesis		x			x	
alliteration	1	2	1			2
paronomasia	x		x			

Finally, "procero" and "corpore" in verse 5 form an anagram, "multo" and "exiguo" an antithesis, and verse 6 is concluded with two pairs of alliteration, "sint sua" and "dona data!"

In the second poem, *Aliud*, Jasparus introduces the topos of *paritas*: equality of birth, beauty, and *mores*:

> Omnia conveniunt, ætas, genus, ordo, figura
> Congruit et paribus moribus integritas. (fol. A2, 7–8)

Other appropriate topoi such as the beauty of the bride and the manliness of the bridegroom are elaborated here as in several of the poems, and Jasparus likewise directs his *vota* for long lives and offspring to the bridal couple:

> Si vates Danus, si non est pectore vanus,
> Intra annum puer his vagiet in thalamis. (fol. A2v, 15–16)

There are quotations from and allusions to various classical authors in the poems, first and foremost to Catullus, Virgil, Martial, and Ovid, and to the prose of Cicero and Pliny. In the *Hendecasyllabon*, however, we find more than mere allusions to classical texts. In fact, this poem is a verbatim copy of Claudian's first *Fescennina de nuptiis Honorii Augusti*:

> Princeps chorusco sydere pulchrior,
> Parthis sagittas tendere certior,[22]
> Eques Gelonis imperiosior,

[22] Cf. n. 24 below.

Quae digna mentis laus erit arduæ? [etc.] (fol. B3, 1–4)

The comparison of Francis with Honorius is flattering, of course, but I am not convinced that this is Jasparus's aim. More probably we have here a case, not of imitation, but of plagiarism. In spite of the fact that the *Fescennina* had already appeared in several editions before 1541,[23] Jasparus apparently wants his readers to regard the poem as written entirely by himself. To this end he replaced the lion of Honorius,

Gaudensque sacris vulneribus leo
Admittet hastam morte superbior (Claudian, 14–15)

with an animal more familiar to his part of the world, the goat (!):

Gaudensque adactis vulneribus caper. (fol. B3, 14)

And after the last verse of the first *Fescennina* (formed by 41 verses), Jasparus added four verses in order to make the poem refer directly to Christina and Francis:

Beata regis filia Danici.
Beata tanto Principe patria:
Læti parentes foedere nobili
Quod non resolvet livor edax. Vale. (fol. B3v)

The *Hendecasyllabon* is followed on fol. B4 recto by a Greek *Homerokentron*. This is the last poem of the first edition, the July edition. To the August edition of the *Epithalamium* was added on fol. B4 verso an *Epithalamium cæci* and a poem *De autore cæco. Votum.* These poems "by a blind poet," the last poems of the collection, have given rise to some speculation about the author, Jacobus Jasparus. The remaining part of this paper is dedicated to a discussion of "the myth of the blind poet."

Jasparus was unknown to Danish scholarship before 1760, when at the Royal College, Regensen, in Copenhagen, the Danish student, Christian Pedersen Brandt presented a reprint of the *Epithalamium*, "Quod tandem ab imminenti interitu e latebris iuxta exemplar suum emendate protraxit" (1), together with his "dissertationem historico-criticam, eius atque Autoris Coeci fata ulterius examinantem" (ibid.). The book that Brandt had bought at an auction in 1753 in Odense on Funen was a copy of the August edition of the *Epithalamium*, which indeed he did save from "imminent destruction." Brandt's is the only extant copy and now belongs to the Royal Library in Copenhagen. In his dissertation, Brandt concentrates on the sparse biogra-

[23] I have inspected the incunabula of 1482 (Vicenza) and 1495 (Venice) as well as the Aldine edition of 1523, the Paris edition of 1530, and the Lyon edition of 1535 (but have not had access to the Basel edition of 1534). In all of these the *Hendecasyllabon* is entitled *Epithalamium*. All the above editions have "certior" in verse 2 (as has Jasparus), where modern editions have "doctior." Jasparus's text is closest to that of the Aldine.

phical material he is able to draw from the *Epithalamium* about its author, who was otherwise totally unknown to him. Referring to the first of the two distichs entitled *De autore cæco. Votum* on the last folio of the August edition:

> Hos qui composuit versus, quàm hoc cernere vellet,
> Luminibus captus nobile coniugium. (1–2)

Brandt assumes that Jasparus belongs to the noble catalogue of blind poets, and claims that: "nullus lectorum existimabit eum veritati repugnantia et non concilianda de se ipso testari, dum sæpius folio epithal. ultimo ... se esse cæcum, et antea se esse publicum Professorum Græcum simul affirmat" (10). Brandt adds that the faults in the three Hebraic quotations on the frontispiece of the August 1541 edition,[24] "quas tamen in meo olim impresso exemplari tam foede et monstrose typographus expressit" (14), must have resulted from the blindness and not from any ignorance on the part of the author.

In 1970 the Royal Library in Copenhagen came into possession of the first edition of Jasparus's *Epithalamium*, printed in July 1541. Had Brandt known this rather than the August edition, he would undoubtedly not have made Jasparus's supposed blindness a subject of discussion. The August edition is a reprint of the July edition with a few changes. On the frontispiece of the August edition, after the Hebraic quotations which were reproduced from the July edition in the incorrect form observed by Brandt, Jasparus added a Greek distich: "everything usually survives in its second and better version."[25] The implied reference to the July edition must have made the epigram incomprehensible for Brandt,—in fact, he prudently avoided commenting on it.

Most of the changes from the July edition to the August edition are the corrections of misprints and the rewriting of some lines. Most important is the addition of the two altogether new poems, the *Epithalamium cæci* and the poem *De autore cæco Votum* on fol. B4 verso. On this page, which is blank in the July edition, Brandt rests the whole of his argument concerning the blind poet, "dum sæpius folio epithal. ultimo ... se esse cæcum ... affirmat" (cf. above). Indeed, the initial verses of the *Epithalamium cæci* refer to a blind poet:

> Munera dent alii, pauper dat carmina cæcus,
> Quod nisi dat cæcus carmina pauper habet?

Moreover, there is no doubt that this is a poem from the pen of Jacobus Jasparus himself. The alliterations and the *figurae etymologicae* of the verses 19–20 speak for themselves:

> Non peto pro numeris, numeres mihi munera multa.

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[24] Ruth 4. 11; Prov. 19. 14; Gen. 24. 60.

[25] Δεύτερα τῶν πάντων ἐσαεὶ εἰωθεν ὑπάρχειν, ἔργων τῶν προτέρων πράγματα βελτίονα.

Sed peto pro paucis paucula versiculis.

The 1760 editor, Brandt, concludes from these lines that Jasparus was not only blind, but also poor, and claims that he shared Homer's fate, "uterque enim paupertate pressus in alieno solo extra patriam poëmata sua scripsit" (14).

Indeed, Jasparus appears to have had bad eyesight. In a letter of 1543 to Levinus Crucius, concerning the proofreading of the *Parænesis*, and printed as a preface to this work, Jasparus regrets that "unum et alterum erratulum, forte inciderit," as he is unable to read very small characters. In 1544, however, Jasparus is described as a master of dancing, an activity that requires at least tolerably good eyesight:[26]

Et salit ad modulos aptissimus: ac citharoedos,
Ut nymphas risu protinus exhilaret.
Officioque viros mulcet, mulcetque maritas,
Aptè virgineis perplacet ille choris.
Nemo hic saltantem dicat vidisse Camelum,
Aut Onagrum longis candidus auriculis. [!]

Yet, whether or not the blindness of Jasparus was a passing phenomenon, surely the words of Jasparus in the *Epithalamium cæci* and in the following *De autore cæco. Votum* should be read in other than the literal sense. In fact, the poetical *decorum* of the Renaissance requires of the author that he present his writings as a humble present from a humble poet. Whether or not Jasparus suffered from blindness and poverty, this characterization of "the blind poet," however, may also be seen as an elaboration of the topoi appropriate to the literary genre. This includes the "captatio benevolentiae" as well as exhortations to the addressee that he should be generous towards his future client.

With the first poem of the collection, in which Christina is presented in a monologue, Jasparus proved that he was capable of writing in the voice of a character. Accordingly, I believe that Jasparus's portrait of the blind poet is not a self-portrait but a literary device. The blind poet is of course an allusion to the king of poets, "blind Maeonides." Thus, the readers of the *Epithalamium cæci* are expected to create a mental linking of Jasparus with Homer, however presumptuous. The Jasparus-Homer link is already announced by the *Homerokentron*. In fact, this poem, composed of whole verses selected from both the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, namely the verses that Jasparus found appropriate for celebrating a wedding, proves that Jasparus knew his Homer very well indeed. The Homeric poems also constituted the basic material of Jasparus's teaching as we understand from the above-mentioned 1544 letter in the *Anactobiblion, et Heroepe*. Here Jasparus writes that as a

[26] Introductory poem by Franciscus Craneveldius to *Anactobiblion, et heroepe*, fol. A2, 7–12.

teacher of Greek to Nicolaus Olaus for a period of ten years "prælegi inter varia utrumque Homeri vatis opus à prora ad puppim illique toto anno ne unum quidem intermisit diem, in quacumque etiam expeditione, aut negociis fuimus" (A6). Jasparus's mastery of the Greek language is indisputable and exceptional for a Dane of his time. It was thanks to his learning that Jasparus gained a foothold in the Netherlands and was able to enter the service of Jacobus Canta and Nicolaus Olaus. Jasparus's Homeric aspirations were certainly encouraged by his contemporaries. Thus, one of his patrons, Franciscus Craneveldius,[27] referred to Jasparus's skills in a poetic *laudatio* which forms the commendatory preface to the *Encomium Angliæ* of 1546 addressed to Henry VIII:

> Laudibus innumeris dignus celebrabere Dane,
> Principibus possis quòd placuisse viris:
> Quòd linguas plures nosti quàm norit Homerus,
> Carmina quòd scribas mille Latina die:
> Græca ferè totidem, summo dignissima plausu,
> Vulgatis itidem Rhytmica mixta modis. (fol. 2r, 1–6)

The description of Jasparus's immense daily production, which to a modern reader seems ridiculous, is in fact a learned reference to Horace, *Sermones* 2.1.4., and a piece of flattery!

Though Jasparus received support for and understanding of his poetic program from many patrons, it is evident, however, that not all of his contemporaries valued his poetry as he might have wished. Erasmus did not approve of Jasparus's poetic refutation (now lost) of Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Contra D. Erasmum*, on which he commented: "Accepi et Dani naenias, quem optarim esse episcopum in sua Dania. Fortasse me non odit, sed plus nocet intempestiva benevolentia quam faceret inimicus. Quid inutilius quam ineptis versiculis lacerare Scaligerum. . . ?"[28] Likewise, the dedicatee of Jasparus's *Genealogia filiorum Nicolai Everardi*, Nicolaus Grudius,—rather surprisingly, it seems[29]—attacked Jasparus in two epigrams,[30] one of which is entitled *In Iacobum Gasparum Danum, qui, ut modestus videretur, scripsisse se dicebat invita Minerva*:[31]

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[27] On Craneveldius (1485–1564) see *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* vol. 4 (Brussels, 1873), 484–86.

[28] Letter from Erasmus to Nicolaus Olaus, cf. Allen, 10:199, no. 2792, dated Freiburg, 19 April 1533. Cf. also 10:125, no. 2736, ibid., 5 November 1532 and addressed to Viglius Zuichemus: "Scaligeri libellum nondum perlegi. Ioannes [*sic*] Danus insectatus est illum carmine; mallem illum quiescere."

[29] In spite of many efforts, it has not been possible for me to obtain access to the *Genealogia*, which may contain the solution to the riddle.

[30] Nicolaus Grudius, *Epigrammatum Lib. II*, 67–68, in *Poemata et effigies trium fratrum Belgarum* (Leyden: Ludovicus Elsevirius, 1612).

[31] In the autograph manuscript, Bon. Vulcanii codex 70, 142ff., Grudius corrected (with

Invita qui te credam cecinisse Minerva,
Quum tamen ad numeros rideat illa tuos?

The other epigram was written *De Iacobo Gasparo Dano, versificatore inepto*:

Vate scrobem Dano geminam moriente parârunt.
Tassius[32] hinc hospes, hinc pius æditus.
Errorémne putas? an factum numine divûm?
Condat ut hæc artus? altera versiculos?

Excessive praise and ridicule are the jokers of encomiastic literature. Jasparus met both in his adopted country. In his native country, on the other hand, Jasparus was forgotten until two centuries after his death. In 1760, however, Christian Pedersen Brandt laid claim to Jasparus as belonging to Danish literary history. This monopolization may seem improper considering Jasparus's lifelong exile in the Netherlands. Yet, in his poetry, Jasparus insisted on his Danish origin, always referring to himself as Jacobus Jasparus Danus Arrhusiensis or, in his later writings, merely Jacobus Danus. Jasparus's Danish (= exotic!) origin is also presented as a distinctive mark in the laudatory poem by Franciscus Craneveldius which introduces the *Anactobiblion, et heroepe* of 1544:

Natus in extremis Cimbrorum finibus, inter
Danorum scopulos carmina docta canit. (fol. A2, 5–6)

And probably in Brandt, who took Jasparus at his word when reading and editing the *Epithalamium*, Jasparus would have found a literary advocate after his heart. Thus,—though evidently he did not, as Brandt would have it, share Homer's fate of lifelong blindness and exile forced by poverty—Jasparus's aspirations were probably at long last fulfilled, in 1760, when he was recognized in Brandt's dissertation as "Homerulus noster Danicus."

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an eye on publication?) the original "In quendam, qui" to "In Jacobum Gasparum Danum, qui." I wish to thank the manuscript department at the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden for kindly having supplied me with photographs of the two epigrams.

[32] I.e., of Rutgerus de Taxis, cf. n. 12 above and De Vocht, 3:246 n. 8.

Erasmus and the Laws of Marriage

MICHAEL J. HEATH

Erasmus published the *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, dedicated with unforeseeable irony to Catherine of Aragon, in August 1526;[1] it was by no means his first pronouncement on marriage, but it is his most comprehensive discussion of the subject. It also continued and developed Erasmus's polemic with a series of opponents who had taken exception to his *Encomium matrimonii* (1518) and to his expanded annotation (1519) on St Paul's chapter on marriage, 1 Corinthians 7.[2] Like these earlier works, the *Institutio* expressed views which still arouse controversy today, in particular on womankind, on the vow of chastity, and on the sacramental quality of marriage. I shall discuss these three issues briefly, but devote most of this paper to a lesser-known but equally controversial element in the *Institutio*, Erasmus's proposals for reform of the laws of marriage. Since the Church claimed jurisdiction over matrimony, and since the prescriptions of canon law on the subject were precise and infinitely detailed, it is not surprising to find that, here again, Erasmus fell foul of more orthodox thinkers; his characteristic musings on the fallibility of "human constitutions" undoubtedly helped to ensure the proscription of the *Institutio* in its entirety in the Tridentine index of 1564.[3]

Erasmus's views on the female sex have aroused a good deal of interest,[4] especially with the rise of women's studies. The evidence of the *Institutio*

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[1] *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Le Clerc (Leiden, 1703–6 [LB]) 5:613–724; numerical references in the text in square brackets are to this edition. My translation of this work for the Toronto University Press, *Collected Works of Erasmus* (CWE), is awaiting publication.

[2] See Erika Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics* (Nieuwkoop, 1986), 2:25–26, 39 and 74–78.

[3] In many respects this Index softened the blanket condemnation of Erasmus's works by Paul III, but on this treatise the censors were unyielding: see LB (n. 1 above) 10:1821A–B and Bruce Mansfield, *Phoenix of his Age* (Toronto, 1979), 26–27.

[4] Cf. among others, Clare M. Murphy's paper at this congress; Jennifer Roberts in CWE (n. 1 above) 66:183ff., and a number of recent studies by Anne M. O'Donnell.

suggests that in many respects Erasmus shared the prejudices of his age: he ignored the civil rights of the female and encouraged her parents, as well as the husband they chose for her, to treat her like a child or a servant, confining her to the home and prescribing in persnickety detail her duties as homemaker and child rearer. Nothing had changed, apparently, in two millennia: the section of the *Institutio* dealing with the "female domain" (692–97) resounds with the venerable precepts of pseudo-Aristotle and Xenophon on household management (*Oeconomica*). On the other hand, in less mundane contexts Erasmus shows considerable respect for the female, insisting, for example, on the absolute equality of male and female in the sight of God:

> Si Deus tantum honoris habuit foeminis ut in haereditate vitae coelestis, quae credentibus oblata est, eas aequet viris, qui convenit ut ab homine marito fastidiantur?
>
> If God held women in such esteem that he made them equal to men in offering the inheritance of heavenly life to those who believe, how can it be right for a human husband to disdain them? (706E)

Moreover, he suggests, like his equally misunderstood disciple Rabelais, that the best of women, the "preudes et chastes femmes,"[5] deserve the highest praise for overcoming their physical frailty: such women, inspired by the spirit of Christ, are indeed often allotted a most honorable and demanding role in the working out of the divine plan:

> Et tales foeminae permissu Dei nonnunquam incidunt in maritos temulentos, prodigos, pauperum expilatores, adulteros, aleatores, ut viros suos Deo lucrifaciant.
>
> Such women quite often find themselves married, by God's will, to husbands who are drunkards, spendthrifts, plunderers of the poor, adulterers, gamblers—in order that they may win their husbands for God. (705C)

Thus the evidence of the *Institutio* is inconclusive, and may be cited on both sides of the feminist divide: if Erasmus did not go so far as Henry Cornelius Agrippa, for example, who strongly advocated marriage for love in his *Declamatio de sacramento matrimonii*, published earlier in 1526, he could take justified pleasure in reproaching his friend Vives for harshness towards women in his condescending *De institutione foeminae Christianae* of 1524.[6]

Secondly, it is of course true that in the *Institutio*, as so often elsewhere,[7]

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[5] See François Rabelais, *Le Tiers Livre*, chap. 32.

[6] See Erasmus's *Epistulae*, 1830 and 1847; Vives in reply pleaded justification!

[7] See Jacques Chomarat's plenary paper at this congress and E.-V. Telle, *Erasme de Rotterdam et le septième sacrement* (Geneva, 1954), passim.

Erasmus cannot resist pouring scorn upon monasticism—just as good monks used to pour scorn upon matrimony. Quite apart from Erasmus's need to write out his own personal sufferings as a reluctant inmate of the cloister, it was at this time more or less obligatory to deal with the vow of chastity in a work on matrimony: one could not discuss in isolation any one of the "four states of life," virginity, chastity, marriage and widowhood. In the *Institutio*, Erasmus proposes, with only a hint of irony, a sort of wedded monasticism (647F): the vow of obedience is subsumed into every Christian's duty to obey the Lord's commandments, and the vow of poverty is fulfilled by supporting one's household and giving what is left to the poor; most important and most controversial, the vow of chastity here becomes an attitude of mind, instead of an external ritual which amounts to mere physical constraint unconnected with true piety. Moreover, Erasmus's protest against the imposition of monastic vows upon the unwilling novice is entirely consistent with his recommendations in the *Institutio* concerning the careful choice of a marriage-partner and on the necessity for the consent of all interested parties, which applies equally to marriage and to a profession of monasticism. It is not necessarily naïve to conclude that for Erasmus, as he affirms in the *Vidua christiana*,[8] each state of life has its own distinction and honor, endorsed by the sacred writings, and that each of us should be content with the state to which he or she has been called.

Thirdly, the sacramental question. Erasmus stands accused[9] of weakening the sacrament of marriage and thus encouraging the Reformers to remove it from the list of the seven sacraments (along with four of the others). One wonders whether the Reformers needed any encouragement, but in any event the sacramental status of marriage has always been open to question because, unlike the other sacraments, which are purely spiritual and ecclesiastical, it is a hybrid: both the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities have a vested interest in it. For this reason, as the Reformers were wont to point out,[10] St Augustine was not convinced that an automatic outpouring of grace was guaranteed during the performance of the sacrament, and it is over this matter that Erasmus too hesitates: in the *Institutio* he implies (619E, 623D) that the effusion of grace is conditional on the participants' state of mind (which is, of course, obvious to God). In all other respects, Erasmus's eulogy of marriage in the *Institutio*, and his reverent treatment of its "many symbolic representations of the divine mysteries" (623A), are scarcely to be compared with the fulminations of some Reformers against the prerogatives consequently claimed by the Church.

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[8] CWE (n. 1 above) 66:201.

[9] Most notably by Telle (n. 7 above), 257–71 and 367–82; see also J. B. Payne, *Erasmus: his Theology of the Sacraments* (Richmond, VA, 1970), 104–25.

[10] For example, M. Chemnitz, *Examen decretorum concilii Tridentini* (Frankfurt, 1596), 2:232; the usual reference is to Augustine's *De bono conjugiali*, chap. 32.

However, it cannot be denied that Erasmus expressed reservations about the sacramental status of matrimony, and his reasons are related to the main theme of this paper. If Erasmus has a motive for undermining matrimony as a sacrament, it is of course that a sacrament, once completed, is indissoluble except by God or by death. As I mentioned earlier (see n. 2), a great row had been caused in 1519 by Erasmus's expanded annotation on 1 Corinthians 7:39 ("If her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will"), because Erasmus seemed to be redefining "dead," and arguing that the famous (i.e., notorious) flexibility of the popes should be combined with Christian charity, to allow "certain marriages to be dissolved, not irresponsibly, but for serious reasons."[11] Erasmus is indeed arguing for total divorce, including the right to remarry, rather than the limited "separation from bed and board" which the medieval Church permitted in well-defined circumstances, but he is hardly advocating serial polygamy; he looks to reform of the law to provide some alleviation of the human misery caused by entirely hopeless marriages. In much of the *Institutio* his advice was designed precisely to prevent such marriages taking place at all, especially since to some extent the law seemed positively to encourage ill-assorted and potentially disastrous matches.

But Erasmus was not a lawyer; by what right did he presume to dictate to the professionals? It is hard for us to comprehend the passionate interest that legal studies aroused among the humanists; Renaissance intellectuals seem to have enjoyed nothing better than to wrestle with an arcane legal puzzle or two, and law books were bestsellers. It would also be hard to find an area of the law more intriguingly complicated than the law of marriage. This is not to suggest that the interest of Erasmus and many contemporaries was dilettantish; matrimony naturally entailed practical questions of immense social importance, since it involved such basic issues as legitimacy (a sore point with Erasmus), guardianship, inheritance and property. Whole tracts of Roman law are devoted to the financial implications of matrimony, and in this area, as Erasmus points out in the *Institutio* (638D), canon law recognizes and bows to Roman expertise.

To his credit, and despite having a personal interest in some of these questions, Erasmus in the *Institutio* devoted little space to financial matters; on the contrary, it enraged him that men would expend disproportionate amounts of time and effort on such transactions as buying a horse or a house, but would enter upon matrimony almost casually, against all the advice of the Ancients and of the scriptures (655–6). Erasmus was more exercised by the human consequences of such folly, though from time to time there surfaces a fascination with the legists' struggle to come to terms with the dilemma of marriage, posed by the general incompatibility between public utility and private desire, or between spiritual ideal and earthly pas-

[11] LB (n. 1 above) 6:692F.

sion, illustrated, as Erasmus points out, by the myth of the two Venuses (682A).

Partly because of such conflicts, marriage law was beset by paradox. On the one hand, it was distressingly easy to contract a valid marriage simply by uttering certain formulae in the present tense (*verba de praesenti*), or by consummating promises made in the future tense (*verba de futuro*). Voices had been raised against this system as early as the ninth century, but it had become rigidly encoded by the twelfth; widespread abuse eventually led the Council of Trent to accept Erasmus's advice and to legislate against clandestine marriages by seeking to impose more open and lengthier betrothal and a regularized form of ceremony.[12] Not that the Council would acknowledge the influence of the proscribed Erasmus! But perhaps we should take more seriously than usual the disclaimer with which Erasmus began his proposals for reform, since it is both more elaborate and perhaps more indicative of his intended audience than the regular appeals to treat his writings as mere jest or whimsy:

> Proinde quidquid hic dicturus sum, non aliter accipi velim quam si in Concilio, in quo tractaretur haec causa, quilibet e turba considentium sedulo suam adferret sententiam, meliori cessuram, aut irridendam etiam, si mereatur.

Thus I wish everything I am about to say to be treated as if it were a speech made by one individual from among all those gathered at a Council to discuss these matters; he gives his considered opinion, but is prepared to yield to a better, or to be laughed out of court if he deserves it. (643C–D)

Part of Erasmus's plan was thus to make it more difficult to get married than under the system of *verba de praesenti* and *verba de futuro*. But, paradoxically, if marriage was too easy to enter, it was extremely difficult to escape. Erasmus uses the image of marriage as a net (like that depressing 15th century collection of tales ironically entitled *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*[13]), a trap which imprisons the unwary in the toils of an arbitrary ecclesiastical authority (633B–C). Hence Erasmus's appeals for a more humane system, allowing divorce in cases where the marriage is clearly a source of almost suicidal unhappiness, where the partners are effectively dead to one another; where, as he graphically puts it:

> Vivi enim suos patiuntur manes, et ad aeternos praeludunt ejulatus.
>
> For the living suffer the torments of hell (cf. Virgil *Aeneid* 6. 743), and on earth utter the wails of the damned (641E)

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[12] On the medieval position, see Gratian's *Decretum*, 2.30.5.3 and, for Erasmus's proposals, the *Institutio*, 651. The Council of Trent's decrees may be found in H. J. D. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum* (35th edition, Barcelona, 1973), 1813–16.

[13] See *Poètes et romanciers du moyen âge*, ed. A. Pauphilet (Paris, 1943), 492–94.

Erasmus was not simply playing the misty-eyed libertarian here. He appeals to logic and common sense as well as to charity, and often goes into detail on specific points of law. For example, canon law decreed that a husband would lose the right to put away his adulterous wife (i.e., to banish her from his bed and board) if he slept with her after discovering her crime; Erasmus argued strongly (700C–D) that this would have the effect, in practice, of discouraging husbands from attempting reconciliation, and would penalize charity. " 'At lex,' inquies, 'sic interpretatur' " (" 'But that,' you will say, 'is the meaning of the law' "). It is clear what Erasmus thought of such regulations.

But—paradoxically again—it was in fact almost laughably easy to annul many supposed marriages, under the ecclesiastical regulations known as impediments. These were (and are) of two kinds: prohibitive impediments, which forbid a marriage to be contracted but do not dissolve it if it has been; and diriment impediments, which both prohibit and dissolve unions which contravene them. This division is an oversimplification, according to Erasmus:

> Some impediments suspend the contract temporarily, while others both prevent it being legally made and destroy it if it has been. Some of them dissolve a legally valid marriage which has not been consummated. A few will dissolve any contract so completely that not even the Roman pontiff can mitigate the rigor of the law, whereas in a few other cases he can if he wishes ratify a contract improperly made. Again, some break up the home and the marriage-bed, while others restore the male and the female to their former condition. There are some which do not break the lifelong bond nor the sharing of the marriage-bed, but merely remove the right to demand one's conjugal rights, usually from one partner, but sometimes from both. . . . And already around every one of these impediments swarms a host of questions and countless disputes among the commentators. (633D–E; the Latin is equally tortuous)

Erasmus has one very simple proposal for shortening this dizzying catalogue. He points out (645D) the logical flaw in the prohibitive category (that flouting of the law is apparently condoned *a posteriori* by the law) and argues that this distinction should simply be abolished: the law here is uncertain and shifting, because papal decrees down the centuries have been contradictory and, above all, because the power of dispensation can effectively override almost all prohibitive impediments.

The preceding quotation is the preamble to a most striking section of the *Institutio*, the list of eighteen particular impediments on which Erasmus provides a commentary (633–41), based apparently on his own remarkably extensive reading of the canonists, rather than on a digest or handbook (the annotation on 1 Corinthians 7 already shows wide first-hand knowledge of the medieval sources). Erasmus's commentary on the commentators is fasci-

nating in its variety. Sometimes, in complex and discursive arguments with Thomas Aquinas or Duns Scotus (e.g., 634–6), he appears to use the old, eclectic *mos Italicus*, accumulating precedents, contradictions and distinctions; elsewhere he follows the humanist *mos Gallicus*, which is selective and expurgatory, to expound the comparative wisdom and practicality of imperial Roman law, praising the "veterum prudentia," for example on betrothal customs (624D–F).

On certain impediments, such as ecclesiastical interdict and local custom (633E, 640E), Erasmus has little to say, presumably because he considers them merely provisional or impossibly diverse. On others, such as consanguinity, he accepts the Church's judgment, no doubt because it coincides with natural law; in fact he remarks on the restraint of the medieval popes who reduced the prohibited degrees of kinship from seven to four (638C). It is also interesting to find that Erasmus, the scourge of Judaizing formalism, accepts (644F) the impediment of *feriae*, the Church's prohibition of the marriage ceremony on and around Church festivals; this is consistent with his recommendation to his ideal couple that they should abstain from the marriage-bed at those times, out of piety (699F).

Where Erasmus resorts to sarcasm and satire is in dealing with papal or episcopal regulations unknown to Judaic, Roman or natural law, and apparently having no basis in piety either. New and, to Erasmus, bogus impediments such as spiritual kinship and public propriety are mere human inventions; his scorn for them inspires a sustained attack on the pretensions of the papacy which is at least as forceful as his attack on monasticism (some of which is a commentary on the impediment of "vows"). Spiritual kinship forbade marriage between godparents and their godchildren, and also between the relatives of both, to the fourth degree; Erasmus denounces it (643D–644E) as a jealous popish invention, designed to given an ecclesiastical version of the quite acceptable impediment of consanguinity. If spiritual birth is to be an impediment, he says, it would be more logical, as well as more pious (however inconvenient it might be), to apply it to evangelization; but what would become of the heathen wife converted by her husband? And why does it apply only to the sacrament of baptism? Similarly *publica honestas*, public propriety, prohibiting marriage between the relatives of those who had once been betrothed, or between a widow and her dead husband's relatives, was for Erasmus a popish version of the impediment of affinity, relationship by marriage, and so obviously an unnecessary complication that even the popes had relaxed its strictures recently (640E). Here, Erasmus could not point out the superiority of the imperial "equivalent," since the Roman regulation called *honestas* prohibited free men from marrying courtesans or actresses; how could the author of the colloquy "The Young Man and the Harlot" approve such snobbery?

To sum up: the underlying and characteristic theme of Erasmus's critique of the impediments is that canon law must take less account of the specious and empty theorizing of the defenders of papal privilege, and concentrate

upon solving the practical problems of matrimony, and upon the needs of men and women made of flesh and blood, provided always that these solutions fulfill the requirements of scripture, piety and nature. The law should not merely permit marriage as a remedy for human weakness, but actively promote it as a route towards godliness. The humanist sense of historical perspective was useful to Erasmus here; just as the patriarchs were permitted a relative promiscuity, in order to people the earth, so the apostles preached chastity in order that examples of purity might win the harvest for Christ (628D). Now, in a period of institutional decline, marriage must help restore social and spiritual integrity; Erasmus is one of the first to depart from the Pauline and Augustinian tradition and to regard sex as a natural necessity rather than a mere concession to human frailty; conducted with restraint and decorum, sexual relations are an integral part of a successful marriage (697–98).

This conviction explains and justifies the attention Erasmus gives in the *Institutio* to the physical side of marriage. It is an example of the way in which in this work legal issues (on sexual matters, these tend to cluster around adultery, a frequent topic of the *Institutio*) shade into ethical and even practical physical concerns; to consider no more than the theological and juridical elements of the *Institutio* would be seriously to misrepresent the treatise as a whole. The combative program for canonical reform adumbrated here is balanced by a comprehensive blueprint for the ideal marriage delivered, it has been unkindly remarked, with all the invincible assurance of the confirmed bachelor. But Erasmus was not acting alone: supported by his beloved Plutarch and inspired by the classical poets, buoyed up by the mature *philosophia Christi*, he produced a work which sought to raise marriage above the petty-minded wranglings of the schoolmen and to restore to it three indispensable qualities: faith, enshrined in the unswerving fidelity of the happily married; hope, in the procreation of healthy and well-favored children; and the greatest of all these, love.

King's College, London

Olof Hermelin—Poet in the Service of the King

HANS HELANDER

The main subject of this paper will be two poems by the Swedish official and Latin author Olof Hermelin, who lived between 1658 and 1709. Hermelin's life is a very good illustration of social conditions in Sweden during the reigns of Charles XI and Charles XII, i.e., during the last part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. The strictness of the old social order was dissolved by the policy of the newly established autocratic rule. The influence of the higher nobility was declining, and the royal power often chose officials and advisers and counsellors from the lower strata of society. It was not birth and ancestry, in the first place, that counted, but personal talent, industry and skill. Thus, many intelligent young men were allowed, during this period, to spring from the ranks of the people to the most eminent and glorious positions in the service of the kingdom.

Olof Hermelin was a *homo novus* of this kind. He was born in Filipstad in 1658.[1] His father was a certain Nils Månsson Skragge, who had made some progress in the iron manufacturing trade and become local mayor. (Olof changed his name from Skragge to Hermelin at the age of twenty, in 1678.) Young Olof proved to be a very intelligent child. After some years at the school of Karlstad he was sent to Uppsala University. He devoted his talents to the classical languages and to some of the modern tongues as well. Petrus Lagerlöf (1648–1699), the famous linguist and future professor of Latin eloquence, became his close friend. In addition to languages, Hermelin studied law with special enthusiasm. It was particularly natural law that attracted him, and in the first place the works and the new theories of Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf.

As a student in Uppsala during the 1670s, Hermelin could not avoid be-

[1] The most exhaustive study on Olof Hermelin hitherto published is Sven Olsson, *Olof Hermelin. En karolinsk kulturpersonlighet och statsman* (Lund, 1953). Hermelin's early years and his studies are treated there in 3–56.

ing influenced by the chauvinistic Swedish historiography of the Gothic school, which was then at its peak. Its most outstanding representative was Olof Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702), whose *Atlantica* appeared in its first volume in 1679.

In 1680, at the age of twenty-two, Hermelin got an appointment as a private tutor to the young count Magnus Stenbock. In the company of the young nobleman, he visited the Netherlands, parts of Germany, France and England. The Stenbock family belonged to the most distinguished in the Swedish nobility and it was seriously affected by the stern measures that royal absolutism took against the estates of the wealthy families during the 1680s. Alienated crown lands were then repossessed in a radical process of change that meant that a large part of the estates of the nobility were confiscated and fell to the treasury. As a member of the Stenbock household Hermelin was aware of the despair of the old families; his own private feelings were different, of course. His private letters bear witness to the joy he felt: "The realm will be strong again through the new incomes; there will be no place for people whose only merits are their birth and ancestry" he writes to a friend. The result will be, according to Hermelin, that "in posterum non majorum magis gloria, quam propria virtute niti cogantur."[2] Hermelin had hoped to be able to find a post in the Chancellery, i.e., the government office. His ideal in this field was Eric Lindschöld (1634–1690), who had advanced to the position of counsellor, and who was then the king's right hand. (Lindschöld had emerged from a social position that was even more humble than Hermelin's.) A career at one of the universities seemed to be an alternative, but an alternative that seemed less attractive to the aspiring young man. Nevertheless, he had to be content, at first, with the less glorious position of professor, and, alas, not at Uppsala, but at the distant University of Dorpat in the Baltic provinces, in Estonia close to the Russian border. The chair he acquired was the one of Latin eloquence and poetry. Somewhat disappointed, he departed for Dorpat in 1690.

As a professor at Dorpat, Hermelin was very energetic. There appeared fifteen dissertations under his presidency.[3] In 1695 he became professor of Roman and Swedish law. He also held the position of rector of the university for a couple of years. In 1698 he returned to Sweden. He had been entrusted with the task of writing the text for *Suecia antiqua et hodierna*, the great work about the towns and buildings of Sweden that was in preparation under the supervision of Erik Dahlberg (1625–1703). His predecessor had been Petrus Lagerlöf. Hermelin also succeeded Petrus Lagerlöf as *historiographus regni*.

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[2] Hermelin to Lars Bratt, Olsson, 31f. Cf. also ibid., 131, where Olsson gives a summary of an oration to Charles XI that Hermelin wrote several years later, in 1691. In this speech Hermelin praises the benefits of the Reduction, which has, he says, been absolutely necessary to save Sweden.

[3] For a survey of Hermelin's years at the University of Dorpat, see Olsson, 75–152.

He had scarcely begun his new task, when the Great Northern War broke out: Denmark, Poland-Saxony and Russia declared war on Sweden in 1700, and that put an end to most civil plans and projects. The life of the nation was changed, and for Hermelin the war opened up new opportunities. His proficiency in Latin and his eminent knowledge of political law made him an ideal potential chief of propaganda.

It must be borne in mind that the position of Latin in Europe at this time was still very strong. And it is obvious that Sweden was a country where Latin as a means of communication was cherished with special enthusiasm. The last decades of the seventeenth century have even been called "the golden age of Swedish Latin literature."[4] Among the Latin authors of this period who should be mentioned here, are Petrus Lagerlöf (who died in 1699), the *poeseos et eloquentiae professor* referred to earlier, Lars Norrmann (Laurentius Norrmannus) (dead in 1703), professor of Greek and Oriental languages, and Johan Arndt Bellman (dead in 1709), who was *professor eloquentiae*.[5] In the literary criticism of this period, Hermelin is regularly considered to belong to this select group of masters of the Latin tongue, the flower of a host of talented Latin authors of this age. In Johannes Wåhlberg's dissertation *De Poetis in Svio-Gothia Latinis* (*Pars prior* 1739 under Joh. Ihre as *praeses*) we find the following judgement on his talent (31):

> In omni scientiarum genere Vir hic Illustris versatissimus erat, in poesin vero tum latinam, tum etiam Svecanam tanto studio ferebatur, ut inter medios armorum strepitus maximamque negotiorum molem, Musis tamen vacaverit. Oculis nostris etiamnum obversantur carmina ejus varia occasione fusa vere tersa et ad veterum Poetarum nitorem adsurgentia.[6]

It is also quite clear that Swedish diplomats were especially eager to maintain the status of Latin as the international language of diplomatic negotiations. The Swedish attitude must be seen as a refusal to give any extra dignity or status to French or any other contemporary European language.[7]

Hermelin was now ordered to compose eloquent vindications of Swedish policy, a series of pamphlets that were written in Latin and meant to be read by educated Europeans in all countries.

In the first place, it was Hermelin's task to attack Augustus II, the Saxon elector and king of Poland. So he did, in pamphlets titled for instance *Examen causarum* and *Veritas a calumniis vindicata*. Czar Peter of Russia, too, was of course the target of Swedish propaganda. In several pamphlets the Russian

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[4] Cf. Emin Tengström, *Latinet i Sverige* (Lund, 1973), 67.

[5] Tengström gives a picture of the place of these authors in the history of Neo-Latin oratory in Sweden, in *A Latin Funeral Oration from Early Eighteenth-Century Sweden* (Göteborg, 1983), 18f.

[6] Cf. Olsson, 306.

[7] Tengström, *Latinet i Sverige*, 54–59.

ruler and his people were depicted as ruthless barbarians, a terrible menace to all civilized nations, unless they were stopped by the Swedish armies. The present Russian expansion, Hermelin argues, will result in an invasion of all Europe, and the western countries will have to suffer "novos Attilas novosque Tamerlanes, flagella orbis" (*Discussio criminationum*, 1701, 76ff.).

In 1701 Hermelin was called to join Charles XII and the army as a secretary at the Royal Chancellery. He was to be responsible for much of the correspondence in foreign languages. In March 1702 he arrived at the Royal Headquarters in Poland. He was soon promoted and ennobled. During the long Polish campaign he continued to write Latin pamphlets against the enemies of Sweden. At the side of Carl Piper he was the leading Swedish negotiator in the transactions that preceded the peace treaty of Altranstädt.[8] Hermelin went with his king, when Charles, in 1707, left Saxony to march into Russia. His fate after Poltava is unknown. It is probable that he was killed shortly after the battle, on 28 June 1709, the fateful day when the Swedish army was defeated by Czar Peter. There is a rumor that Hermelin was identified among the Swedish prisoners and that the Czar killed him with his own hand, thus taking revenge for the many defamatory pamphlets.[9]

During the war Hermelin had written Latin poetry, too. Several poems on the great Swedish victories have been preserved. We also possess a couple of poetical works that comment upon the war in a more general way. I have chosen to examine here two of the latter kind. They illustrate Hermelin's skill as a Latin poet and can give us, I think, an idea of the sources of inspiration that were of importance and relevance for him.

The first of these poems is *Elegia de incommodis vitae castrensis*. It was written in July 1703, when the Swedish army lay siege to the fortress of Thorn (Torun) in Poland. I do not know of any printed version, just four manuscript copies, one of them Hermelin's autograph, the latter preserved in the diocesan library at Linköping. Together with Doctor Ingeborg Hermelin, who is a descendant of Olof Hermelin, I edited the poem in 1985. Dr. Hermelin made the translation (into Swedish) and wrote an introduction, and I wrote the commentary.

The poem comprises seventy-eight lines of elegiac distichs. The main content is exactly what the title says: the poet complains that he has to witness the turmoil and horrors of war, and he eagerly longs for a peaceful existence and an opportunity to devote all his time to the service of the Muses. The addressee of the poem is the Italian author Hortensio Mauro (1632–1724). The poem is consequently easy to describe in terms of genre. The praise of *otium* had become a favorite literary theme with Neo-Latin writers.[10] With them the word *otium* very often has the somewhat special

[8] Olsson, 393ff.

[9] Ibid., the chapter on Poltava, 595ff.

[10] This has been commented upon by K. O. Conrady in "Die Erforschung der neulatein-

sense that is present also in this little poem, i.e., it means the ideal life of the learned, free from economic cares and troubles, totally devoted to the service of the Nine. In the opening lines Hermelin praises the calm life of Hortensio Mauro which is quite the opposite of the life he himself is forced to live. Lines 3–4 attract our interest:

> Seu canis aethereas laudato in Principe dotes,
> Ocia qui cupido fecit amica seni.
>
> Or if you sing the heavenly gifts of the glorious Prince, who gave peace to the old man who was longing for rest.

The prince who protected Mauro was Georg Ludwig, elector of Hanover and later king of Great Britain. But this is not the relevant thing here. The importance lies in the obvious allusion in these lines that lifts the poem to another sphere, rich in classical associations. The reader is clearly supposed to think of the famous beginning of Virgil's first Eclogue, where the harsh fate of the shepherd Meliboeus is contrasted to the calm and undisturbed existence of Tityrus. Virgil lets Tityrus exclaim (in line 6): "O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit." And it is obvious that Hermelin wants his readers to think of this passage. The same eclogue is again quoted at the end of the poem, where Hermelin writes (line 69f.):

> Fortunate senex, placida qui lentus in umbra
> Instruis alterno verba ligata pede.

This is clearly an echo of Virgil's lines 46 and 4:

> (46) fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt;
> (4f.) tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra / formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.

Thus, we see that these allusions to Virgil's famous first Eclogue strike a keynote to the whole poem. Hermelin has introduced the reader to the basic mood and temper of his elegy; it is majestic and sad, as is the work of the great inspiring master.

As he then, in this poem, proceeds to describe the hardships of his life in the army, he uses among others, the following expressions:

> 23 circumsonor armis: "I am surrounded by the noise of arms"
> 28 (hostis) depopulatur humum: "the enemy ravages the country"
> 39 protinus invehitur (Hunnus): "suddenly the Huns invade the camp"
> 40 anhelanti . . . castra/ lustrat equo: "(the enemy) traverses the camp on his panting horse"
> 45 induor ense latus: "I gird on my sword"

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ischen Literatur," *Euphorion* 49 (1955): 413–45. Cf. also Bo Lindberg, *De lärdes modersmål, Latin, humanism och vetenskap i 1700—talets Sverige* (Göteborg, 1984), 26.

All these phrases, which describe the author's position, exposed to the attacks of barbarian nations, are in fact borrowings from Ovid, to be more exact from *Tristia*. They are expressions that Ovid used to depict his hardships during his exile in Tomis, which was surrounded by hostile and barbarian tribes. The effect of this literary echo is that Hermelin's text gets some extra dimensions. First, the borrowings from Ovid *per se* add dignity and classical flavor to the poem. Second, the text will be easier to interpret on a more general level: it clearly deals not only with Hermelin's sufferings, but also with the deplorable situation of a sensitive poet who is prevented from creative work by exile and severe conditions. And third, by introducing these allusions, Hermelin shows himself to be a learned poet, and those of his readers who recognize the source of the borrowed phrases can be proud because they, too, must be learned.

The second poem that I am going to treat here is of a very different nature. It is an appeal to Charles XII to continue the war against his perfidious enemies and not to stop until they have been ruthlessly crushed. Its title is *Ad Carolum XII, Svecorum Regem, de continuando adversus foedifragos bello*. It was written in February 1706, almost three years after *Elegia*. (I edited this poem with a commentary in 1988.) We have here a piece of propaganda, the obvious aim of which is to expose to all the world the utter moral meanness of Charles's two adversaries, Peter the Great, the Russian Czar, and Augustus, the Saxon Elector. The poem is consequently closely connected with the political prose pamphlets written by Hermelin that I have mentioned earlier.

The *Elegia de incommodis vitae castrensis* was, as we have seen, almost entirely conceived under the influence of the great Augustan poets, with regard to the basic ideas, mood and individual phrases. *Ad Carolum XII de continuando . . . bello* is different; it is a rather straightforward piece of propaganda. Here too we have a number of quotations and allusions to the classical poets, but the theme and the basic subject-matter are considerably more "contemporary" with Hermelin's own period.

The parts of the poem that would attract a modern reader's attention most of all are, I think, the ferocious attack on the Russians and on the Czar personally. Here are some examples (75ff.) (translations are my own):

> Evomat innumeram, mactanda sed agmina, turbam
> Moscua, et intactas carcere solvat opes:
> Mittat et infamem damnata Siberia pubem,
> Sectantem pavidas per juga summa feras:
> Diraque barbaries ignotis exeat antris,
> Quique Borystheneas accola potat aquas . . .
> Ipse triumphatos calcabis victor acervos
> Impositoque premes perfida colla pede.

Let Muscovy spew forth innumerable crowds! These bands shall nevertheless be slaughtered. Let Russia release from her dungeons her unattempted powers! Let wretched Siberia send her infamous youth

> that is wont to pursue timorous animals on the mountain ridges! Let the abominable barbarian hordes come out from their ignoble caves, and those who dwell on the Dnieper and drink its water! . . . thou (King Charles) shalt thyself triumph over these multitudes and trample them under thy feet, and thou shalt put thy foot on their treacherous necks and press them down.

And here is more of the same kind (117ff.):

> Moscus adhuc restat, felici victima Marti;
> Maxima finitimis pestis et horror agris.
> Expiet immanem densata caede suorum
> Saevitiam genti damnaque facta tuae.
> Vasta Samojedum procul amoveatur in arva,
> Ingenii vincet quem feritate locum.
> Di melius! Moscus quam Baltida navigat undam
> Barbarus, et Geticum cymba Cosacca fretum . . .

> The Muscovite still remains, a victim of a successful war. He is a deadly pestilence and terror to the neighboring countries. With frequent massacres among his own people he shall expiate the enormous cruelty and the outrage committed against thy subjects. May he be driven away into the waste and uncultivated fields of the Samoyeds, into a region that he will surpass in savageness! May the gods forbid that the Muscovite, that barbarian, should sail in the Baltic Sea, or that the boats of the Cossacks should plough the waves of the Gothic Strait!

A question that many modern readers ask, having seen these lines and the corresponding passages in the prose pamphlets, is whether Hermelin's fierce tone is exceptional or representative of the period in question. The answer is that similar ruthless attacks, in exactly the same vein, can easily be found in other Swedish writers of the same period. Just to give some brief examples, I shall quote some passages from one or two of the Swedish Latin authors whom I have previously adduced as the leading Latinists of the period.

J. A. Bellman, *professor eloquentiae* at Uppsala University, wrote a panegyrical speech on the brilliant Swedish victory at Narva in 1700. There he states with horror that the Russians had attacked the Swedish provinces and devastated them mercilessly (*Ad Deum ter Opt. Max.*, 2): "horrenda feritate, nullum ferro ac flammae modum ponentes, obvia quaeque devastaverant." They have done this with a savageness that surpasses the horrible deeds of other barbarians: "plus quam barbara feritate saevire; cuncta ferro ac flamma delere" (ibid., 6). This nation has in fact scarcely anything at all, except the mere name, in common with the human race: "qui . . . praeter nomen vix humani habebat quidquam" (ibid., 10).

Laurentius Norrmannus (professor and *bibliothecarius* at Uppsala University) uses the same language on the same occasion: the Russian Czar is savage

in a barbarian way, he is ferocious and more inhuman than the other foes of the Swedish realm (*Musarum Upsaliensium sollemnia charisteria epinicia*, 3): "barbara feritate et truculentia saevior et immanior. . . ." He is a hero, says Norrmannus, comparable to the ignorant cave dwellers in Ethiopia: "Troglodyticus ille Heros" (ibid., 5).

But in Hermelin's poem we meet Latin as an unusually effective tool of propaganda, straightforward and concentrated on the vicissitudes of the Great Northern War. And it turns out that the Latin language, treated with Hermelin's skill and ingenuity, becomes an effective instrument in this field, as was the case in the elegy we examined earlier.

Uppsala

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Sven Olsson's comprehensive study contains a complete bibliography as far as the prose works (political treatises, pamphlets and dissertations) are concerned (637f.). I have here confined myself to a list that is of immediate relevance for the interpretation of the two poems I have discussed in this paper. I have made a division into (1) Prose works and (2) Poems (many of which have been preserved only in mss):

(1) Prose works

Examen causarum, quas copiarum Saxonicarum,uti vocantur, dux improvisae et subdolae in Livoniam irruptioni praetexere, literisque suis divulgare voluit. S. l. 1700.

Veritas a calumniis vindicata, seu ex parte Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Sveciae justissimum responsum, quo nefandae artes et calumniae regis Poloniae . . . manifestantur. S. l. et a. (1700)

Discussio criminationum, quibus usus est Moscorum czarus, cum bello Svecis, contra jusjurandum, et nuperrime datam fidem, illato praetextum quaereret. Stockholm, 1700 (1701)

Eubuli Aquilonii epistola ad amicum, qua cum latrone non esse paciscendum clarissimis argumentis evincitur. S. l. 1701.

Oratio ad bonos et cordatos reipublicae cives. S. l. et a. (1702)

Cati Irenaei epistola ad amicum de causis pacem in Polonia remorantibus. S. l. et a. (1703)

Nobilis Poloni epistola ad amicum Varsaviae commmorantem, qua literis Czari Moscoviae ad foederatos reipublicae ordines respondetur. S. l. 1704.

Equitis Poloni epistola de potestate pontificis Romani et ejusdem decreto adversus primatem et episcopos regni Poloniae senatores. S. l. 1705.

(2) Poems

Hermelin's poems from the war years (1700–1709) (manuscripts and some printed leaflets) can be found in four Swedish libraries: (a) Linköpings Stifts—och Landsbibliotek (vol. W 25:8), (b) Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (Palmskiöldska samlingen, vol 352), (c) Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (vol D 793), (d) the library of Vasaskolan, Gävle (in the volume "Olavi Hermelini Crepundia poetica"). The historical events that formed the background of these poems have been treated by S. Olsson, 302ff. The most important from the present point of view are the following, which I have listed in chronological order:

Narva Moscorum clade nobilitata (1700)
In ducem Crojum (1700)
Gratulatio ad urbem Rigam (1701)
In Mitoam (1701)
Ad tumulum fortissimorum equitum Gothicorum (1702)
Carolus XII Saxonum ad Pultoviam victor (1703)
Elegia de incommodis vitae castrensis (1703)
In Saxones Thorunenses, cum nonam diem Julii formidarent (1703)
In Thoruniam captam (1703)
De capta Leopoli (1704)
In coronationem . . . Stanislai Primi (1705)
Ad Carolum XII, Svecorum Regem, de continuando adversus foedifragos bello (1706)
Ad Vabissam amnem (1708)
In Vepricam (1709)

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The Legend of the Female Pope in the Reformation

VALERIE R. HOTCHKISS

For reasons which remain unclear, a titillating legend arose among thirteenth-century monastic chroniclers that a woman had once ascended to the papacy. This *papa mulier* not only became an established figure in papal lists, but also found notoriety in art, literature, theological disputes, and historical writing. According to most accounts, she was a young woman of English or German descent (variously named Johanna, Agnes, Glancia, Gilberta, or Jutta), who assumed male identity in order to attend a university with her lover. Her scholarly diligence led to rapid advancement through the clerical ranks until she reached the pinnacle of the ecclesiastical hierarchy by being unanimously elected pope. After a two-and-a-half-year reign under the name Johannes, the pope's true nature was made manifest when, during a ceremonial procession, she fell to the ground and gave birth to a child. The outcome of this revelation varies in the numerous accounts. Some say an angry mob killed the impostor, others that she was imprisoned or simply deposed and exiled; the majority, however, claims she died in childbirth. Although the legend was conclusively debunked in the seventeenth century by David Blondel, the authenticity of the papess remained largely undisputed throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The female pope is generally said to have lived in the mid-ninth century, but this is attested in no documents dating from before the thirteenth century. Nonetheless, defenders of the historicity of the account, such as the sixteenth-century Protestant historian Johannes Wolf (1537–1600), who compiled a bibliography of literature on the papess, frequently claimed earlier sources.[1] Indeed accounts of the papess do appear in manuscripts of

[1] Johannes Wolf, *Lectionum memorabilium et reconditarum centenarii XVI* (Lovingae: Rheinmichel, 1600), p. 225–31.

earlier texts, including the important ninth-century *Liber Pontificalis* attributed to Anastasius Bibliothecarus, but this and other such references to the female pope all have been proven to be later insertions.[2] Most of the early chroniclers report the story more as a curiosity than as a negative reflection on the papacy or women. They often use the story to explain origins of papal ceremonies and traditions. For example, it was maintained that papal processions avoided a certain narrow street in Rome because the female pope had given birth and died there. Furthermore, the use of an ancient commode-shaped marble throne in papal investitures was sometimes attributed to the deception of the papess. Such a throne, it was said, allowed the cardinals to inspect the genitals of a papal candidate before his installation. One author even explained the under-representation of Germans among the popes by pointing to this German woman whose scandalous deed made Rome suspicious of all her countrymen.[3]

More importantly, however, the legend of the female pope became a topical, but powerful argument in polemics against ecclesiastical irregularities. William of Ockham (+ca. 1349), for example, deduced from the legend that the cardinals could err in their choice of pope.[4] A half century later another proponent of the movement, concilior Jean Gerson (1393–1429), cited the affair as evidence of ecclesiastical error in the past and urged the divided church to put aside questions of right or wrong and strive for reconciliation: "sed etiam in talibus Ecclesia fallere dicitur et falli, sicut dum multo tempore feminam pro papa coluit."[5] [But, indeed, in great matters the church has erred and has been deceived: as when, in that turbulent time, it chose a woman as pope.] These critical voices grew louder as calls for reform in the church became more frequent.

Though no one believed she reigned with divine approval, for the reformers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the female pope was indeed a godsend. She offered an authentic case of irregularity and immorality in the papacy that even church authorities did not dispute. Reformers decried the hypocrisy of the papacy on the basis of several bad popes, but the incontrovertible fact, so it seemed, that a woman had been pope was consistently used to undermine papal authority. As we shall see, in addition to citing the papess in theological disputes concerning ecclesiastical hierar-

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[2] See, for example, Florimond de Raemond, *Erreur populaire de la Papess Jane* (Bordeaux: Millanges, 1587), David Blondel, *De Ioanna papissa* (Amsterdam: Bleau, 1657), and Johannes Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger, in *Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1890).

[3] Werner Rollewinck, *Fasciculus temporum* (1494): "Nugantur aliqui, hac de causa, nullum Allemannum in papam elegi, quod falsum esse constat." Quoted in Wolf, *Lectiones*, vol. 1, p. 229.

[4] William of Ockham, *Opus nonaginta dierum*, ed. J. G. Sikes, et al. in *Opera politica* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1940–63), 2: 854 [cap. 124].

[5] Jean Gerson, *Apparavit gratio Dei* in *Oeuvres complétes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris: Desclee, 1960–71), vol 5, p. 87. Translations throughout this work are mine unless otherwise noted.

chy, numerous reformers also transferred her femaleness and its attendant characteristics to male popes in order to denigrate them.

Many reformers cited accounts of the papess from monastic chronicles to demonstrate—through the use of the church's own records—that the apostolic succession had been broken. In his *Vera christianae pacificationis et ecclesiae reformandae ratio*, John Calvin (1509–1564) questioned the sacrament of priesthood and the idea of perpetual succession from the apostles on the basis of several heretical priests and bishops, before crowning his argument with the sarcastic assertion: "Verum his omissis, Ioannam papissam transsiliant oportet, si continuare suam ab apostolis seriem volent."[6] [Even omitting these, it will be necessary to leap over Popess Johanna, if they would continue their series from the Apostles!] The English reformer and author of the *Book of Martyrs*, John Foxe (1516/17–1587) also nagged the church with the memory of the female pope in a polemical treatise entitled *Papa Confutatus*, reproaching the popes with "Ioanna [. . .] cuius nunc successores se fateantur necessario oportet." [Joan, whose successors they must needs confess themselves to be even yet.][7] The female pope offered dramatic evidence for interruption in the male line from St. Peter, thereby supporting the view of several reform theologies which rejected the notion of apostolic succession in favor of a heritage of apostolic tradition.

Earlier, Jan Hus (1369–1415) used the example of the papess not only to refute claims of apostolic succession, but also to prove that the papacy was not a sine qua non for the existence of the church. He challenged church authorities to decree that the female pope, whom he called Agnes, had indeed been head of the church for over two years, or to admit that the church had existed as an acephalous institution at that time. If the former were true, then it was impossible to know if God's choice always occupied the throne of St. Peter, since electoral cardinals, so it seemed, had erred. On the other hand, if, as Hus believed, the church had operated without a divinely ordained head under Agnes and numerous other bad popes, it became clear that salvation in no way depended on belief in the supremacy of the pope, since, as he argued: "tunc nullus potuisset salvari, quamvis non tunc fuit papa."[8] [No one could have been saved at that time since there was no pope then.] Hus referred to the papess almost a dozen times in his writings, invoking her as a potent argument against papal authority and apostolic succession. To him the historical case of the papess proved that

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[6] Jean Calvin, *Vera christianae pacificationis et ecclesiae reformandae ratio* in *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Guilielmus Baum, et al. (Brunsvigae: Apud C. A. Schwetschke et filium, 1868), p. 633.

[7] John Foxe, *Papa Confutatus* (Londini: In aedibus Thomae Dawson, 1580), actio prima, 37^{v}. English from the 1580 translation by James Beer, *The Pope Confuted: The Holy and Aposteoique Church confuting the Pope* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1580), p. 40.

[8] Jan Hus, *Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus*, ed. Franciscus Palacky (1869; Reprint, Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1966), p. 178.

Christ alone, not his representative in the pope or Church militant, served as the Christian community's authority.[9]

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), a Catholic who was influenced by Luther, first broached the problem of the efficacy of religious acts performed by the female pope in his *De incertitudine et vanitate omnium scientium et artium* (1531):

> et quod mulieribus in Ecclesia negatum est, contulit sacros ordines, promovit Episcopos, ministravit Sacramentum, caeteraque Romanorum Pontificum exercuit munera: et facta ejus in Ecclesia non fuerunt irrita.[10]
>
> And although it is denied to women in the church, she conferred sacred orders, promoted bishops, administered the sacrament, and exercised other duties of the pontiff of the Romans: and her deeds are not invalid in the Church.

This view, of course, is consonant with Catholic doctrine which admits that sacraments performed by corrupt priests may be valid if received in good faith, since Christ performs through the priest. But the context of the statement—a discussion of ecclesiastical error and corruption—obviously distinguishes the scandal of the female pope as particularly outrageous. The English reformer and dramatist John Bale (1495–1563) and the energetic leader of the Gnesio-Lutherans Matthias Illyricus Flacius (1520–1575), who draws on Bale's work, both list the same rites to shock their audience with the woman's audacity, and both add that she offered her feet for kissing and presumed to empower emperors. Though they also claim the Church recognized the authority of her actions, they clearly interpret these acts as blatant sacrileges and thereby underscore the malfeasance of priesthood and papacy. Their references to the validity of the sacraments regardless of the authority of the celebrant either challenge Catholic doctrine and emphasize the church's stubborness even in error, or indicate their skepticism toward the necessity of apostolic succession and church hierarchy for the practice of Christianity.

The pregnancy of the papess—the cause of which hardly concerned medieval writers—became a commonly cited example in reformation polemics on the hypocritical practice of the rule of celibacy among clerics. For example, John Jewel, the Anglican bishop of Salisbury in the 1560s, facetiously defended the female pope's place among the pontiffs, asking why she should not be counted among her lascivious peers such as John XIII who committed incest with his two sisters and a host of other sexually immoral

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[9] See ibid., pp. 61, 178, 229, and 291 and Jan Hus, *Tractatus de Ecclesia*, ed. S. Harrison Thomson (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons Ltd., 1956), pp. 48, 103, 107, 141, 223.

[10] Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De incertitudine et vanitate omnium scientium et artium* [Antwerp, 1531], ch. 62.

figures at the pope's palace, which he called a "prostibulum meretricum" [a stew of whores].[11] Though most cite only one individual, a cardinal or chaplain, as her lover,[12] almost all sixteenth-century Protestant authors who refer to the papess call her *meretrix* or *scortum*. The woman's sexual activity, because it was made manifest by pregnancy and childbirth, more powerfully contradicted claims of clerical celibacy than the numerous charges of sexual misconduct among male priests and popes.

No one—neither those loyal to the church, nor the reform-minded—believed that a woman could legitimately rule as pope. This is not surprising, given the relatively low status of women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance as well as the sanctions against women priests. Nonetheless, it is strange that she is universally portrayed as the most learned and pious person in Rome at the time she of her election. In keeping with the medieval depictions of the papess, reformers who include a sketch of her life make this almost apologetic excuse for the cardinal's mistake. After she assumes the papal throne, however, her learnedness is almost forgotten when the accounts devolve into descriptions of her as a lascivious woman. In his *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus* (1530), Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa praises female priests of ancient religions, adding the ambivalent comment, "In nostro autem religione, licet mulieribus sacerdotii functione interdictum est, scimus tamen historiis proditum, mulierem aliquando mentito sexu, ad summi pontificatus apicem conscendisse"[13] [And in our own religion, although it is forbidden for women to function as priests, we know, however, of a deception in history, that a woman once concealed her sex and ascended to the top of the high priest's office.] She also appears among his examples of women who have outwitted men. But even Agrippa, who could be called a proto-feminist, cannot praise the female pope for her actions. Despite her superiority, he says he prefers to pass over this "egregious impostore" because she lends more to the argument against women than adds to their praise.[14] Already among a few medieval writers it was suspected that the devil might have had a hand in her success, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this connection was often emphasized. The Protestant convert Pier Paul Vergerio (1497–1564), for example, calls the papess a necromancer, sorceress, and prostitute whom the devil placed on

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[11] John Jewel, *Defense of the Apology of the Church of England* (1567) in his *Works* IV:651.

[12] Matthias Illyricus Flacius, *Ecclesiasticae historia* (Basileae: per Ioan. Oporinum, 1568), ix centuria, col. 501, however, sarcastically remarks, "sed quis facile credat, illam procacem pellicem uno contentam fuisse?" [But who easily believes that this wanton prostitute was content with one?]

[13] Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus* ([Cologne], 1532), Cii^{v}.

[14] Ibid. Bvi: "dicant quicquid velint canonistae ecclesiam suam non posse errare, Papa mulier illam egregia impostura delusit. Caetetum dicet quis haec magis in opprobrium mulierum vergere quam ad laudem accedere."

the papal throne.[15] Although Bale and Flacius stop short of claiming a pact with the devil, they do credit her with having written a book on necromancy. Apparently it was assumed a woman could not attain such erudition and power without supernatural aid.

Earlier writers had decried her rise to power as a crime of arrogance because it challenged the established gender hierarchy and undermined the dignity of the papacy. They tended to focus on her sin of seizing male power. Of course, a distaste for female authority also informs the reformation accounts. Nonetheless, though misogyny lies at the root of their criticism, their preferred theme is not the crime of the woman, but rather the error of the church and the implication of this woman's place in the papal succession.

Naturally, the presence of a woman in this supposedly divinely chosen role became a matter of discussion. Though most, like Hus, would argue that God did not intend for there to be a single head of his church and that he never had a hand in the creation of popes, others maintained that God purposefully allowed this imposter to seize control. Martin Luther, for example, was appalled to see a statue of the papess and her child in Rome and wondered at the stupidity of the popes who allowed this sign of their scandalous past to stand. He concluded, however, that God blinded them to this disgrace so that the immorality of the papacy would be made evident to all.[16]

John Bale took Luther's view even further, interpreting the induction of the female pope as a heavenly sign of the Apocalypse.[17] Comparisons between the papacy and the whore of Babylon inform much of the polemical literature of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, even when the papess is not mentioned,[18] but the image of a female pope obviously reinforced this powerful symbol of ecclesiastic corruption. Indeed, in a work on reformation propaganda, R. W. Scribner even contends that "the equation of the papacy with the whore of Babylon may have been suggested by the legend of Pope Joan."[19] Bale, who heads his discussion of the papess with

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[15] Pier Paul Vergerio, *Historia di Papa Giovanni Viii. che fu Meretrice e strege* (Töbingen, 1557).

[16] Martin Luther, *Werke: Kritische Gesammtausgabe: Tischreden*, vol. 5 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1967), no. 6447: "Es nimmt mich Wunder, daß die Päpste solch Bilde leiden können; aber Gott blendet sie, daß man sehe was Papstthum sei: eitel Betrug und Teufelswerk!"

[17] It should be noted that the papess had been compared to the whore of Babylon as early as the fourteenth century in Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, but the reformers emphasized the prophecies of the Book of Revelation in their interpretations of the papess.

[18] See Hans-Jürgen Schönstadt, *Antichrist, Weltheilsgeschehen und Gottes Werkzeug* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978), pp. 107–34.

[19] R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 171. Of course, the opposite is equally possible, since the origins of the legend of the papess are unknown.

the title, "Papae, vel Antichristi Romani" explains this theological interpretation of the female pope:

> In hoc poteris videre (pie lector) qualiter ecclesia Romana post missam de Spiritu sancto, non possit errare. Hoc factum revera, meretricis magnae sedem, et omnium fornicationum matrem, ipsam clarius esse demonstrat, quam ullus unquam Apelles coloribus depingere queat. [...] divinitus sit permissum, ut haec foemina fieret pontifex, et eadem meretrix: cum eo tempore subderet sibi reges (quales in Anglia Etheluuolphus et Alphredus erant) ut Antichristum regem agnoscerent. Voluit namque tunc Deus in Papa meretrice, Babylonicum scortum, de quo praedixerat Spiritus sanctus Apoc. 17 mundo manifestare, ut ab illo electi caverent.[20]
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> [In this you will be able to see in what way the Roman church, after having been sent by the Holy Spirit, is not supposed to be able to err. This affair, indeed, demonstrates more clearly the seat of the great whore, and the mother of all fornication in it than ever any Apelles could paint with colors. [...] it was divinely permitted that this woman was made pope and was at the same time a whore, while at that time the kings subjugated themselves (as Aethelwolf and Alfred in Anglia) so that they were ignorant of the reign of the Antichrist. For then God wished to make manifest to the world in the whore-pope, the prostitute of Babylon, concerning whom the Holy Spirit predicts in Apocalypse 17, so that the elect might be warned by her.]

Thus, like Luther, Bale believes the reign of the papess was divinely ordained to expose the corruption of the institution.

In the famous *Ecclesiastica historia* or *Magdeburg Centuries* (1565), Matthias Illyricus Flacius considers the subjugation of King Aethelwold and the emperor Ludwig to a female pope the fulfillment of Apocalypse 17 where, he claims "scribitur de regibus meretricem Babyloniam adoraturis, et potestatem ab ea accepturis."[21] [it is written about the adoration of the Babylonian whore by kings.] According to Flacius, the female pope, as an incarnation of this "meretrix in sede Petri" [a whore in the seat of Peter] signifies God's warning to the Christian community of the immorality and illegitimacy of the papacy. Furthermore, in a series of anti-papal illustrations David Denecker graphically connects the whore of Babylon with the female pope. She is pictured in papal garb, astride a beast with seven heads from where she offers the so-called "cup of filth" to secular rulers.[22] Finally,

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[20] John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam et Scotium vocant* (Basileae: Apud Joannem Oporinum, 1558), pp. 116–17.

[21] Flacius, *Ecclesiasticae historiae*, p. 501.

[22] David Denecker and Martin Schrott, *Von der Erschrocklicheb Zurstörung vnnd Niederlag deß gantzen Bapstumbs* (Augsburg: Denecker, 1558).

Georgus Nigrinus [Schwarz] (1530–1602), the Superintendent of Alsfeld and Nidda in Hessen during the last decades of the sixteenth century, went so far as to determine numerological "proof" for the equation of the papess with the Babylonian whore: "Et enim ab anno Domini 855 numerando usque ad annum 1521, quo Wormatiae Lutherus in comitiis, inter ordines Imperij Romani, coramque Caesare, papae contradixit, inque propatulo meretricam Romae . . . proponit elapsi, sunt anni 666, qui sunt illius Apocalypsi Bestiae."[23] [For from the year of our Lord 855 (the date of the installation of the papess, according to Nigrinus) to the year 1521, in which Luther, at the Diet of Worms among the officials of the Roman empire and before the emperor, spoke against the pope and exposed the whore of Rome, have elapsed 666 years, which are those of the Beast of the Apocalypse.]

Elisabeth Goesseman, who has written on the reception of the figure of the papess in later literature, wonders at the use of a female figure—the whore of Babylon—as a symbol for a perverted male institution.[24] The explanation lies, I think, not only in the convenience of applying a traditional text, the Apocalypse, to a contemporary debate, but also in the inferior status of women. To call a man a woman or, in this case, to equate the male institution of the papacy with femaleness, was highly pejorative. Numerous sources from the Middle Ages and Renaissance could be cited to prove this point; Johannes Tauler (ca. 1300–1361), for example, warns that human beings are "wiplich" (feminine) by nature and admonishes his listeners to "become male"—that is to strengthen themselves spiritually—regardless of natural gender.[25] Though one could argue that the female pope literally accepted such views when she rejected her femaleness, the reformers took the opposite approach and sought to weaken the papacy of their day by means of this connection with the "inferior" sex. Martin Luther himself uses this type of insult of sexual inversion in a reference to the popes that seems also to allude to the scandal of the female pope, "Provoco et appello omnium nostrum nomine ad sanctam sedem Romanam, illam scilicet, in qua explorantur Papae, an sint viri vel mulieres. Si sunt viri, ostendant testes contra nos Hereticos. Si sunt mulieres, dicam illud

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[23] Quoted in Johannes Wolf, *Lectiones Mirabilis*, p. 235. Wolf quotes in Latin, but the original is in German. See Georg Schwarz, *Papistische Inquisition und gulden Flüs der Römischen Kirchen. Das ist: Historia und ankunft der Römischen Kirchen, und sonderlich vom Antichristischen wesen inn Siben Bücher verfast.* . . . (Strassburg: Bernhard Jobin, 1582, pp. 306–308.

[24] *Weiblichkeit in der Theologie*, ed. Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel (Gutersloh: G. Mohn, 1988), p. 99: "Für eine pervertierte männliche Institution wird ein weibliches Symbol beschworen, während die immer auch miterwähnten schismatischen und häretischen Päpste kein Bild einer verkommenen Väterlichkeit für das kritische Papstum hergeben."

[25] Johannes Tauler, *Die Predigten*, ed. Ferdinand Vetter, *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, 11 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1910), p. 130: "Kinder, wir müssent man werden und tuon einen kreftigen ker, oder do enwurt nút usser ums." [Children, we must all become men and make a radical change, otherwise we will amount to nothing.]

Pauli: 'Mulier in Ecclesia taceat.' "[26] [In the name of all of us, I ask and demand from the holy Roman See, that is to say the one in which popes are examined as to whether they are men or women. If they are men, they should produce witnesses (pun on two meanings of testes—witnesses/testicles) against us heretics; if they are women, I will say this from Paul: "Women should be silent in church."] Though Melanchthon did not mention the female pope in his description of the "Bapstesel" which accompanies the well-known illustration of a monster with a partially female anatomy, he says the creature's breasts and "weybisch bauch" signify the lasciviousness of the pope and the clergy. Thus, as is common in misogynist literature, femaleness is not only associated with weakness, but also sexual license.

The test of gender alluded to earlier became a satiric anecdote with implications for the sexuality of all subsequent male popes. In, of all places, a defense of the nobility of women, Felix Hemmerlin (1389–before 1464), the Swiss ecclesiastical critic, praised the intellect of the woman who was pope, but described the test of later male popes in a ribald way that both challenges and trivializes their masculinity. He claimed it was a deacon's duty to reach under the perforated throne and physically inspect the masculinity of the pope-elect. If everything was in order, Hemmerlin says the deacon solemnly announced, "Testiculos habet." To which the assembled crowed responded, "Deo gratias."[27] This scene is depicted in a satirical woodcut in Johannes Wolf's work with the successful results captured in the simple caption, "habet." John Bale, on the other hand, attacked papal sexuality from the other side, arguing that such a test actually was no longer necessary because: "Nunc autem ante ipsum papatum, in Cardinalatu tot spurios generant, ut nemo dubitet esse mares." [Now, however, they procreate so many illegitimate children while cardinals before their papacy, that no one doubts that they are male.]

In another satire of papal sexuality, the papess appears in the second book of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* in connection with a different kind of gender question. In a spurious letter supposedly from Bernardus Gelff to Ortwin Gratius, Gelff reports with dismay that the Reuchlinists have charged Johannes Pfefferkorn with heresy for his blasphemous use of the feminine when addressing Pope Leo:

> Dicit Reuchlinista, quod I. P. in libro suo qui intitulatur *Defensio Io. P. contra famosas*, in Epistola ad Sactiss. d. D. Leonem. etc. Poti. Max blasphemat et committit Crimen laesae maiestatis appellando Papam

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[26] Martin Luther, *Wider das Papstum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestiftet* (1545) in *Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1928), vol. 54, p. 287. Though the work is in German, this statement is made in Latin.

[27] Felix Hemmerlin's *De nobilitate et rusticitate dialogus* ([Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, ca. 1493–1500]), p. 99.

> ministram domini, quasi sit femina, sicut legimus quod semel una femina fuit papa: Sic enim scripsit *Aij. col. ij.*: 'Tuam itaque sanctitatem, velut domini nostri in terris locum tenens ac ministram.' Etiam habet in se haeresim iste articulus: quia vult ibi Pfefferkorn innuere, licet non expresse, tamen implicite, quod tota ecclesia erraverit faciendo mulierem in papam: quia ille error est maximus. Sed qui ecclesiam dicit errare, de facto est heareticus.[28]
>
> The Reuchlinist says that Johann Pfefferkorn, in his book entitled *Defensio contra famosas*, in his letter to the most holy Pope Leo, etc. blasphemes and commits a crime of *lèse majesté* by calling the Pope the handmaid of God, as if he were a woman—as indeed, we read that a woman was once Pope—for he says 'And thus your holiness as the vicar of Christ on earth, and *ministram*.' There is also heresy contained in this passage, for Pfefferkorn herein hints, not explicitly but nevertheless implicitly, that the universal church erred in making a woman a pope, which is the greatest of errors. But whoever says that the Church errs is necessarily a heretic.

As is typical in these satiric letters, Gelff's response only further condemns Pfefferkorn as incompetent: He says that Pfefferkorn assumed *papa* was feminine because it ends in 'a' and argues that the mistake is natural since Pfefferkorn is a theologian, not a grammarian and therefore does not understand Latin.[29] This short piece is remarkable for the breadth of its criticism: not only does Pfefferkorn receive his share of abuse as a bad Latinist, but the church is declared fallible and the pope, by being feminized, is denigrated.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Roman Catholic authors began to respond to these attacks by denying the existence of the papess. This seemed a weak argument in the face of so many sources from the church's own records and Protestants like Johannes Wolf and Hermann Witekind (ca. 1588) retorted with lists of witnesses dating back to Anastasius. But in the end, serious historians of both camps discovered that the myth appeared to have its origins in the mid-thirteenth century and was not based on historical events. Nonetheless, as we have seen, reformers found in Pope Joan a powerful advocate for their cause. She broke the apostolic succession, stood as a symbol for weakness and sexual immorality, and provided an example of gross mismanagement in assigning ecclesiastical offices, as well as blatant incompetence and corruption by the holders of

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[28] *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, ed. and trans. Francis Griffin Stokes (London: Chatto and Windus, 1925), p. 191–92.

[29] The apologist goes on to condemn all university theologians when he concludes, "quod Io. P. . . . scribit sicut Theologus: sed in theologi non curant grammaticam, quia non est de sua facultate" (ibid., p. 192).

such offices. All this she did merely by being a woman. Though her pregnancy was regarded as a sign of moral laxness, evil designs and harmful misuse of power are never attributed to her. The premise of the criticism, of course, is the inferiority of women. Reformers pointed to the papess as a scandalous anomaly of papal history, but moved beyond this simple historical approach, as we have seen, and found in her inspiration and legitimation for feminizing the papacy. By questioning the sexuality of contemporary popes, they also challenged the moral and intellectual character of both the individuals and the institution. Luther's sarcastic taunt attributes the popes' cowardice and indecision to a female nature and Melanchthon compares clerics to women to emphasize their sexual immorality. But perhaps most dramatic and effective was the connection between the papacy and the whore of Babylon which—at least according to reformers like Bale, Flacius, and others—the female pope justifies. Though comparison and study of the sources would have cast doubt on the existence of the papess, this legend was embraced as historical by Protestant reformers for its propagandistic potential. And indeed, until the mid-seventeenth century when a Protestant historian finally returned "ad fontes" to uncover the myth, the female pope played an important role in some of the most potent anti-papal literature of the Reformation.

Southern Methodist University, Dallas

Latino e volgare nell' Esposizione del 'Pater noster' *di Antonio de Ferrariis Galateo*

ANTONIO IURILLI

Circolava ormai da tre anni l'edizione summontina dell'*Arcadia* di Jacopo Sannazaro, ispirata—come è noto—da un consapevole processo di normalizzazione linguistica in senso toscano,[1] quando, nel 1507, l'umanista salentino Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo, sodale dello stesso Sannazaro nell'àmbito dell'Accademia Pontaniana, componeva presso la corte di Isabella d'Aragona Sforza in Bari l'*Esposizione del 'Pater noster*,' nel cui esordio, con inconsueta ampiezza di argomentazioni e sostenuta *vis polemica*, rivendicava all'autoctonia linguistica il diritto di opporsi all'invadenza del Toscano e alle manie esterofile, umanisticamente censurate come barbare, della letteratura di corte.[2]

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[1] *Arcadia del Sannazaro tutta fornita et tratta emendatissima dal suo originale*, impressa in Napoli per maestro Sigismundo Mayr. Sui rapporti fra l'edizione summontina e il suo antecedente (il cod. Vat. Lat. 3202) cf. Gianfranco Folena, *La crisi linguistica del Quattrocentro e l'Arcadia di J. Sannazaro* (Firenze, 1952).

[2] «Hogie in Italia è venuta la cosa ad tale, che chi non parla a punto el Toscano non pare che sia italiano; et più: che ad alcuni pare multo bello et de homo prattico et cortesano sapere Francese et Castigliano. Et non dirò che chi se tene a gloria intendere le lengue de le gente stranee e vituperio et rusticità sapere Latino, non intende lo Evangelio de Christo quando sta in piedi con lo capo scoperto, né la epistola de Paulo apostolo, che saria troppo; ma non sa che si dica la Ave Maria né lo Pater nostro, et sta alla Ecclesia come lo legno sopra lo quale se sede; et puro saperà bene le coble et li lemosini, come si fosse nato in quelle parte. . . . Io parlarò con quella medesma lengua che ho imparata da la mia nutrice, *non sit verbo invidia*: questo ho da la natura, né in lo mangiare né in lo vestire né in lo culto del corpo né in la conversatione né in lo parlare mi piace la soverchia diligentia et vana observatione. Omne virtù sta in la mediocrità. . . . Intendo adunque, secundo el mio parlare patrio o, secundo che altri dicono, vernaculo, exponere a Vostra Signoria la Oratione Dominica, zioè el Pater nostro, né me reputarò presumptuoso si offerirò al templo quello che posso» (Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo, *Espositione sopra l'Oratione Dominicale*, Avellino, Biblioteca Provinciale, cod. 72. 1–2); dallo stesso cod., salvo diversa indicazione, traggo tutte le citazioni successive, indicandolo con la sola segnatura. Del tutto inattendibile è, come si dimostrerà in seguito, l'unica edizione dell'opera, curata da Salvatore Grande per la *Collana di opere scelte edite e inedite di scrittori di Terra d'Otranto* (Lecce, 1867–75), vol. 4 e 18 che citerò in seguito con la sigla *Grande*.

Tale atteggiamento, in parte assimilabile ad altre posizioni antitoscane già presenti nella trattatistica e nei volgarizzamenti di àmbito napoletano (emblematico è, a tal proposito, l'antitoscanismo di un autore come Giovanni Brancati, traduttore volgare di Plinio)[3] manifesta nel Galateo inclinazioni filodialettali fondate su complesse motivazioni che spaziano dalla pregiudiziale antiretorica del suo umanesimo scientifico e naturalistico (l'*illaboratus sermo* più volte ribadito contro la *perversa subtilitas* dei *grammaticuli* nella sua opera latina), all'applicazione linguistica del dettato evangelico dell'*oratio simplex*, della quale l'*Oratio Dominica* costituiva appunto il prototipo, e che presuppongono, fra l'altro, l'orgogliosa convinzione di poter disporre naturalmente di una lingua ancora intrisa di grecità e latinità.[4]

La semplicità della parola dialettale viene dunque fatta coincidere con la sua ascendenza greco-latina, e la sua intrinseca capacità comunicativa consente di conseguire una densità espressiva anche senza il sostegno, e anzi a dispetto, di una artificiosa ricerca formale perseguita dall'umanesimo retorico: si tratta di una qualità di cui l'autore dichiara di volersi giovare in un'opera come l'*Esposizione*, volutamente concepita al di fuori sia dei tecnicismi argomentativi propri del genere patristico dell'*expositio*, sia degli orpelli letterari propri della letteratura devota, e che spesso invece si concede alla icasticità espressiva e alle capacità suasorie del genere omiletico.

Nella corrispondenza che il Galateo stabilisce fra semplicità linguistica (fatta coincidere con l'uso del vernacolo) e profondità concettuale della preghiera, riconosciamo infatti una diverso modo di affrontare il problema linguistico e un pressupposto più complesso della conservazione, entro determinati àmbiti espressivi, degli idiomi locali: è un atteggiamento che rinvia ad un retroterra culturale nel quale sembra aver preso forma una diversa sensibilità per le immediate capacità comunicative della parola, le quali vengono fatte prevalere su ogni altra sua qualità formale artificialmente elaborata.

Si tratta di una soluzione che inerisce efficacemente ad un'opera come l'*Esposizione*, volutamente concepita al di fuori sia dei tecnicismi argomentativi propri del genere dell'*expositio*, sia degli orpelli letterari, e che spesso

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zione dell'opera, curata da Salvatore Grande per la *Collana di opere scelte edite e inedite di scrittori di Terra d'Otranto* (Lecce, 1867–75), vol. 4 e 18 che citerò in seguito con la sigla *Grande*.

[3] Cf. la "voce" Brancati Giovanni, curata da Claudio Mutini nel *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1971), 824–27; sull'opera più importante del Brancati, un volgarizzamento di Plinio, cf. Salvatore Gentile, "Il IX libro della Naturalis Historia di Plinio nella versione dell'umanista Giovanni Brancati," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, n. s. 10 (1961): 307–44. Nicola De Blasi, "Gli Aragonesi a Napoli," in *Letteratura Italiana. Storia e Geografia. II: L'età moderna*, a cura di Alberto Asor Rosa (Torino, 1988), 252–54.

[4] "Io son nato in quella parte extrema de Italia, la quale altra volta fo chiamata Iapygia o Magna Gretia (hogie se dice Terra de Otranto), nella quale son dui lengue, greca et latina. Nell'una e l'altra havemo certi vocabuli crassi, li quali offendeno le orecchie di quelli chi non son usi a udirli. Oso dire che tanto nella greca quanto nella latina lengua di quello paese multi vocabuli so' che se accostono più che nisciuna de l'altre lengue alla greca e alla latina simplicità antiqua" (cod. 72. 5).

invece si concede alla icasticità espressiva e alle capacità suasorie del genere omiletico, mirando decisamente alla corrispondenza fra semplicità linguistica e intimità della preghiera.

Appare decisiva, in tal senso, e forse nella genesi stessa dell'unica scrittura volgare dell'umanista salentino, la riflessione sulla lingua, indifferentemente latina e volgare, che egli andava svolgendo negli eterogenei contesti della sua scrittura, stimolato dal sodalizio con Ermolao Barbaro, fautore in àmbito veneto di una nuova dimensione umanistica dell scienza, in cui il *verbum* coincide con la *res* senza doversi compromettere con l'esasperato tecnicismo scolastico né assecondare l'altrettanto esasperato purismo dei primi traduttori di opere scientifiche dal Greco; né va trascurato l'influsso di Erasmo, attivo anche in altre forme nell'opera galateana.[5]

In realtà, assai più complessa si presenta, rispetto alle intenzioni dichiarate dall'autore, la strategia linguistica da lui messa in atto nell'*Esposizione*: una strategia che lo porta ben presto fuori della dimensione idiotistica che egli aveva dichiarato di voler adottare, e che lo accosta invece alla variegata morfologia della lingua di *koiné*, ricca di imprevedibili e non codificate forme linguistiche, nella quale le forme idiotistiche coesistono con quelle di un Latino cristallizzato dall'uso cancelleresco, e persino di un Toscano troppo radicato nella prosa d'arte, ed anche nella cultura poetica tardo-aragonese degli ultimi pontaniani; per poter essere totalmente rifiutato.[6] Né mancano nell'*Esposizione* i segni di un raffinato esercizio retorico, che sollecita l'autore ad una originale ricerca lessicale, talvolta impreziosita dall'impiego di autentici *hapax* all'interno del coevo sistema linguistico volgare, e aperta non solo alle risorse lessicali autoctone spesso nobilitate dalle ascendenze greco-latine, ma anche ai forestierismi di *koiné*, e persino alla parola 'barbara' purché storicamente coerente con l'oggetto della significazione: concetto, questo, profondamente radicato nella *forma mentis* scientifica del Galateo e corroborato dalle posizioni assunte proprio dal Barbaro.

Si tratta perciò di un lessico complesso proprio perché non vincolato alla pregiudiziale idiotistica e spontaneistica, ma spesso arricchito di notevoli implicazioni culturali (il Galateo—come è noto—fu medico e geografo), nonché piegato a precise esigenze retoriche, prima fra tutte la metafora a forte caratterizzazione sarcastico-polemica, tipica del genere omiletico: un lessico, perciò, bisognoso di un attento e prudente esercizio filologico che renda giustizia delle interpolazioni, banalizzazioni, e normalizzazioni consumate ai danni del testo dall'editore ottocentesco dell'opera, ma anche da una lunga tradizione manoscritta, nettamente bifida, la cui collazione (e la relativa

[5] Cf. Francesco Tateo, "Alle origini dell'umanesimo galateano," in *Nuovi studi in onore di Mario Santoro* (Napoli, 1989), 145–57. Per una prima ricognizione della presenza di Erasmo nell'opera galateana cf. Domenico Defilippis, "Città ideale e città celeste nella riflessione ideologica di A. De Ferrariis Galateo," in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su 'L'Umanesimo di Sant'Agostino* (Bari, 1988), 479–91.

[6] Cf. Marco Santagata, *La lirica aragonese* (Padova, 1979).

sistemazione stemmatica) ha rivelato una situazione testuale condizionata da una spiccata mobilità fono-morfologica che rende indefinibile la *scripta* dell'autore e solo un'ipotesi di lavoro l'edizione critica che mi accingo a pubblicare.[7]

Significative scelte culturali sono, per esempio, i frequentissimi latinismi che il Galateo trae non dal consueto repertorio lessicale di *koiné* cancelleresca, ma da àmbiti letterari che spaziano dal coevo Sannazaro alla tradizione petrarchesca e classica, come: *abhominabile, aero, assentatori, cìthera, contemptore, illecebre, potissime, salutifera, suburnare, ventosa, versutie* (quest'ultimo tratto dal lessico liviano), e altri. Interessante concordanza col Sannazaro sembra poi il termine «opulento,» usato da entrambi per la prima volta nel significato di 'colui che dispone di ingenti ricchezze.'[8]

Cospicuo è anche il repertorio di latinismi scritturali e patristici, con una netta predilezione per il lessico di S. Girolamo (fonte primaria, peraltro, di tutta l'opera galateana), dal quale il Galateo trae termini come il tecnico «agapete,» glossandolo con «dilette o divote,» e il popolare «placentule,» 'focacce.'[9] Significativo è poi l'uso del letteratissimo «fistula,» comune nella poesia bucolica nel significato di 'zampogna,' ma impiegato dall'autore come tecnicismo anatomico nel senso di 'condotto,' 'tubo,' non senza una probabile *contaminatio* con il significato di 'cannello mediante il quale il clero e i fedeli succhiavano il vino consacrato per evitare l'effusione,' che il termine assume nel Latino ecclesiastico.[10]

É possibile documentare anche l'inclinazione del Galateo verso il recupero di termini della tarda latinità e addirittura della latinità medievale sia quando il repertorio lessicale volgare non consente la traduzione di un tecnicismo il cui impiego è ritenuto necessario alla chiarezza del concetto, sia quando l'impiego del registro polemico impone di escogitare ardite metafore.

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[7] La tradizione manoscritta dell'*Esposizione* è attualmente consegnata al già cit. codice 72 della Biblioteca Provinciale di Avellino, esemplato nel primo Cinquecento in uno *scriptorium* salentino, antigrafo parzialmente attendibile di numerosi *recentiores* decisamente *deteriores*, e al cod. 25–(antigrafo di un affine *descriptus*, il 25=) della Biblioteca "Arditi di Castelvetere" di Presicce, databile al tardo Settecento, largamente toscanizzante e scorretto, appartenuto all'archeologo salentino Michele Arditi; su di essi, nonché su tutti gli altri codd. che tramandano l'*Esposizione*, cf. Antonio Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo nella tradizione manoscritta. Catalogo* (Napoli, 1990), rispettivamente ai §§ 13, 14, 16, 26, 27, 30, 32, 37, 44, 47, 48, 54, 55, 56. Ho avviato una prima ricostruzione stemmatica della tradizione manoscritta dell'opera, anteriore al rinvenimento dei codd. di Presicce, in Antonio Iurilli, "L'Esposizione del Pater noster di A. G. : Note per un'edizione critica," *Quaderni dell'Istituto Nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento meridionale* 1 (1984): 51–73.

[8] *Esposizione del Pater noster.*, cod. 72.36; *Arcadia*, 11.39.

[9] Cf. rispettivamente *Esposizione del Pater noster*, cod. 72.37 e 80; Girolamo, *Epist.*, 128.1.

[10] "Dove stanno quelle cuspide, che così facilmente penetrano la pelle et carne nostra, quelle fistule, quelle promoscide nate ad sucare con tanta dextreza lo sangue humano?" (*Esposizione del Pater noster*, cod. 72.136).

Nel riprovare, per esempio, la temerarietà del re Ladislao di Durazzo, l'umanista salentino scrive:

> El re Lancilao, anchora che havesse multo magnificato la città di Napoli ... puro in genere per volere tentare cose ad chi non bastavano le forse sue, redusse questo regno ad summa povertà, ad tanti pagamenti, collette **e dritti**.

Traggo questa volta la citazione dall'edizione a stampa dell'opera per documentare un tipico episodio di interpolazione-banalizzazione del lessico galateano dell'editore Grande: la lezione «dritti.»[11] La tradizione manoscritta attesta, pressoché unanime, la lezione «adhui,»[12] termine mai prima attestato che rimanda al latino medievale ADHOA, 'contributo in danaro dato al signore in sostituzione del servizio militare in uso nel diritto feudale.'[13]

In un contesto invece di ironico riferimento ai macchinosi sistemi filosofici, spesso da lui condannati insieme alla perversa sottigliezza dei grammatici, il Galateo ricorre ad un altro tardo latinismo:

> Uno disceso da servi ... havendo convitato alcuni philosophi, per farsi beffa de li problemi et **dottrine** philosophice, ... fece uno domando.[14]

Anche in questo caso la lezione «dottrine» è banalizzazione dell'editore, mentre la tradizione manoscritta tramanda unanime un prezioso *hapax*: «gonne,» trasposizione in volgare del tardo-latino GUNNA, 'macchina bellica,' 'missile';[15] un termine, come si vede, caricato di una intensa capacità metaforica e pensato dall'autore non senza un sottile riferimento polemico agli astrattismi della scolastica, le cui argomentazioni vengono paragonate ad ingegnose macchine logiche concepite per espugnare le opinioni altrui, secondo un atteggiamento mentale ricorrente nella sua opera.

Particolare attenzione merita poi il modo con cui il Galateo riplasma il valore semantico originario di alcuni latinismi consolidatisi in àmbito dialettale, assimilando il significato che essi assumono in determinate aree linguisticamente partecipi dell'impasto di *koiné*. Nello stigmatizzare uno dei vizi più deplorevoli dei frati, lo sfruttamento della credulità e della superstizione, l'autore scrive:

> Veramente, come dice Plutarcho, è vile cosa uno omo e precipue cristiano moverse come foglia al vento ad omne superstitione de lo vulgo et de vecchiarelle et fraticelli, li quali con queste arti e con queste **tra-**

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[11] *Grande*, 18.43.

[12] Cf. cod. 72.245.

[13] Cf. Charles Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, rist. anast. (Graz, 1954), s. v., e Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* (Torino, 1961 sgg.), s. v., "àdoa," il quale riporta attestazioni assai più recenti di quella galateana.

[14] *Grande*, 18.48. Lo spaziato è mio.

[15] Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae*, s. v., "gunna."[2]

me e con queste **pasturie** de animali chi hanno poco intelletto, vivono e se ingrassano con sudori de altri.[16]

Così compare il passo nella stampa del'*Esposizione*. La lezione «trame,» già presente nell'antigrafo usato dall'editore (il cod. D 2 10 della Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Brindisi), risale al capostipite del ramo più cospicuo della tradizione manoscritta (il cod. 72 della Biblioteca provinciale di Avellino),[17] ma è frutto, graficamente evidente, di un'autocorrezione del copista intervenuta in presenza di una *lectio difficilior* che egli comunque aveva in un primo tempo trascritto esattamente, interpolandola successivamente in ragione della sua oscurità semantica. Si tratta della parola «cami,» *lectio difficilior* e *hapax* insieme, che il secondo ramo della tradizione manoscritta, documentato dal settecentesco codice Arditi, conferma attraverso la interpolazione/banalizzazione «caccie,» palesando così l'originaria struttura grafica dell' archetipo.[18]

Sconosciuta a molti lessicografi, la parola *cama* è classificata nel *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* come dialettismo di area centromeridionale, col significato di 'pula,' 'loppa,' 'residuo della monda del grano,' e ricondotta dall'Alessio al lat. SQUAMA; di qui gli esiti iberici del tipo *cama*, 'giaciglio.'[19]

Il significato di 'paglia,' proprio del termine, rende dunque immediatamente plausibile l'originaria lezione del cod. avellinese «cami»: la paglia, parte meno nobile del grano così come la superstizione è l'aspetto deteriore della fede, è il pasto che gli astuti fraticelli danno ai creduli fedeli, impietosamente paragonati ad animali che hanno poco intelletto.

Ma l'autore non si è limitato ad accogliere nel suo lessico tale dialettismo secondo la sua più naturale emanazione semantica dall'ascendente latino. L'esito in-i dell'*hapax* galateano («cami»), forse in origine «camij,» sembra infatti rimandare piuttosto al siciliano 'camìu,' un tecnicismo glossato dai lessici col significato di 'brumeggio,' 'poltiglia di farina o altro per attrarre i pesci,' cui corrisponde il denominale 'camiari,' 'spargere sul mare una poltiglia di farina o altro per attrarre i pesci,' ed anche, per traslato, 'sedurre,' 'allettare.'[20] É dunque evidente che il Galateo ha inteso recuperare una specificità reigionale del dialettismo al fine di caricare di forti umori antifra-

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[16] *Grande*, 4.155.

[17] Cf. cod. 72.11.

[18] Cf. cod. 25-.7.

[19] Carlo Battisti-Giovanni Alessio, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* (Firenze, 1975), s. v.; Anton De Morais Silva, *Grande dicionário da Língua Portoguesa*, 2 (Lisbona, 1950), s. v.; J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Berna, 1954–57), s. v.

[20] Cf. Alberto Varvaro, *Vocabolario Etimologico Siciliano*, 1 (A–L) (Palermo, 1986), s. v. "camiari,"[3] il quale riporta un'attestazione del 1759 («piscatores, ut pisces alliciant, utuntur massa quadam e farina et caseo, quae vocant 'camíu', hinc 'camiari'») e conferma da lessici precedenti le altre attestazioni semantiche qui citate, dichiarando di ignorare "l'origine di queste voci."

teschi una già caustica metafora, identificando le «arti» dei fraticelli con le seduzioni e gli adescamenti, se non con i ladronecci, consumati ai danni del volgo credulo.

Quanto poi al termine «pasturie,» esso si manifesta come goffa interpolazione dell'editore contro la tradizione manoscritta che, univoca, legge correttamente «pistarie,» singolare neologismo (e *hapax* anch'esso) costruito dall'autore sulla base latino-volgare PISTARE, 'triturare nel mortaio,' 'sminuzzare,' con lo stesso procedimento col quale, altrove, egli costruisce sulla base latina STUPERE il singolare ittionimo «stupore,» corrispondente al più comune 'torpedine,' costruito—come è noto—suTORPERE.[21] La parola «pistarie,» deverbale di PISTARE, cui il suffisso *-ia* conferisce, secondo un uso meridionale ampiamente attestato, valore dispregiativo, diventa così un efficace complemento sinonimico della metafora.

Un altro documento del frequente scambio che si svolge all'interno della *koiné* linguistica galateana fra componente latina e componente dialettale è rappresentato da questo passo nel quale l'autore esprime il rifiuto risentito e polemico dei luoghi comuni che volgarmente avviliscono la condizione del letterato e del filosofo:

> Non basta dire, che li philosophi son matti, che li litterati son fantastici, che li bovi son grosseri, et come dicono, innocenti; che li iusti son poco savii, che li savii son **opiniosi** et **henimatici**, che li abstinenti de li beni de li altri sono poco considerati . . . ?[22]

Anche qui la fantasia lessicale del Galateo, stimolata dal contesto di concitata *vis polemica*, cerca nel dialetto effetti di originale icasticità, inducendo l'editore ottocentesco a spericolate esegesi di un passo graficamente oscuro. Mi riferisco alla coppia aggettivale «opiniosi et henimatici,» con la quale, secondo l'interpretazione del Grande, l'autore richiamerebbe un radicato luogo comune che connota negativamente l'ostinazione e la premeditata ambiguità concettuale dei letterati.

La lezione del manoscritto avellinese non solo non offre alcun supporto alla congettura dell'editore, ma si presenta priva di soluzione di continuità fra la presunta congiunzione e il secondo dei due aggettivi; essa è infatti la seguente: «opiniosi ethematici.»[23] L'occasionale incertezza del copista, che generalmente separa le parole mentre qui le lascia ambiguamente unite, fa sì che i *codices descripti* interrompano, variamente interpretandola, quella continuità grafica; né il cod. Arditi si discosta dalla lezione dell'avellinese, con-

[21] Cf. cod. 72, 341. Il verbo "pistare" è ampiamente attestato nei dialetti salentini e latamente meriodionali col significato di "pestare, calpestare, battere, trebbiare," con esplicito riferimento al grano.

[22] Cf. *Grande*, 18.86.

[23] Cf. cod. 72.336.

fermando un'ambiguità grafica forse già presente a livello di archetipo, se non di originale.[24]

La dubbiosa lezione ha dunque autorizzato l'editore ottocentesco ad una elaborata *emendatio ope ingenii*, tendente a ricostruire la coppia aggettivale secondo una interpretazione semantica che privilegia vistosamente il concetto di ambiguità: i letterati sarebbero, cioè, «opiniosi,» 'dalle molte e contraddittorie opinioni,' e «henimatici,» 'enigmatici e ambigui nel formulare le loro controverse proposizioni'; il primo dei due aggettivi ha dunque attratto nella sua sfera semantica il secondo.

E in effetti l'interpretazione del Grande, che lo induce a sostituire a quella dei MSS («ethematici») la sua lezione («et henimatici»), scaturisce proprio dall'erronea valutazione semantica dell'aggettivo «opiniosi,» il quale corrisponde sì al tardo latino OPINIOSUS, 'pieno di congetture,' ma solo morfologicamente, mentre semanticamente va ricondotto al dialettale *punioso*, 'ostinato,' 'testardo,' attestato in area veneta e nel Monferrato, ma largamente presente anche in area dialettale meridionale, specialmente pugliese: un esempio, questo, della tendenza, non rara nella scrittura volgare del Galateo, a nobilitare i dialettismi con l'impiego morfologico dei loro ascendenti greci e latini, come accade per esempio in «propìloi,» fatto corrispondere dal Galateo al salentino «nantiporta,» o in «oprecare,» riconducibile ad un latino *OPERICARE, frequentativo di OPERIRE, ma utilizzato dall'autore nel significato di 'seppelire,' proprio di alcuni esiti dialettali meridionali.[25]

E forse proprio per aver colto questo tratto dell'*usus scribendi* dell'autore e intuito l'impiego secondo l'accezione dialettale dell'aggettivo «opiniosi,» qualche copista sei-settecentesco dell'*Esposizione*, probabilmente salentino, ritenne di ricomporre i due aggettivi in una sorta di coppia sinonimica leggendo il secondo come «hematici,» trascrivendolo, cioè, staccato dalla presunta congiunzione «et»: «hematici» sarebbe così il corrispondente greco di 'sanguigni,' 'rissosi'; 'sanguigni' e 'rissosi' i savii, appunto perché testardi: un'interpretazione tanto suggestiva quanto lambiccata.

Copisti ed editore non hanno avuto la fortuna di imbattersi nel tormentatissimo autografo dell'epistola 33 dedicata a Belisario Acquaviva: la famosa *Vituperatio litterarum*, edita solo in tempi recenti.[26] Se lo avessero letto, avrebbero potuto giovarsi di una inoppugnabile glossa del termine in questione prodotta dallo stesso Galateo, il quale, consapevole della difficoltà ermeneutica di un peregrino dialettismo introdotto nel sistema linguistico latino dell'epistola per caratterizzare icasticamente l'ostinazione dei letterati, così lo spiega:

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[24] Cf. cod. 25-.263.

[25] Cf. rispettivamente cod. 72.138 e 70.347.

[26] Cf. Alda Croce, "Contributo a un'edizione delle opere di A. Galateo," in *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*, 62 (1937): 20–33; Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo, *Epistole*, ed. crit. a cura di Antonio Altamura (Lecce, 1959), 195–214. Ma si veda la recentissima riedizione critica dell'epistola, curata da Paola Andrioli Nemola (Galatina, 1991).

> unde vulgo pervicaces aut pertinaces et protervos *thematicos* dicimus, qui ne in mala quidem causa patiuntur vinci aut veritati assentiri.

«Thematici» è dunque dialettismo, presumibilmente di ascendenza spagnola,[27] e di diffusione specificamente meridionale, corrispondente a 'ostinati,' 'caparbi,' e perciò 'boriosi' e 'protervi.' Solo in tal senso è dunque possibile ricomporre la coppia sinonimica con «opiniosi,» ma entro un àmbito semantico diverso da quelli cui tendevano l'intervento dell'editore e le interpretazioni dei copisti.

Ma il lessico galateano è particolarmente ricco anche di esotismi e di barbarismi non riconducibili alla matrice latina e greca, e inseriti nella scrittura volgare con precisi fini retorico-espressivi. La consuetudine, per esempio, assai diffusa nella trattatistica e nella predicazione volgare, di comporre sequenze di termini propri di una comune area semantica al fine di conferire concitazione al discorso e di colpire l'uditorio esibendo un virtuosistico possesso del lessico tecnico attinto dalla trattatistica scientifica, è largamente documentata nell'opera volgare galateana, e anzi si estende spesso all'opera latina, creando, insieme ad interessanti corrispondenze lessicali, le condizioni per l'accumulazione di non comuni esotismi.

Precocissime attestazioni di esotismi gastronomici possono infatti considerarsi alcuni termini che ricorrono in questa sequenza:

> Ni insignò [Dio] pregare pane, non **cosenso**, **mirastro**, bianco mangiare, storioni, lamprede, carpioni, lampucche, caponi, starne, fasani, perdice et francholini.[28]

Nell'invitare alla temperanza nel domandare, essendo l'eccesso considerato una tentazione di Dio, il Galateo si dimostra dunque esperto di ricercate pietanze, forse non rare alla corte barese di Isabella d'Aragona, dove egli compose l'*Esposizione* dedicandola proprio alla sfortunata vedova di Giangaleazzo Sforza: una corte non nuova alle *performances* gastronomiche, e destinata di lì a poco a celebrare proprio nello sfarzo di un memorabile banchetto le nozze di Bona, figlia di Isabella, con Sigismondo re di Polonia.[29] Lo stesso Galateo si mostra altrove esperto anche di arte dolciaria inserendo, forse per la prima volta, in un contesto letterario i panmeridionali «susumielli,» diffusi biscotti natalizi impastati con cacao e spezie.[30]

Dalla sequenza spiccano un ispanismo (che non è l'unico dell'antispagnolo Galateo) e un arabismo.

«Mirastro» corrisponde, appunto, allo spagnolo 'mirraùste' e definisce una salsa confezionata con latte di mandorla, pan grattato, zucchero e can-

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[27] Cf. Battisti e Alessio, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano*, s. v., "tematico."

[28] Cf. *Grande*, 18.5.

[29] Cf. Luigi Sada, *Ars coquinaria barensis al banchetto nuziale di bona Sforza nel 1517* (Bari, 1971); idem, *Nuptialis cena Isabellae Aragoniae Ducissae*, pref. di Francesco Tateo (S. Spirito, 1989).

[30] *Esposizione del Pater noster*, cod. 72.81.

nella. Pressoché coeva a quella galateana, il *Battaglia*, che pur spogliando l'*Esposizione* dalla *princeps* ottocentesca non la registra, riporta soltanto una attestazione 'tecnica' del termine nel *Libro de arte coquinaria*, autore Maestro Martino, attivo a Roma verso la metà del XV secolo,[31] che lo avrebbe attinto direttamente dal Catalano,[32] nel quale tuttavia, secondo una attestazione presente nel *Debate entre Anton de Moros y Gonzalo de Avila*, il termine è attestato fin dal 1440.[33] É quindi nettamente da antedatare l'attestazione prodotta come prima da Alonso e Corominas dal *Libro de cucina* di Roberto da Nola, del 1525.[34] L'ipotesi di una precoce diffusione del termine nella corte aragonese trova peraltro probabile sostegno nella sua possibile presenza in un *gliommero* del Sannazaro, ipotesi alla quale sta lavorando Nicola De Blasi.

Sul versante, invece, specificamente letterario, spicca l'attestazione del termine nei *Diarii* del Sanudo, caratterizzata, come quella galateana dall'epentesi della liquida ('mirastro') al posto delle più comuni forme 'mirasto,' 'miraùsto.'

Che il termine fosse destinato ad una fortuna in àmbito cortigiano lo conferma l'attestazione che se ne ha a metà Cinquecento nei *Banchetti* di Cristoforo Messi detto Sbugo, *architriclinus* presso gli Estensi.[35]

Una corruttela dell'editore ottocentesco dell'*Esposizione* è invece il termine 'cosenso,' una corruttela che ha celato anche ai compilatori del *Battaglia* il prezioso *primum* di un arabismo destinato a larga fortuna in area meridionale. La tradizione manoscritta tramanda infatti, unanime, la lezione «coscuso,» antico nome berbero di una pietanza variamente preparata, a base di carne di vitello e di fegatini conditi con verdure varie, il cui principale ingrediente è una pasta di semola ridotta in minutissimi granelli. Le attestazioni del *Battaglia* e del *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* sono tutte notevolmente più basse.[36]

Si tratta di preziosità lessicali che manifestano la complessità del vernacolo galateano, frutto dell'opera di un sapiente retore il quale, in pieno clima di toscanismo normalizzante, stabilisce un più dinamico rapporto fra latino e volgare riplasmando la lutulenta lingua cancelleresca di *koiné* in un sapido veicolo di risentito moralismo e di fervida utopia.

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[31] Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, s. v., "mirause."

[32] Cf. Gianluigi Beccaria, *Spagnolo e spagnoli in Italia* (Torino, 1968), 111.

[33] Cf. Alfonso Falco, *Debate entre Anton de Moros y Gonzalo de Avila* (Lecce, 1987), 166.

[34] Miguel Alonso, *Enciclopedia del idioma* (Madrid, 1958), 3 vol.; Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico*, s. v.

[35] Cf. Maria Catricalà, "La lingua dei Banchetti di Cristoforo Messi Sbugo," *Studi di Lessicografia italiana* 4 (1982): 186, la quale, ignorando l'attestazione galateana, considera l'attestazione del Messi Sbugo successiva solo a quella di Maestro Martino.

[36] Una attestazione tecnica pressoché coeva a quella galateana è in un anonimo trattato di igiene e dietetica anch'esso di area salentina, sul quale cf. Salvatore Gentile, "Uno sconosciuto trattato di igiene e dietetica di anonimo tarentino all'alba del '500," *Lingua e storia in Puglia* 6 (1979): 35–72. La voce è registrata nei maggiori dizionari delle parlate sicule, calabresi e salentine; sulla sua etimologia cf. Giovan Battista Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine con speciale riguardo all'Italia* (Brescia, 1972), 204 e 353.

Cosma Raimondi—Epicurean, Humanist, and Failure

HOWARD JONES

When at the beginning of the fourteenth century Dante consigned Epicurus and his followers to the Sixth Circle of Hell, there to remain in lidless coffins for all eternity, few of his contemporaries are likely to have been surprised, and even fewer offended, by the sentence.[1] Dante's verdict was quite in accord with the view of Epicurus and his philosophy which had been standard throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed, from the fifth century to the twelfth it is difficult to find any expression of approval either of Epicurus himself or of his teachings. There were a few discriminating voices, to be sure. Thomas Aquinas acknowledged that the Epicureans cultivated the virtues, albeit to avoid those extreme vices which might impede the attainment of pleasure.[2] Peter Abelard, in *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Judaeum et Christianum*, conceded that true Epicurean *voluptas* consisted not in the active pursuit of bodily delights but in an inner tranquility that approximated what Christians look to as beatitude.[3] For the most part,

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[1] Suo cimitero da questa parte hanno
Con Epicuro tutti i suoi seguaci
Che l'anima col corpo morte fanno.

La Divina Commedia, Inferno, Canto X, 13–15

[2] "Epicurei, qui voluptatem summum bonum existimabant, diligenter colebant virtutes. Sed tamen propter voluptatem, ne scilicet per contraria vitia eorum voluptas impediretur," *In decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nichomachum expositio*, ed. A. M. Pirotta (Turin, 1934), 21 (1. 5.57).

[3] "Et fortassis hoc fuit Epicuri sententia summum bonum voluptatem dicentis, quoniam videlicet tanta est animae tranquillitas ut nec exterius eam corporalis afflictio, nec interius mentem aliqua peccati conscientia inquietet, vel vitium obstet, ut optima eius voluntas omnino compleatur? Quamdiu autem voluntati nostrae aliquid obsistit, vel deest, vera beatitudo nequaquam est."—*Petri Abaelardi Opera*, ed. Victor Cousin (Paris, 1859; repr. Hildesheim, 1970), 2:677; cf. 2:678.

however, those who recognized Epicurus as a serious philosopher and were familiar with the principal features of Epicurean doctrine were no more tolerant of a philosophy which rejected the spirituality and immortality of the soul, which denied the gods a providential role in human affairs, and which set forth pleasure as the first goal of human existence than were the early Christian apologists and church fathers who from the second century on had singled out Epicureanism as the pagan creed most at variance with the very fundamentals of Christian teaching. For the rest it was not Epicurus *philosophus* who fired the popular imagination but his *alter ego*, Epicurus *patronus voluptatis*, Epicurus the champion of sensual delights. We meet him early on as the exotic guest in Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*;[4] again as Chaucer's Frankelyn on the road to Canterbury;[5] and again as the servant of "fool's delight" in Gower's *Mirour de l'omme*;[6] he is the Epicurus who travels the continent in the company of the wandering scholars—lord of the kitchen, the cellar, and the boudoir.[7]

Around a century following Dante's condemnation, Epicurus might have anticipated at least a partial reprieve, for the year 1417 marked a decisive moment in the life of Epicurus' Roman advocate Lucretius. The occasion was the discovery by Poggio Bracciolini of a manuscript of Lucretius' *Dererum natura*, an event which Poggio and his friends celebrated with great

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[4] "Epicurus vero mixtas violis rosas et totas apportabat illecebras voluptatum," *De nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii et de septem artibus liberalibus*, ed. G. Willis (Leipzig, 1983), 2:213.

[5] A Frankelyn was in his company;
Whyt was his berd, as is the dayesye.
Of his complexioun he was sangwyn.
Wel loved he by the morwe a sop in wyn;
To liven in delyt was ever his wone,
For he was Epicurus owne sone.

Canterbury Tales, Prologue, 331–36

[6] Trop fuist du Foldelit apris
Uns philosophes de jadys
Qui Epicurus noun avoit:
Car ce fuist cil q'a son avis
Disoit que ly charnels delitz
Soverain des autres biens estoit
Et pour cela . . . ,

The Complete Works of John Gower, ed. G. C. Macaulay (Oxford, 1901) 1.111 (lines 9529–35).

[7] Alte clamat Epicurus:
venter satur est securus;
venter deus meus erit,
talem deum gula querit,
cuius templum est coquina
in qua redolent divina—

M. Manitius and R. Ulich (eds), *Vagantenlieder* (Jena, 1927), 98. See also *Carmina Burana*, no. 92 and no. 8 in Edwin H. Zeydel, *Vagabond Verse* (Detroit, 1906), 186–88 and 270.

enthusiasm.[8] For centuries, knowledge of Epicurean teachings had been restricted for the most part to a few key concepts which filtered through the sources, and for Epicurus this had been a mixed blessing: the Epicurean philosophy had been kept alive, but the paucity of supporting texts and the absence of a wider context had left those key concepts exposed to both misunderstanding and willful distortion. Now, at the very time when the early Italian humanists were eager to acquaint themselves with as wide a range of ancient authors as possible, Poggio's discovery made available an account of Epicurean teaching which was at the same time comprehensive, systematic, and sympathetic.

However, the impact of Poggio's discovery was by no means immediate. Poggio sent his copy of the Lucretian manuscript to his friend Niccolo Niccoli for transcription and it was at least a dozen years before it was returned to him. Niccoli made a copy (Codex Laurentianus 35, 30), though it is not certain how widely he allowed the text of Lucretius to circulate at Rome.[9] Further, it was not until 1431 that the other important source for Epicurean teaching, Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, received a first Latin translation at the hands of Ambrogio Traversari. Thus, the materials for a reappraisal of Epicurean doctrine were slow in appearing.

Meanwhile, the medieval assessment of Epicurean teaching had received a fresh endorsement from no less influential a figure than Coluccio Salutati. In the 1390s, Salutati published an expanded edition of his *De Laboribus Herculis*. As part of an allegorical treatment of the theme of descent into the underworld he introduced Epicurus in the role of the mythical figure Orpheus, equating descent into the underworld with the Epicurean's lowering himself to a subhuman condition in his grasping after the pleasures of the world.

This is not to say that there were not more discriminating voices. In 1400, Francesco Zabarella completed a brief ethical treatise entitled *De Felicitate* in which he suggested that the medieval interpretation of Epicurean hedonism was mistaken and that to Epicurus himself bodily delights were less important than mental pleasures. It is true that publication of Zabarella's treatise was long delayed (it was edited by a descendant in 1640), but the more sympathetic note introduced by Zabarella would be echoed by other humanists. In the dedication of his *De morali disciplina* Francesco Filelfo remarks that Epicurean doctrine has been spitefully distorted by opponents and recognizes that Epicurus's own moral standards were beyond re-

[8] See Phyllis W. G. Gordon, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: the Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York and London, 1974), Appendix, Letter 1, 186–90 and Letter 3, 193–96.

[9] See Riccardo Fabbini in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380–1980*, Instituto Nationale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Studi e Testi 7 (Firenze, 1982), 27 n. 62.

proach.[10] Likewise, in a letter to Andrea Alammani (which was not written until 1450), he rightly distinguishes between Epicurean hedonism and the aggressive pursuit of carnal pleasures advocated by Aristippus and the Cyrenaics.[11] In a similar vein Cristoforo Landino, in his commentary on *La Divina Commedia*, is almost rapturous in his praise of Epicurus' character and personal habits.[12] Finally, in his *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* Leonardo Bruni reaffirms the distinction between Epicureans and Cyrenaics and points out that along with other philosophers Epicurus acknowledged that pleasure is unattainable if the traditional virtues are not practiced.[13] What we are witnessing, in short, are the beginnings of a more sophisticated appraisal of Epicurean moral theory coupled with a desire to free Epicurus himself from the accumulated calumny of a hostile tradition.

Yet, despite their willingness to give the Epicurean view a fair hearing, the humanists whom we have mentioned directed their philosophical allegiances elsewhere. We still await an unconditional endorsement of Epicurean ethical doctrine. A contender does appear, however, in the form of Lorenzo Valla's *De voluptate*, which was published at Pavia in 1431 and again two years later with modifications in the title of the dialogue as well as the setting and the identities of the participants.[14] The issue of Valla's intention in the *De voluptate* has given rise to considerable debate and perhaps the only consensus is that it was not entirely what he professed it to be at the outset of the work, namely, to defend the Christian Commonwealth against those who seek the key to virtue in the precepts of the ancients, most especially the Stoics, in preference to Christian teaching.[15] It is true that by the end of the dialogue both the Stoic and Epicurean positions have been set aside in favor of the Christian view. Yet it could be argued that the charm and forcefulness of the arguments which Valla puts in the mouth of the Epicurean spokesman are far greater than is strictly necessary if those arguments are designed merely to discredit the Stoic position. It could be argued, in short, that the voice which lingers is not the Christian Antonio da Rho's but the Epicurean Maffeo Vegio's. However, to regard the *De Voluptate* as a thinly disguised exhortation to the Epicurean life

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[10] *De morali disciplina libri quinque* (Venice: G. Scottum, 1552), 1–2.

[11] *Epistolae familiares* (Venice, 1502), 8.53.

[12] *Dante con l'espositioni di Cristoforo Landino, e d'Alessandro Vellutello* (Venice, 1578), 61.

[13] *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* in *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. H. Baron (Leipzig and Berlin, 1928), 28.

[14] On the composition of the *De voluptate* (*De vero bono* in its revised title), see M. de Panizza, "Le tre redazzioni del 'De voluptate' del Valla," *Giornale Storico della Litteratura Italiana* 121 (1943): 1–22, and Introduction to A. Kent Hieatt, ed., *Lorenzo Valla on Pleasure* (New York, 1977) which also prints Panizza-Lorch's text.

[15] For bibliography, see H. Jones, *The Epicurean Tradition* (London and New York, 1989), 242 n. 17. My own reading of the *De voluptate* has been much influenced by the interpretation offered by Charles Trinkaus in *In Our Image and Likeness* (Chicago, 1970), 1:103–70.

would be to mistake the nature of the quattrocento dialogue, which makes appeal to the ancient schools not with the intent of subjecting their positions to serious historical criticism but in order to add flavor to debate over issues of contemporary interest.[16] Thus it need occasion no surprise that what Valla passes off as Stoic and Epicurean doctrine is in each case an imperfect image of its classical parent. In this context the terms 'Stoic' and 'Epicurean' are designed to do no more than represent in a convenient way two contrasting contemporary views of human nature, each of which Valla finds too extreme to be accepted on its own. On the one side is the conviction that the austere cultivation of the virtues can by itself produce pleasure; on the other side, the commitment to the gratification of immediate desires as the sole purpose of living.

In the *De voluptate*, Lorenzo Valla acknowledges that in their insistence upon the potency of the pleasure instinct the Epicureans make a valuable contribution to the understanding of human nature, but he could not recommend the Epicurean life as the best avenue to happiness. For the subject proper of our paper, Cosma Raimondi, there was no hesitation to make that recommendation. Cosma Raimondi—as little known as Valla is celebrated, has had the faint traces of his existence preserved in a few surviving letters.[17] Yet if we are ill supplied with details of Raimondi's passage through life, the letters are eloquent about the various moods to which the vicissitudes of his life gave rise—hope, frustration, anger, self-pity, bitterness, defiance, elation, depression, and finally despair. And in the case of Raimondi, this may be the more valuable testimony. For the man who emerges from the correspondence is open, intense and unrestrained, and if for Raimondi, in common with other humanists, philosophical study was a matter of arguments weighed and balanced, objections acknowledged and considered, principles defended or abandoned, philosophical commitment was of a different order, a surrender not to dry, logical necessity, but to the impulses of the heart.

Of Raimondi's early home life at Cremona we know nothing, and of the details of his schooling we know only that for a brief period around 1422 he studied oratory and philosophy under Gasparino Barzizza either at Milan or Padua. However, about the hardships and deprivations which hindered his studies throughout his life we have Raimondi's own eloquent and bitter testimony. In a letter sent from Avignon around 1430 to Giovanni Corvini,

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[16] See David Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue: Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

[17] Raimondi's sixteen surviving letters have been collected by Salvatore Floro Di Zenzo in *Un Umanista Epicureo del sec. XV e il ritrovamento del suo epistulario* (Naples, 1979). To the extent that it assembles Raimondi's correspondence in one place Zenzo's work is valuable. However, its value is diminished by the fact that in numerous places throughout there are peculiarities in the Latin text which it is impossible without consulting the manuscript originals to assign to Raimondi himself, faulty transcription by Zenzo, or printer's error.

senator of Milan, with a revealing mixture of self-pity and defiance he contrasts the good fortune of those whose intellectual interests and capacities have been fostered through ample means with the cruel fate which has visited upon him a level of poverty that has denied him the money for books and teachers and robbed him of time for private study.[18] Brief as his time under Barzizza was, it was clearly sufficient for Raimondi to impress his teacher, for when Gerardo Landriani, Bishop of Lodi, asked Barzizza to transcribe a recently discovered manuscript containing five of Cicero's rhetorical works, Barzizza entrusted to Raimondi the task of transcribing three books of the *De oratore*.[19]

What Raimondi did not secure, however, despite the intercession of Giovanni Corvini and others, was a positive response to his request of the Milanese Senate for some kind of support to enable him to continue his studies. In a letter to the Senate sent from Avignon around 1430 in which he makes a second desperate plea for assistance, he recalls his extreme disappointment at his earlier rejection, the consequence of which had been his decision to leave Italy in order to secure a living.[20] Whatever expectations he entertained about his chosen place of exile, Avignon, (for forced exile is what Raimondi considered it), his early impression was decidedly negative—a scarcity of texts, and people to whom even the name of Cicero was unfamiliar.[21] However, once he recognized that an early return to Italy was beyond hope (his second plea to the senators at Milan was fruitless), his opinion of Avignon improved. By 1432, in a short treatise on eloquence dedicated to Giovanni Cadart, he was referring to Avignon as "urbs haec celeberrima, alumna maxima studiorum."[22] Moreover, it seems that by now he had gained some measure of recognition, at least in his own mind. Dispatching a copy of his treatise to Antonio Canobio he reported that it had been much admired,[23] and in the same month he boasted to his friend Nicola Arcimboldi that—*folie de grandeur*—there was nobody in all of

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[18] "Nam neque meis functus opibus, neque alienis sustentatus, liberum umquam ad tractanda versandaque pro voluntate amplissima eloquentiae studia, quibus dedi me, infeliciter et tempus et otium habere potui ... Quem meum casum acerbissimamque sortem ita aegre fero, ut res me nulla maerore afficiat ... Hos ego, et quibus idem accidit, ut quam sibi quisque disciplinam idem accidit, ut quam sibi quisque disciplinam proposuisset, illius habuerit potiundae facultatem, perbeatos quidem nimium puto; me vero infelicissimum et diis ipsis, edepol, ingratum, quem, eadem quae illi cupientem, destituerunt." (Zenzo, Appendix 9, 77–79).

[19] Cf. R. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* (Catania, 1914), 115.

[20] Zenzo, Appendix 8,71–76.

[21] "Nam et bonarum artium studia vehementia in Italia sunt, et eorum librorum qui ad eloquentiam pertinent magna copia, quos ego hic, quamquam in celebri gymnasio sim, reperire adhuc nullos potui nec reperturum spero, ut qui ad eos homines pervenerim, a quibus ne Ciceronis ipsius quidem auditum umquam nomen fuerit." (Zenzo, Appendix 9, 81).

[22] Zenzo, Appendix 10, 95.

[23] "plurimi enim harum rerum insuetudine admirati quae sunt a me in eo libello scripta ...," (Zenzo, Appendix 14, 105).

France who had a higher reputation for eloquence.[24]

The date of this letter to Arcimboldi is late in 1432 and it marks the high point in Raimondi's career. He had published a small treatise on eloquence which had been well received. As a consequence, he gained some employment as a letter writer. He was in excellent health. Three years later, Arcimboldi received another and final letter from Raimondi, an epistle in elegiac couplets. What occurred during the intervening years we do not know. There are no letters. But what is clear is that Raimondi's world had fallen apart. Employing language and imagery drawn from Latin epic, Raimondi pictured himself as the exiled hero harried on all sides by trials and dangers to the point where his final day looms:

Advenisse mei credam nunc ultima fati,
et summam, quae me tollat, adesse diem.

a day for which he prepares by closing the poem with his own epitaph—

"Quem Maro, quem Cicero, vatumque exercitus omnis
foverit, hic, Cosma, flende poeta, iaces."[25]

The whole would read like mock heroic were it not so tragically prophetic of its sequel. In March, 1436, Arcimboldi received another elegiac poem, this time from the Milanese humanist Ambrogio Crivelli, in which a poignant couplet announces that Raimondi has hanged himself:

Propria concidit ille manu;
nodus colla tenet celso pendentia tigno.[26]

The Stoic coloring of Raimondi's final letter (*quo me mea fata tulerunt*) and the Stoic associations of his self-inflicted end are in a sense fitting. By any estimate, Raimondi's life-experience exemplifies the determined struggle against adversity which the Stoic creed was designed to assist. In another sense, however, the same associations are an irony. For Stoicism never claimed Raimondi's allegiance and his most expansive philosophical discussion is a spirited defense of Epicurean ethics against attack from the Stoic side. This took the form of a lengthy reply composed around 1429 to a letter from Ambrogio Tignosi in which Tignosi has brought charges against Epicurus which Raimondi regards not only as scandalous but also as a personal affront to himself as a devoted Epicurean.[27] Raimondi begins his

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[24] "De rebus vero meis scito, superum benignitate, et optima me frui valetudine et nihil praeterea deesse. In reliquis magnamque meam non solum esse laudem, sed etiam gloriam. Omni enim concessu atque sententia nemo est in provincia tota Gallia me eloquentior." (Zenzo, Appendix, 15, 108).

[25] Zenzo, Appendix 16, 111–12.

[26] Quoted by Zenzo (19 n. 41). The entire elegy (34 lines) is found in Biblioteca Ambrosiana M 44 Sup., fols. 215r–215v.

[27] The epistle is preserved in two copies. With the title *Cosmae Raimondi cremonensis ad Ambrosium Tignosium quod recte Epicurus summum bonum in voluptate constituerit maleque de ea re*

reply by acknowledging that the formalities of debate demand that as respondent he examine the arguments brought forward by the other side, but chooses to make his own position clear at the outset by declaring that in establishing pleasure as the *summum bonum* Epicurus showed himself to be possessed of almost superhuman wisdom. At the same time, in addition to making it clear that the entire discussion is to be conducted on the secular rather than the theological plane, Raimondi introduces at this early stage what will be of key importance throughout, namely, the conformity of Epicurus' position with the demands of *natura*.[28]

Turning his attention to Epicurus's opponents, Raimondi first addresses the position adopted by the Stoics, namely, that the practice of virtue is sufficient in itself to ensure happiness regardless of whatever physical discomforts a person might experience. To Raimondi this is an absurdity. Pain, hunger, exile and other such hardships are simply incompatible with a state of happiness. What vitiates the Stoics' position is their insistence upon separating mind and body and relating happiness exclusively to the former.[29] To call a man happy when his body is racked with pain is as ridiculous as the man who sits on a throne and calls himself a king when he has not a single slave or attendant.[30] Having thus disposed of the Stoics, with a parting jibe to the effect that they are more intent upon displaying cleverness in argument than acknowledging the realities of human nature, and having dismissed the Academics with the bare remark that he cannot take seriously a philosophy which regards nothing as certain, he passes to the Peripatetics whose views, though firmly held and well argued, will be shown to be erroneous once the Epicurean position has been examined.

The first part of this examination takes the form of a simple appeal to nature as the most trustworthy authority—both nature as the creator of man

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Achademici, Stoici, Peripatheticique senserint it is found in a manuscript (now Berlin lat. 606, fols. 25v–31r; cf. Zenzo, 55) discovered by Guido Santini in the possession of the bookseller Guiseppe Martini at Lucca and published by Santini as an Appendix to his "Cosma Raimondi umanista ed epicureo" in *Studi Storici* 8 (1899): 159–68. With the title *Defensio Epicuri contra Stoicos, Achademicos et Peripateticos* . . . it was discovered by Eugenio Garin in Ashburnum ms. 267 (Laurentian Library, Florence), fols. 43r–48r and published by Garin in *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano* (Florence, 1961), 87–92. References below will be to Garin's text.

[28] "Mihi vero Epicurum studiosius consideranti, in dies magis haec eius sententia probari solet, tamquam non hominis, sed aut Apollinis, aut superioris naturae cuiusdam edictum ac constitutum. Qui cum maxime omnium *naturae* vim perspiceret, intelligeretque ita *natos* nos esse, ab ipsaque *natura* formatos, ut nihil tam esset nobis consentaneum quam ut omnia corporis nostri membra sana atque integra haberemus, summum in voluptate bonum constituit. O sapientissimum hominem Epicurum!" (Garin, 98).

[29] "Cum vero animo constemus et corpore, cur in hominis foelicitate aliquid quod hominis sit ad eumque attineat ab his negligitur? Aut cur animum curant, corpus negligunt, animi ipsius domicilium?" (Garin, 89).

[30] "[U]t igitur eum irrideam, qui in sede regali sedens regem se appellet, nullis comitibus nullisque servis . . . sic hi irridendi qui in constituenda hominis foelicitate corpus ab animo seiungunt, et cuius corpus crucietur lacereturque beatum tamen esse contendunt" (Garin, 89).

and his environment and the nature or psychological make-up of man himself. In endowing him with the various senses, Raimondi argues, nature would seem to have fashioned man with one aim only in mind, namely, that he should be capable of enjoying as wide a range of pleasures as possible.[31] Moreover, man himself is possessed of a natural impulse, as in the use of sight, for example, to avoid what is unpleasant and take delight in the opposite.[32] So strong indeed is the link between pleasure and the senses that Raimondi cannot imagine a single pleasure which is not dependent on them, except, perhaps, for the pleasure to be derived from the study of the occult, to which he himself is greatly attracted, though this pleasure too fails to bring happiness if the individual is afflicted by external hardships.[33] Furthermore, nature has made man's surroundings so rich in objects whose sole function is to stimulate pleasure that man must surely be meant to take delight in them.[34] It is only the prospect of pleasure which sustains man's efforts and struggles, whether in acquiring knowledge, pursuing honors, or accruing possessions and powers.

Finally, since both the Stoics and the Peripatetics assign the primary role to virtue in the attainment of happiness, Raimondi feels obliged to point out that Epicurus too gives *virtus* an important, if auxiliary, role to play. It must not be imagined that Epicurus recommends the indiscriminate pursuit of pleasure: he recognizes rather that the gratification of certain desires is likely to be destructive rather than productive of pleasure. Accordingly, we need some agency to guide us in choosing which pleasures to embrace and which to shun. It is this role which Epicurus assigns to virtue, so that she can be rightly called *voluptatis effectrix . . . et gubernatrix*.[35]

Tignosi, we learn towards the end of the letter, is a younger man than Raimondi and has deserted the Epicurean fold for what Raimondi sneeringly calls the "argumentative subtlety of the Stoics and the show and glitter

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[31] "Sensus ei plures dedit quam varios, quam distinctos, quam necessarios, ut, cum voluptatum plura essent genera, nullum relinqueretur cuius ipse non esset particeps" (Garin, 90).

[32] "Primum oculos constituit, quorum tam egregia singularisque natura est, ut turpia ac foeda intueri nolint. Delectamur vero aspectu pucherrimarum rerum, idque non iudicio aut consilio fit aliquo, sed natura impellente" (Garin, 90).

[33] "Non enim sine sensuum beneficio quam aliam voluptatem habere possit intelligo, nisi forte studio cognoscendarum percipiendarumque rerum occultarum" (Garin, 90).

[34] "Nam cum rerum ipsarum tantam tamque lautam multitudinem terra marique videamus, et cum multae ad vivendum necessariae, plurimae tamen etiam procreatae sint voluptuariae atque humismodi ut ex his praeter quam voluptas nihil aliud percipiatur, certe voluptuarias natura non procreasset, si frui illis hominem et in his versari eum noluisset" (Garin, 90–91).

[35] "Postremo virtus, quae voluptatis effectrix est et gubernatrix, nosque admonet atque continet ut quando quasque oporteat prosequamur limitibus item aliis omnibus servatis, quibus circumscripta ipsa est virtus, cur expetitur, nisi ut fugiendis prosequendisque quas deceat voluptatibus iocundissime vivatur?" (Garin, 91).

of the Academics and Peripatetics." Well, if these are the qualities which attract Tignosi Raimondi's letter will not win him back. Raimondi does not seek to entice through artifice or impress through display. His appeal is simple and straightforward, and is directed not at the intellect but the feelings. And in this Raimondi is true to his message. For while he would not deny that there is pleasure to be derived from the operations of the mind, it is the pleasure which comes from sensual contact with the external world which is paramount. The instinctive delight which we take in the sights, the sounds, and the smells of nature demonstrates more powerfully than any philosophical argument the primacy of man's inborn capacity for pleasure.

It would be false to claim that in Raimondi's *Defensio Epicuri* we have a sophisticated ethical treatise. Moreover, we must take care not to misjudge its impact for the Epicurean tradition. One of the things which clearly distressed Raimondi most was that he was always just on the fringes of humanist society, never a central player, and it is doubtful whether his treatise enjoyed a wide circulation. The fact is that it would be another century before the Epicurean philosophy experienced a significant revival, and the place would be France and not Italy. In the last analysis Raimondi's treatise is of interest primarily for what it tells us of Raimondi himself. For if in the end life's hardships proved more than he could bear, the *Defensio Epicuri* leaves us in no doubt that there were also moments of great joy.

In Cosma Raimondi I have brought before you—one regrets to say it—a failure. He was a man with high hopes, a compelling confidence in his own abilities, and a fierce determination to win renown, but ultimately he was a man who never made it. Hampered from the start by a poverty which he was never able to overcome, he was continually denied the chance to build upon his early promise. His treatise on eloquence gained a local reading but did not become part of the permanent record. Likewise, his defense of Epicurus cannot have had a wide circulation. Raimondi struggled through life as best he could, his horizons always brighter than the near ground, keeping faith with the ancients whom he loved, until he reached the point where failure finally brought his undistinguished life to an end.

But if his life was undistinguished, it is nevertheless one from which the historians of humanism can draw useful lessons. For as our attention is drawn, as is inevitable, to the luminaries, to the likes of Salutati, Valla and the rest, whose lives and careers have shaped in our minds the very image of the humanist, let us remember the Raimondis, since for every humanist who gained a position of influence and renown there were scores of others whose training in the Latin language gained them nothing more grand or lasting than a day's wage, and some not even that.

Yet, in a paradoxical way Raimondi also warns us against the opposite danger. It must have been exciting a hundred years ago for Guido Santini to find in Martini's bookshop at Lucca the copy of Raimondi's letter which is now housed in Berlin, and perhaps understandable for Gentile to pro-

nounce it the "first affirmation of Italian humanism." But it is not. It is a private communication between two young people on a subject which for the moment had set them at odds. But it is no less precious to us for that. Let us leave it there.

McMaster University

Inclyta Aeneis: *A Sixteenth-Century Neo-Latin Tragicomedy*[*]

CRAIG KALLENDORF

In his survey of Renaissance Latin drama, Leicester Bradner notes that Neo-Latin plays tended to have religious subjects until around 1550. At that time, however, a change in taste led to the appearance of some forty plays on classical subjects over the next hundred years. Of these forty plays, a dozen are derived in some way from Vergil's *Aeneid*. One of these plays is by an author of some reputation, at least among specialists, Nicodemus Frischlinus, and one of them—at least according to Bradner—is not all that bad as a play, Henricus Knaustus' *Dido*. The authors of the others do not receive so much as a footnote in most modern literary histories of the period: Tobias Coberus, Gerardus Dalanthus, Michael Hospeinius, Fridericus Lasdorpius, Petrus Ligneus, Joannes Lucienbergius, Jacobus Wolfius.[1]

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[*] I would like to thank James A. Parente, Jr. and Walther Ludwig for their help in preparing this article.

[1] "The Latin Drama of the Renaissance (1340–1640)," *Studies in the Renaissance* 4 (1957): 47–48. The relevant plays, culled from the "List of Original Neo-Latin Plays Published before 1650," on pp. 57–70 of this article, are:

1) Tobias Coberus (T. Kober), *Palinurus* (Leipzig, 1593)
2) Tobias Coberus, *Anchises* (Görlitz, 1594)
3) Gerardus Dalanthus, *Dido* (Antwerp, 1559)
4) Nicodemus Frischlinus, *Dido* (Tübingen, 1581)
5) Nicodemus Frischlinus, *Venus* (Tübingen, 1584)
6) Michael Hospeinius, *Dido* (Strasbourg, 1591)
7) Henricus Knaustus, *Dido* (Frankfurt, 1566)
8) Fridericus Lasdorpius, *Turnus tragoedia* (Helmstadt, 1596)
9) Petrus Ligneus (P. van den Houte), *Dido* (Antwerp, 1559)
10) Joannes Lucienbergius, *Inclyta Aeneis* (Frankfurt, 1576)
11) Jacobus Wolfius, *Tragoediae duae ex Virgili Aeneide* [Dido, Turnus] (Copenhagen, 1591).

Numbers 2 and 7 are mentioned in secondary works, but no copies can be located at present.

Nevertheless, I would like to direct my attention to one play in this last group: the tragicomedy *Inclyta Aeneis*, written by Joannes Lucienbergius and published in Frankfurt by Paulus Refellerus in 1576.

Very little is known about the author of this play. He matriculated at the University of Heidelberg on August 28, 1576, described himself as *candidatus iuris*, and served the Spaniard Juan Luis de la Cerda. Lucienbergius was the author of *Methodica instructio componendi omnis generis versus, carmina, et odas . . .*, published in his home town of Frankfurt in 1575, and of *Thesaurus poeticus in quinque classes divisus . . .*, a wordlist designed as a reference source for metrical quantity and attributed to the Cologne printer Peter Horst. He may also have published a commentary on the works of Vergil along with the play that will occupy our attention.[2]

Inclyta Aeneis is a genuinely obscure work. It was not reprinted, and my own efforts have turned up only six more copies to add to the three known to Bradner.[3] Bradner dismisses the entire group of Neo-Latin *Aeneid* plays as "quite dull and frigid,"[4] a judgement that seems as if it might indeed be appropriate here, since Lucienbergius acknowledges on the title page that he has preserved Vergil's own words (*servatis ubique heroicis versibus*).[5] I must hasten to add that I cannot imagine anyone actually producing this play, given that its ten acts extend over almost three hundred quarto pages and require 155 *dramatis personae*. Nevertheless, I do not believe the play deserves the complete oblivion into which it has fallen. I shall begin my attempt to rescue it by examining briefly how Lucienbergius converts Vergil's epic into drama. Then I shall look at both the form and the content of *Inclyta Aeneis*

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[2] Biographical and bibliographical information may be found in Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1813; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), 8 (4. Ergänzungsband), cols. 32–33. Information on Lucienbergius' matriculation was supplied by Walther Ludwig in a private communication of August 26, 1991. In addition, the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1987), 11:609, lists two works once in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, whose existence can no longer be confirmed:

1) *Decem illa dicta insignia, quae . . . Daniel archiepiscopus Moguntinensis . . . habuit, carmina reddita* (Mainz, 1582)

2) *Ode triumphalis in . . . Wolfgangi archiepiscopi Moguntinensis honorem decantata* (Mainz, 1582).

Finally, James Parente, Jr. informs me that the following work appears in the catalogue of the Universitätsbibliothek at Göttingen: *Ad Virgilii opera omnia loci aliquot quibus explicandis optimi quique auctores laboraverunt* (Ingolstadt, 1542), shelf mark 8o AUCT. LAT. II, 9136.

[3] Bradner, "The Latin Drama," 64, lists copies at the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the British Library in London. Copies may also be found at Princeton University, the University of Pennsylvania, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and the Universitätsbibliothek in Munich, the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, and the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen.

[4] "The Latin Drama," 47.

[5] I have used the copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library; further references will be placed in the text.

to show how this little-known play in fact leads us into a number of issues at the very center of sixteenth-century literary life.

In general, Lucienbergius has preserved the basic flow of events as well as the individual verses from Vergil. The major change comes near the beginning, since it would obviously be difficult in a dramatic setting to have Aeneas narrate the fall of Troy and his wanderings through the Mediterranean as he does at Dido's banquet in the *Aeneid*. Lucienbergius therefore abandons Vergil's *in medias res* presentation and begins at the beginning, starting with the fall of Troy and continuing for the most part through the material from the *Aeneid* in chronological order, although when he reaches Dido's banquet in Act 2, scene 7, he appears to forget what he has already done and repeats material from Act 1, scene 2 (cf. fols. B1r and E2r). Now and again some material is moved—for example, an exchange between Venus and Jupiter from *Aeneid* 9.77–106 is moved forward in the play to Act 1, scene 3 (fol. b2r). On occasion a scene is added, the most important one being a brief wedding celebration between Aeneas and Lavinia at the end. Notwithstanding the great length of the play, much is removed.

If we look briefly at Lucienbergius's procedure in dramatizing the *Aeneid*, it will become clear how he decided what to remove. At the end of Act 6, Lucienbergius has reached the catalogue of warriors who will join Turnus in the fight against the Trojan invaders (fol. L1r). The Vergilian passage is found at *Aeneid* 7.641–90. A comparison of the two versions shows that Lucienbergius has omitted the invocation to the Muses with which Vergil begins, and the descriptions of Mezentius, Lausus, and Aventinus have been drastically shortened. By the time he reaches Caeculus, Lucienbergius has managed to hold onto more of Vergil's text, as he does through most of what follows. The problem here is that Lucienbergius has only dialogue to work with in a section being recounted by Vergil's narrator. Lucienbergius's solution is to have the characters from Vergil's catalogue step forward and introduce themselves, using those lines from the *Aeneid* that can be easily adapted to this format. Something, however, is lost along the way—in this case, the distinction in character between Lausus and his evil father Mezentius, a distinction upon which much of the pathos of their deaths will ultimately rest. With this omission, and others like it, comes a certain coarsening, a loss of some of Vergil's emotional power and artistic subtlety.

There are other things about which we can complain as well. There is some very awkward staging in act three, scene five, for example (fol. F4v), when Anna shuttles between Dido and Aeneas at a truly superhuman rate, and the historical anachronism of naming a Carthaginian guard "Hannibal" (fols. D5v–6r) is jarring. When Lucienbergius engages in some verse composition of his own, the results are not always felicitous, as in the polyptoton in *Quam duris durum excipiam durissima verbis* (fol. F2v) or in the pun on Lausus' name in the catalogue of warriors, *Laus tua praecipue tanget clara aethera Lause* (fol. L1r). This game, however, is too easy to play—Lucienbergius was not Vergil, after all—and I shall never be able to challenge Bradner's evaluation

of plays like this as "quite dull and frigid" by continuing in this vein. So at this point, I would like to place the play into its larger literary context in order to suggest why I believe Lucienbergius is still worth reading.

For one thing, the genre of the play presents some very interesting issues. The title page of *Inclyta Aeneis* labels it a tragicomedy, and there is no question that this is what Lucienbergius intended it to be. Indeed, Lucienbergius made a number of additions designed to counterbalance the potentially overwhelming sense of tragedy present in Vergil: the Sinon of *Inclyta Aeneis*, for example, is captured by three shepherds named Tityrus, Corydon, and Meliboeus, since dramatic theorists agreed that tragicomedy should mix characters of both high and low birth.[6] Lucienbergius also follows the death of Turnus with another scene not in Vergil, a scene in which Aeneas lays aside his arms and Latinus bestows his daughter on the conquering Trojan, so that the final lines of the play proper become these:

> Intremus, lautaque hodie sponsalia pompa
> Concelebremus, et haec merito peragamus honore:
> At vos interea iuvenesque senesque valete,
> Foemineumque decus, nostrisque applaudite rebus. (fol. R5r)

Moreover, the play proper is followed by three exodes, and Lucienbergius is quite clear about why he has departed from the usual model among his countrymen. Exodes, he explains, are found in Italian and Spanish plays because the authors

> breve, ridiculum et iocosum aliquod carmen, praecipue de hominum moribus, auditorum animos taedio affectos reficiendi et excitandi gratia, proferre consueverunt. Si vero finis bonus et iucundus est, reliqua omnia iucundiora existimantur. (fol. R5v)

Like other tragicomedies, *Inclyta Aeneis* might oscillate between sadness and pleasure, but by the end, the latter should have purged away the former, lest tragic doom prevail.

As Barbara Bono has pointed out, contemporary vernacular plays like Giovambattista Giraldi Cinthio's *Didone* and Étienne Jodelle's *Dido se sacrifiant* tended toward tragicomic treatment as well.[7] The problem is that there was a long critical tradition in which epic was associated not with tragicomedy, but with tragedy. Aristotle's historical treatment in *Poetics* 4 derived the origins of tragedy from epic, and he ends this treatise by comparing epic to tragedy in chapter twenty-four. This relationship was repeated countless times during the remarkable efflorescence of literary

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[6] This observation was a commonplace of the period, as shown by a glance at the index to Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

[7] *Literary Transvaluation: From Vergilian Epic to Shakespearean Tragicomedy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 83–139.

theory during the sixteenth-century;[8] Julius Caesar Scaliger, for example, wrote that tragedy resembled epic.[9] It is also worth noting that the well-known quarrel over Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* which led to a clearly articulated defense of tragicomedy did not occur until after the publication of *Inclyta Aeneis*.[10] So we must ask ourselves why Lucienbergius has taken such care to recast the *Aeneid* not in the form of a tragedy, but of a tragicomedy.

To begin to answer this question, we must try to reconstruct something of the environment in which Lucienbergius lived and worked. In a letter to the reader at the beginning of *Inclyta Aeneis*, Lucienbergius advertises his other two works, the one designed as a guide to vowel quantity and the other, a guide to composing verse in the various genres (fol. *1v). In other words, he is concerned with helping others write a correct and fluent Latin. As James Parente, Jr. has noted, this is one of the major goals of humanist drama in general, which was written by Renaissance schoolmasters for performance by their pupils so that they could sharpen their command of Latin.[11] I cannot prove that Lucienbergius taught in a particular place at a particular time, but the environment of the schoolroom is certainly the one out of which *Inclyta Aeneis* comes. In the dedicatory epistle at the beginning of the play, Lucienbergius says that he has composed the play

> ut si viva voce, vivisque gestibus, coram tenerae aetatis principibus recitaretur, maturius et maiori cum fructu radices in eorum animis ageret, eosque ad sublimiorem spem promtiores [*sic*] redderet. (fol. *3v)

This goal would be congenial to a teacher of the *studia humanitatis*, to someone concerned with the reading, interpretation, and imitation of Latin and Greek texts.[12]

Verbal eloquence, of course, was not an end in itself for Lucienbergius or his contemporaries. In his dedicatory epistle to *Inclyta Aeneis*, Lucienbergius notes that literature and history were worthy of study because they were useful (*utile*; fols. *2v–3r). By useful, he means as guides to moral philosophy; indeed, on his title page, he quotes three lines from the *Aeneid* which were often cited and discussed throughout the Renaissance:

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[8] Again, see the index to Weinberg, *History*.

[9] *Poetices libri septem*, ed. August Buck (Stuttgart and Bad Camstatt: Frommann, 1964; facsimile of Lyon, 1561 ed.), 3:97.

[10] Weinberg, *History*, 2:1074–1105.

[11] *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition: Christian Theater in Germany and in the Netherlands 1500–1680*. Studies in the History of Christian Thought, vol. 39 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 6–7. On German humanist drama in general, see Wolfgang F. Michael, *Frühformen der deutschen Bühne* (Berlin: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1963), 67–86.

[12] I am relying here on the definition of humanism given by Paul Oskar Kristeller, refined many times over a long and distinguished career but perhaps most accessible in *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper and Row, 1955), 3–23.

> Disce puer virtutem ex me, verumque laborem,
> Fortunam ex aliis, nam te mea dextera bello
> Defensum dabit, et magna inter proemia ducet. (12.435–37)

The *Aeneid*, that is, was being read by Lucienbergius and by many of his contemporaries as a guide to virtuous living. Indeed, in *Drama und Theater der Humanistenschulen in Deutschland*, Johannes Maassen notes that inculcating *pietas* was one of the explicit goals of German humanist schoolmasters.[13] No wonder these same schoolmasters wrote so many Vergilian dramas!

If we keep in mind the intellectual and pedagogical environment in which German humanist drama was written, I believe we can explain why Lucienbergius recast the *Aeneid* as a tragicomedy. For one thing, German schoolmasters were especially fond of Christianized versions of the plays of Terence, and these versions often came out as tragicomedies. *Inclyta Aeneis* shares a number of features with this type of Neo-Latin drama: the alternation of serious and humorous scenes, the presence of both noble and humble characters, a loose adherence to the dramatic unities, a movement from serious beginning to happy ending, a strongly moral tone, and the inclusion of a short farce at the end.[14] To be sure, Lucienbergius's subject matter is not Biblical. However, there is nothing in the actions of Lucienbergius's *pius Aeneas* which could threaten the efforts of a Christian child working his way toward salvation. And once Vergilian values have been shown to complement those of the many Biblical dramas of the age, it is a small matter indeed to bring the form of the play into line with the tragicomic versions of the Christianized Terence.

What is more, the tragicomic genre offers an advantage over both tragedy and comedy to anyone trying to instill virtuous living into others. Whether either tragedy or comedy was ever intended by Greek and Roman dramatists to improve the morals of their audiences may well be a debatable point, but many Renaissance theorists thought this was the case. Each genre, however, was limited. Tragedy was supposed to focus on the misfortunes of the noble, comedy on characters of lesser rank and events of less dire consequence.[15] Tragicomedy, however, could cover the entire range of human life; as Lucienbergius put it,

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[13] (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1929), 31–40; cf. Derek Van Abbé, *Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1961), 15–16.

[14] Marvin T. Herrick, *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England.* Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 39 (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1955), 16–62; and Parente, *Religious Drama*, 18–25.

[15] Weinberg, *History, passim.* I am reluctant to cite specific sixteenth-century treatises here, lest I imply that Lucienbergius might have known one or more of them in particular, but it is important to note, as Parente observes, that despite their obscurity, the authors of German humanist drama were familiar in general with recent developments in Renaissance literary theory (*Religious Drama*).

> In hoc autem totius vitae humanae cursum perspicere licebit, et Fortunae cum homine utranque in partem conflictum mirabilem, laetisque rebus semper admixtam tristitiam et amaritudinem. Nihil in humanis contingit casibus, seu lugubre illud sit, sive laetum, quod sapiens Vergilius divino Poemate non complexe sit. (fol. *3r)

Death and destruction, wandering and want, battles and sieges on the one hand; sport and games, love and liberation, hope and triumph on the other hand—it's all in Vergil, along with instruction on how to respond. Tragicomedy becomes the only dramatic genre able to bring out Vergil's full potential for moral instruction.

When the poem is read in this way, it can also help us to appreciate Lucienbergius's most striking addition to the Vergilian material: the marriage scene between Aeneas and Lavinia with which the play concludes. This changes the entire tone of the play, of course, but this is precisely the point. To end with Turnus's death is to end on the tragic chord which resonates so strongly in the *Aeneid* and which continues to resonate strongly in *Inclyta Aeneis*, in spite of the additions made by Lucienbergius throughout the text. However, by adding a scene of comic resolution to a point of rhetorical emphasis like the ending, Lucienbergius succeeds in extending the range of the work in accordance with his dramatic goals.

And if we remember that these goals included the inculcation of virtue, we have a further explanation for the addition. Vergil, as we all know, works by indirection, by suggesting outlines and leaving the reader to draw conclusions and fill in details. Such indirection does not always meet the needs of a schoolmaster trying to sink the roots of virtue into the often-inhospitable soil of his young charges. In particular, it does not meet Lucienbergius's needs to leave Aeneas, a *vir singulari pietate atque fortitudine praeditus* (fol. C6v), unrewarded at the end of so arduous and difficult a journey. So Lucienbergius gives him explicitly the rewards Vergil only leaves the reader to imagine, ensuring that the student actors will receive the correct moral lesson.

It is worth noting that Lucienbergius was not the first Renaissance reader of Vergil to add a wedding feast to the end of the *Aeneid*. Writing over a century earlier, the Italian poet Maphaeus Vegius composed an entire Book Thirteen to the *Aeneid*, in which we can read about the capitulation of Turnus' troops, Aeneas' marriage to Lavinia, his brief reign of three years, and his death and subsequent deification.[16] As I have shown elsewhere,

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[16] Vegius's Book Thirteen may be read in the modern edition of Bernd Schneider, *Das Aeneissupplement des Maffeo Vegio* (Weinheim: VCH Verlagsgesellschaft, 1985). David Price, *The Political Dramaturgy of Nicodemus Frischlin: Essays on Humanist Drama in Germany*. University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, vol. 111 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 103–04, rightly stresses the importance of the marriage plot in linking Renaissance drama to its classical antecedents.

Vegius was also troubled by Vergil's failure to reward a virtuous hero who had suffered so much, and his solution was also to give Aeneas explicitly the rewards that Vergil only leaves the reader to imagine.[17] It is impossible to say whether Lucienbergius knew Vegius's Book Thirteen. There are no significant verbal parallels between the two wedding scenes, but Vegius's poem was reprinted in the same books as the genuine works of Vergil well into the sixteenth-century, and *Inclyta Aeneis* comes equipped with the same kind of *periochae*, prose arguments, and woodcuts which normally accompanied the *Opera omnia* of Vergil in this period.[18]

So, what are we finally to say about *Inclyta Aeneis*? Aesthetically, the play's heavy reliance on *verbatim* quotation from Vergil and its single-minded approach to moral problems suggest that we are not dealing here with, say, Shakespeare in German schoolmaster's garb. However, if we approach the play on its own terms, we find considerably more than first meets the eye. Lucienbergius's selection of genre in particular leads us into matters of both form and content that offer significant insight into contemporary approaches to tragicomedy and into the Renaissance reading of Vergil. Indeed, I would even be willing to go one step further. James Parente, Jr. has noted that humanist schoolmasters of Renaissance Germany devised two solutions to the dilemma raised by that ancient drama whose language was praiseworthy but whose moral content was often suspect: either they argued (like Melanchthon and Sturm) that dramatic representations of immorality could nevertheless deter the young from evil, or they sought to replace ancient drama with new plays using Biblical material and classicizing language.[19] By preserving the language of a canonized classical author and adjusting Vergil's plot until it was morally unassailable, Lucienbergius offered humanist drama a third solution to this, its most fundamental dilemma.

Texas A&M University

[17] "Maffeo Vegio's Book XIII and the *Aeneid* of Early Italian Humanism," in *Altro Polo: The Classical Continuum in Italian Thought and Letters*, ed. Anne Reynolds (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1984), 47–56; and *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1989), 100–128.

[18] In spite of its shortcomings, the basic source on early editions of Vergil remains Giuliano Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni virgiliane*. Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, vol. 27 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1954).

[19] *Religious Drama*, 11–12.

Valerius Maximus in the Fourteenth Century: The Commentary of Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna

BENJAMIN G. KOHL

This paper will concentrate on the explication of Valerius Maximus in the fourteenth century, specifically investigating Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna's commentary on Valerius Maximus that Paul Oskar Kristeller discovered in the Museo Correr in Venice in the early autumn of 1983.[1] There in Codice Correr 855, catalogued simply as Valerius Maximus, Kristeller found the 1449 copy of Conversini's commentary that had previously been known only through the explicit of a manuscript that had been kept in the monastery of San Mattia on Murano in the middle of the eighteenth century. Collected and published by that indefatigable student of Venetian culture, Giovanni degli Agostini, for his biographical dictionary of Venetian writers, the explicit read:

> Expliciunt feliciter recollecte Valerii Maximi sub reverendo viro magistro Johanne de Ravenna olim digno Cancellario domini paduani, que explevi ego Jacobus Barbo grammaticorum minimus die 24. Decembris in vigiliis nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi, hora 22, 1449.[2]
>
> Here end happily the Recollecte of Valerius Maximus under the respected man, Master Giovanni da Ravenna, formerly worthy chancellor of the lord of Padua, which [recollecte] have completed I Jacopo Barbo, the least of grammarians, on 24 December, the Vigil of the Birth of our lord Jesus Christ, 1449.

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[1] I am much indebted to Paul Oskar Kristeller for characteristic kindness in suggesting, in a letter of September 1991, several improvements in an earlier draft of this paper.

[2] Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita et le opere degli scrittori viniziani* (Venice, 1754), 2:29.

Now nearly a century and a half after this notice, the actual volume was found in the Museo Correr, thanks to the relentless labors of Professor Kristeller. According to his description in volume 6 of *Iter italicum*, the commentary is written on paper in mid-fifteenth century hand in two columns.[3] The pages are not numbered, but come to 144 folios or 288 pages of text according to my count of a photocopy of the manuscript in my possession. The existence of this commentary was announced by the late Dorothy Schullian in her article on "Valerius Maximus" for the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*.[4] In her brief entry on Conversini's commentary Schullian noticed certain problems of interpretation which she hoped to treat in an addendum to her essay. This, unhappily, she was never able to complete, and this paper may be taken as an interim report on the issues raised by this commentary.

First, some basic background. As we all know, Valerius Maximus was a Roman author writing in the time of Tiberius, whose chief claim to fame is his collection in nine books of memorable deeds and sayings of ancient Greeks and Romans (*Factorum et dictorum memorabilium novem libri*) organized around such topics as religion, ancient institutions, and the various virtues and vices. Though utilized and studied from the ninth century onwards, Valerius Maximus became a favorite author of scholastics, grammarians, and early humanists only in the late Middle Ages. The text became by that time, in the words of the late Father John William Larkin, "a book which was, next to the Bible, the most popular in the Middle Ages."[5]

Thus, it should not be surprising that this widespread popularity led to extensive imitation and explication from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards. Valerius Maximus's first important imitator was Petrarch, in his widely popular *Rerum memorandarum libri*, well under way by 1343 but still unfinished at his death three decades later. Translations into German and Italian soon followed, and eventually there were no fewer than twenty-seven commentaries written before the end of the sixteenth century. Of these, the first and in many ways most influential was that of the Augustinian Friar Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro (1280–1342), composed at some time between December 1327, when the dedicatée Giovanni Colonna was made cardinal, and the author's death fifteen years later. Probably it was composed at Naples in the years around 1340, under the patronage of King

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[3] Discovery reported to me in a letter of 17 November 1983 from Paul Oskar Kristeller to B. G. Kohl, Kristeller File, 59 South Grand Avenue, Poughkeepsie, New York, with accompanying sheet describing the manuscript. A description of Correr MS. 855 appears in *Iter italicum* (Leiden, 1991), 6:271.

[4] "Valerius Maximus," in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, ed. F. E. Cranz (Washington, D.C., 1984), 5:87–401, at 340–42.

[5] See *Dissertation Abstracts* 28A (1968), no. 4151, abstract of Larkin's 1967 Fordham University dissertation, "A Critical Edition of the First Book of the Commentary of Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro on the *Facta et dicta memorabilia urbis Romae* of Valerius Maximus."

Robert the Wise. This careful and extensive commentary, which attempted improved readings of the text as well as discussion of terms and alternate interpretations of difficult points, became standard in the trecento. It survives in as many as thirty-one manuscripts and an early printed edition was produced at Strassburg not after 1475. Many of the subsequent commentators relied on Dionigi's interpretations as their starting point, often explicitly mentioning their differences with and improvements on his text in their own comments. In the second half of the trecento, commenting on Valerius Maximus became an established practice in the universities of Italy. The first of these Italian university based commentators was the grammarian and classical scholar, Pietro da Moglio, who lectured on Valerius Maximus at the Studium in Padua near the middle of his six-year stay from the autumn of 1362 to the summer of 1368. Thus, from what we know of Pietro's commentaries on Valerius Maximus and other authors, he was part of the grand tradition of the explication of Roman *auctores*, stretching back to Orléans and Chartres.

A friend and younger associate, rather than mentor and adviser of Petrarch and Boccaccio as Dionigi had been, Pietro da Moglio spent his life in studying and commenting upon Roman and early Christian authors in a university setting. Perhaps his most famous surviving work is his extensive commentary on Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*; and he commented as well on Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the pseudo-Senecan *De quattuor virtutibus*, and the plays of Terence. Pietro da Moglio's commentary on Valerius Maximus, known from emendations in surviving manuscripts and contemporary references, has not survived (or, to put it more hopefully, remains to be discovered), but thanks to the work of Giuseppe Billanovich and Luciano Gargan, it is clear that Pietro did comment on Valerius Maximus, most probably at Padua in 1364.[6] But it is also well to remember the wise words of Schullian:

> It is not yet clear how formal the commentary of Petrus may have been; it was prepared certainly, as were his comments on other authors, for his students, and it may have taken the form only of lecture notes set down by him or his students.[7]

These lectures, as I have stated, were probably delivered at Padua in 1364, and among his auditors there was certainly the aspiring young grammarian, Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, then aged twenty-one, who had followed his teacher Pietro da Moglio from Bologna to Padua that year, meeting for the first time Petrarch, then in residence as canon at the Duomo. Soon after

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[6] See Giuseppe Billanovich, "Giovanni del Virgilio, Pietro da Moglio, Francesco da Fiano," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 6 (1963): 207–8, 210–11, and *idem*, "Il Petrarca e gli storici latini," in *Tra latino e volgare, per Carlo Dionisotti* (Padua, 1974), 1:79–81.

[7] Schullian, "Valerius Maximus," 339.

hearing Pietro's lectures on Valerius Maximus at Padua, Conversini returned to Bologna where, according to Remigio Sabbadini and others, he lectured on the same author.[8] The far from unambiguous passage in Conversini's autobiography, *Rationarium vite*, which tends to confirm this assumption, is worth quoting in full, for it provides the unique record on the composition of the commentary.

> Quorundam tamen impulsu seu irrisantium seu vero suadentium sociorum, que Patavi audissem, publice legere institui. Huic vanitati accessit glorie quedam libido, libros corrogandi cultuque excellendi, que gemina vanitas multos fallit.[9]
>
> Still at the urging of certain friends either out of mockery or genuine persuasion, I instituted public lectures [at Bologna] on what I had studied at Padua. To this act of vanity was added a certain thirst for glory, the desire to collect books and to dress elegantly, twin vanities that often falsely lure many.

Though in the confessional retrospective of over thirty years Conversini saw his first university teaching as a kind of vanity, still his lectures on Valerius Maximus were extensive, detailed, and, as we shall see, influential. First of all, it must be noted that the precise nature of Conversini's debt to the lectures of Pietro da Moglio cannot be gauged until that commentary is discovered, but in the absence of any evidence denying Conversini's own originality, his commentary becomes a prodigious feat of scholarship for a scholar in his early twenties. The sheer bulk of the commentary is impressive, though Conversini devoted more than half of his lectures, over 150 out of 288 pages in the Correr manuscript, to commenting on the first three books of the work, those on ancient religion and the supernatural, ancient institutions and military arts, and fortitude and its attendant virtues, paying far less attention to later topics in the work, such as moderation, happiness, leisure, women, and the vices. Second, he paid close attention to the ruling text of the day, Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro's commentary, sometimes lauding his interpretations, occasionally modifying and correcting his mistakes. Finally, the comment was learned, insightful, and filled with corroborating material culled from other ancient texts.

Beginning with the preface itself, Conversini modified Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro's Aristotelian approach, who had cast his comments in terms of the four causes: material, final, formal, and efficient. Instead, Conversini elected to concentrate on the moral value of the contents (*materia*) of the work, quoting at the very beginning the Aristotelian tag:

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[8] Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura d'umanista (1343–1408)* (Como, 1924), 29–31.

[9] *Rationarium vite*, ed. V. Nason (Florence, 1986), 107–8.

> Historie antiquorum utiles sunt ad danda bona consilia civitati.
>
> The histories of the ancients are useful in giving good advice to the city.

Conversini then proceeded to discuss the contents (*materia*) of the work, answering six standard questions of the "accessus ad auctorem" tradition: who is the author, what are the contents, what is the intent, what is the usefulness, what parts of philosophy are treated, and, finally, what is the title of the book.[10] To answer the first question Conversini provided elaborate explanations of Valerius Maximus's names and his Roman family. As to intent, he emphasized the moral nature of the work. Placing it within the discipline of philosophy, Conversini defined Valerius Maximus's work as an example of moral philosophy, which he defined, following Aristotle, as divided into three parts: ethics, politics, and economics.

Noting in his preface the division of the work into books, the books into chapters, and the chapters into paragraphs, Conversini set off the incipit of each paragraph in the surviving manuscript in a sort of boldface maiuscule, thus facilitating ready reference from comment back to text. Moving relentlessly through Valerius's whole text paragraph by paragraph, Conversini followed the same procedure. First he gave a summary of the contents of the paragraph in plain, simple Latin, obviously to ensure the ready comprehension by his auditors of the gist of the passage. Second, he provided a direct quotation of most of the paragraph, glossing difficult passages and occasionally offering alternate readings to the term found in the Valerian text, set off by the conjunction, "aut," or by "id est." At the end (and most interesting for the student of early humanism) were the interpretative comments on the historical materials and comparison with other sources, signalled the use of "Nota quod," or "Notandum quod." To point out Conversini's method and to document his hitherto unrecognized influence on other commentaries, especially that of Benvenuto da Imola. I shall discuss in some detail his comment on one of the most important sections of Valerius Maximus's work: the anecdotes on famous dreams, as contained in chapter seven of book one.

First to the issue of influence. In her essay of 1984, Schullian noted that the implicit and explicit of Conversini's commentary are very similar to those of the commentary on Benvenuto da Imola, which was widely popular in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, surviving in at least twenty manuscripts.[11] It should be remembered that Benvenuto, the famous commentator on Dante's *Divine Comedy*, studied at Bologna in the mid-1360s,

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[10] On these introductions, see, most conveniently, R. W. Hunt, "The Introduction to the *Artes* in the Twelfth Century," in *Collected Papers on the History of Grammar in the Middle Ages*, ed. G. L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam, 1980), 117–45, esp. 126–29.

[11] Schullian, "Valerius Maximus," 341, 348–50.

precisely when Conversini lectured on Valerius Maximus there. Indeed in at least one palce in his own commentary Benvenuto ackowledged his debt to Conversini for a textual emendation:

> Ego intellexi a reverendo viro magistero Ioanne de Ravenna quod debebat dicere "statas" pro "statutas," cui puto fore credendum magis.[12]
>
> I have understood from the revered magister Giovanni da Ravenna, that one ought to read "statas" for "statutas" [at 1.1.1], who I think ought to be more readily believed.

Further, it is known that Benvenuto had studied Valerius Maximus throughout most of his career, utilizing the work extensively in his youthful compendium of Roman history, the *Romuleon*, and making two sets of comments on the author, his *Recollecte* or notes for his lectures at Bologna in the late 1360s, and the full-blown commentary, written up at the court of Niccolò II d'Este, shortly before his death in 1388. In her essay on "The Relationship of Some Fourteenth-Century Commentaries on Valerius Maximus," Marjorie Berlincourt has given extensive quotations for Benvenuto's commentary as well as an edition of chapter 7 of book 1 as an appendix to her Yale dissertation.[13] When comparing the texts provided by Berlincourt with Conversini's commentary as contained in the Correr manuscript, it is clear that Benvenuto da Imola derived much of his commentary from Conversini's work, often quoting the earlier text verbatim for long passages. A few instances will suffice to demonstrate the extent of his indebtedness, which we might call plagiarism, if that term were not an anachronism with respect to late medieval scholarship.

Commenting on 1.1.5, on how the cry of a country mouse (*occentus soricis*) caused Fabius Maximus to lose the dictatorship during the Second Punic War and cede command over the Roman knights to Gaius Flaminius, Conversini reports:

> Nota quod Dionysius et alii exponentes dicunt quod per "occentum soricis" Valerius intendit malum strepitum [parvarum questionum?] quas Fabius Maximus audierat in templo et ideo fuit privatus. Sed nesciunt quod dicant, quia stridor muris nam in tabernaculo fiebat

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[12] Ibid., 340, quoting Sabbadini, 30.

[13] Marjorie Berlincourt, "The Relationship of Some Fourteenth Century Commentaries on Valerius Maximus," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972): 361–87, at 375–83, and "The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954), 143–83 for the edition. For Benvenuto's career, in addition to the work of Berlincourt, see F. Mazzoni, "Benvenuto da Imola," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca* (Rome, 1970), 1:593–96, and C. Paolazzi, "Le letture dantesche di Benvenuto da Imola a Bologna e a Ferrara e le redazioni del suo Comento," *Italia medioevale ed umanistica* 22 (1979): 329–66.

> sacrificium modo et ad odorem carnium concurrebant mures. Ita quod cum Fabius sacrificaret auditus est mus et ob hoc fuit privatus.
>
> Note that Dionigi and other expositors say that for "cry of a mouse," Valerius intends the evil din (*strepitum malum*) that Fabius Maximus heard in the temple and therefore was deprived [of his command]. But they don't know what they are saying. For in the temple the sacrifices were done in such a way that mice ran toward the smell of the flesh. Thus because of this when Fabius performed sacrifices, the mouse was heard and for this reason he was deprived [of his command].

Benvenuto followed almost word-for-word this down-to-earth explanation of the smells of charred flesh attracting field mice to the sacred precincts, thus costing Fabius Maximus the command.[14]

Commenting on 2.1.3, on the sexual restraint of Roman women, who were content with a single marriage, which was honored with a crown of modesty, and which continued even after the death of the husband, Conversini asserted that Roman widows:

> Sed per totum annum non accipiebant virum, imo erat eis annus funereus et planctus. Hodie autem vero iam XV diebus post defunctum primi viri accipiunt secundum.
>
> did not for a whole year accept men, rather this was for them the year of mourning and grief. But today only fifteen days after the death of the first husband, our women take a second.

Benvenuto accepted Conversini's ready and perhaps shrill moralizing, only lengthening to twenty days, the recommended interval between the death of the husband and second marriage.[15]

A study of Benvenuto's commentary on the whole of chapter 7 of book 1 shows that he sometimes shortened, sharpened, and polished Conversini's comments, while offering very little new of his own and was content to rely massively on Conversini's original work. This procedure was perhaps inevitable for a busy, established scholar at the end of his career, who wanted to make and elegant presentation copy of his commentary on Valerius Maximus for his Este patron. On the one hand, Benvenuto's changes are for the better, as when he shortens passages and simplifies tortured syntax, or, in the case of the account of Cicero's dream in 1.7.5, gives a better reading, substituting the correct place name, *Atinas campus*, for Conversini's more obvious and banal, *Arpinum*. On the other hand, Conversini's commentary shows a much deeper interest in historical events and

[14] Berlincourt, "Relationship," 379–80 n. 84.

[15] Ibid., 377 n. 77.

attempts to provide a more complete reconstruction of the tale than does Benvenuto's text. For example, in the story of the dream of Augustus and Artorius (1.7.1), Conversini included in his commentary analogues from the works of Suetonius and Florus, which Benvenuto omitted. And in attempting to sketch in detail the genealogy and background of Cyrus the Great (1.7. ext. 5), Conversini quoted much from the account in Justinus 1.4–5, which again Benvenuto felt free to delete from his revision. But in the main Conversini's *Recollecte* was the basic text that Benvenuto da Imola revised, improved, and eventually published. Here we have a case of the more polished commentary driving out the more primitive one, aided by the authority of the commentator and the circumstances of the authors.

A brief, tentative chronology may serve to illuminate the fate of Conversini's commentary.[16] At Padua in 1364 Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna heard his master, Pietro da Moglio, comment on Valerius Maximus. Inspired by these lectures and urged to try his own hand at university teaching, Conversini commented on Valerius Maximus at Bologna some months later. At Bologna continuously from 1365 to 1374 was Benvenuto da Imola, who probably heard Conversini's lectures and himself commented on Valerius Maximus at the Bolognese Studium in the late 1360s, before embarking on his famous course of lectures on the *Divine Comedy* in 1374–1377. By 1366 Conversini had left Bologna to serve as tutor at the court of the Este dynasty in Ferrara, then to teach grammar in Treviso, and to lecture at Florence in 1368–1369 on the *Ad Herennium* and Vergil's *Georgics*. Thereafter Conversini lived and worked in the Veneto at Treviso and Conegliano, followed by a brief stay in Venice, and was employed as a schoolmaster for five years in Belluno. From 1379 to 1382 Conversini was a member of the Carrara court in Padua, before serving as chief notary at Dubrovnik until 1388, the year of Benvenuto's death. In other words, the only overlap between the careers of the two scholars was at Bologna in the mid-1360s. It seems reasonable that Benvenuto heard Conversini's lectures, somehow got hold of a copy of that text, either by making his own notes or by copying Conversini's own lecture notes, and used this text as the basis for both his first lectures on Valerius Maximus in about 1368 and the more polished commentary done for Niccolò II d'Este shortly before his death.

But what of the fate of Conversini's own commentary? The date of composition of the unique manuscript witness is ambiguous. We know that it was copied by a grammar teacher, Jacobo Barbo, in December 1449, from a copy owned by one Ser Marco Ingaldeo, citizen of Capodistria and then chancellor of the island of Cherso, just south of Istria.[17] Conversini spent

[16] On Conversini's career, see my entry, "Conversini, Giovanni, da Ravenna," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1983) 28:574–78.

[17] This information is contained in the rest of the explicit to the Correr MS published in Schullian, 341: "Habui exemplar a Ser Marco Englaldeo cive Justinopolitano tunc canc.

two years near the end of his life at Muggia, east of Trieste, surrounded by his books, and the version copied in 1449 could have come from his library gathered there. At least one passage at the end of 1.7.ext.7, on the dream of the mother of Dionysius of Syracuse, suggests that the commentary had been revised shortly before Conversini's death in the summer of 1408. (This passage is, by the way, absent from Benvenuto's commentary.) After cataloguing the crimes of the Sicilian tyrant, Conversini added the modern analogy: "Cui Dionisio dominum Octonem Bonterzo assimilare possumus." ("To which Dionysius we can compare Lord Ottone Bonterzo.")

Ottobuono Terzi, sometimes wrongly called Ottone Bonterzo, was a feared mercenary captain of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries from Parma, who often betrayed his employers and even became *signore* of Reggio and his native city from 1401 until his assassination eight years later.[18] As chancellor of the Carrara court from 1394 to 1404, Conversini would certainly have known of the *condottiere*, who had in fact served in the company of Conte da Carrara, halfbrother of Francesco Novello, the current lord of Padua. But this theory of a later revision of Conversini's commentary conflicts with other evidence presented in Giuseppe Billanovich's stunning essay on the copy of Valerius Maximus (now Vat. pal. lat. 903) made at Florence in 1397 by the young Poggio Bracciolini. Billanovich[19] shows that at 2.1.9, the copyist wrote "brevique processu rerum in lucem virtutum," and in the margin added, "aliter processurarum in lucem virtutum, et cetera, Io. Ra.," thus crediting the now accepted reading to Conversini. But the same passage in Correr MS 855 is not so emended, reading "brevi processu morarum," thus placing the text of Valerius Maximus used by Conversini for his commentary in the family of A prime, as established by Carl Kempf, editor of the standard Teubner text of 1888. Thus, the paradox: at some point before 1397, Giovanni da Ravenna published the emendation, "processurarum," but in the commentary perhaps retouched about 1407, the text had the reading, "processu morarum." There are several solutions: the Giovanni da Ravenna in question was not Conversini but Malpaghini, who was lecturing on Dante at the Florentine Studium at precisely the moment when in 1397 Poggio made his copy in that city. Or Conversini added in his retirement some new phrases, such as the comparison between Dionysius of Syracuse and Ottobuono

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Chersi, cuius filium Vitalum tenebam in domo et instruebam artem grammatice, habebam etiam in domo Antonium et Donatum fratres et filios Ser Stefani de Buchina de Cherso" It is possible that Jacopo Barbo copied the commentary at Pola in Istria, where he was head of the communal school by 1456; see B. Ziliotto, *La cultura letteraria di Trieste e dell'Istria* (Trieste, 1913), 106.

[18] For an account of Ottobuono Terzi's career, see A. Pezzana, *Storia della città di Parma* (Parma, 1837), 1:243, 245, 256–58, 264, 276, and 2:2–119.

[19] Giuseppe Billanovich, "Alle origini delle scrittura umanistica: Padova 1261 e Firenze 1397," in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana* (Padua, 1981) 1:125–40, at 136.

Terzi, but left the commentary largely unrevised. Or the reference to Terzi is a later interpolation by another copyist of Conversini's original commentary. In any case, this much is clear: Giovanni Conversini's youthful commentary on Valerius Maximus lived on in Benvenuto da Imola's popular (but unacknowledged) adaptation of that work. And Valerius Maximus continued to be a lively source of ancient anecdote and morality for Conversini's mature works, including of course his own unfinished collection of modern anecdotes under twenty-three headings that have come down to us at the *Memorandarum rerum liber*. From Bologna in 1364 to Muggia and Venice in 1407 and 1408, for over forty years Valerius Maximus was Conversini's constant companion. Thus, for Giovanni da Ravenna in particular as for the reading public of late medieval Europe in general, Valerius Maximus was (to recall Father Larkin's claim) his "most popular book, next to the Bible."

Vassar College

Selbstverständigung im Leiden: Zur Bewältigung von Krankheitserfahrungen im versgebundenen Schrifttum der Frühen Neuzeit

WILHELM KÜHLMANN

Es ist unbestreitbar, daß in der Frühen Neuzeit die Bewältigung von Krankheitserfahrungen in der sinnstiftenden Rede über die psychophysische Gefährdung des kranken Menschen besondere Dringlichkeit besaß: angesichts der Omnipräsenz des Todes in einer Wirklichkeit, die—nicht nur in den großen Seuchenzügen—Gefühlsreaktionen der Angst und der Wehrlosigkeit hervorrief. Die ungeheure Masse des christlichen Gebrauchsschrifttums zeigt ebenso die lebenswirksame Macht des Christentums wie Bedürfnisse, denen sich die christliche Verkündigung und ihre Vertreter zu stellen hatten. Über die Literatur—und Mentalitätsgeschichte des Todes liegt mittlerweile, wie bekannt, eine Fülle von Darstellungen und Untersuchungen vor.

Als damit nicht identisch, wenngleich als in mancher Hinsicht nahestehend bzw. konkurrierend erweist sich eine lyrische Schreibtradition: der Gedichtypus mit der topischen Überschrift "De se aegrotante." Dieser Typus hatte seit dem Renaissancehumanismus, d.h. zunächst in lateinischer Sprache einen beachtlichen Anteil am Erscheinungsbild und Themenradius zahlreicher Gedichtsammlungen. Der strukturelle Zusammenhang dieses lyrischen Genres war gewährleistet durch seinen autobiographischen Aussagemodus und durch die gleichbleibende situative Voraussetzung der lyrischen Rede. In ihr setzt sich ein dichtendes Ich mit dem—wie auch immer authentischen—Erlebnis seiner Erkrankung und des körperlichen Leidens auseinander. Für eine literatur—und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Einordnung ist die Tatsache bemerkenswert, daß derartige Gedichte über das kranke Ich in der frühen Aufklärungsepoche aus dem poetischen Kanon weitgehend verschwanden und später eigentlich nur bei Heinrich Heine—in der Parodie

etablierter Aussagemuster—noch einmal aufgegriffen wurden.[1] Der Glücks- und Vollkommenheitsanspruch des individuellen Lebensvollzugs, auch die Tabuisierung des Übels zugunsten einer von der Verstörung des Subjekts absehenden Erschließung der irdischen und kosmischen Harmonie ließen offensichtlich gegen Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts das Leiden des mit seiner versagenden Natur konfrontierten Ichs nicht mehr poesiewürdig erscheinen,—sieht man ab von Randzonen des geistlichen Schrifttums und dem psychosomatischen Problemkomplex der Melancholie.

Insofern haben wir es mit einem lyrischen Textcorpus zu tun, an dem sich nicht nur, wie schon lange gefordert,[2] die Konstanz thematischer und genrespezifischer Traditionen über die lateinisch-deutsche Sprachgrenze hinaus erforschen läßt, sondern auch der epochenspezifische Wechsel literarischen Aussageverhaltens, literarischer Gestaltungsschwerpunkte, Bewußtseinslagen und Wirkungsansprüche verfolgt werden kann: im Spannungsfeld humanistischer und "barocker" und in der Konkurrenz eher säkulär-diesseitiger und entschieden christlich-transzendenter Bewältigung von Krankheitserfahrungen.

Als Ausgangspunkt eines analytischen Vergleichs bietet sich Andreas Gryphius' zu Recht berühmtes Sonett *Threnen in schwerer Kranckheit* an (Erstdruck 1643; datiert 1640).[3] Es gehört zu einer Gruppe thematisch verwandter Sonette, in denen weniger der mögliche biographische Anlaß als der Impuls zu meditativer Reflexion zum Ausdruck kommt, der sich für den Dichter Gryphius offensichtlich mit Krankheitserfahrungen verband.

Wolfram Mauser hat den Text im größeren Zusammenhang der vanitas-Topik gültig interpretiert und unter anderem die heilsgeschichtliche Botschaft der Verse herausgearbeitet.[4] Freilich ist von "Heil" nicht ausdrücklich die Rede, vielmehr geht es dem Autor zunächst nur um die Evokation

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[1] Vgl. Wilhelm Kühlmann: "Abschied von der 'Sterbekunst'—Heinrich Heines Briefe und Gedichte aus der 'Matratzengruft.' " In: *Der Tod in Dichtung, Philosophie und Kunst.* Hrsg. v. Hans H. Jansen. Darmstadt. 2.Aufl. 1989, S. 327–36.

[2] Karl Otto Conrady, *Lateinische Dichtungstradition und deutsche Lyrik des 17. Jahrhunderts.* Bonn 1962 (Bonner Arbeiten zur deutschen Literatur 4), S. 267: "Die Linie der Lyrik in Deutschland verläuft nicht über Hans Sachs zu Opitz, sondern über Celtis, Eoban Hesse, Petrus Lotichius Secundus, Schede Melissus und Posthius ins 17. Jahrhundert. Es bedürfte gesonderter (dringend erwünschter), umfangreicher Einzeluntersuchungen, auch die thematischen Verflechtungen freizulegen und zu beschreiben. Erst nach Erfüllung dieser Aufgabe wäre die Gültigkeit der Behauptung vom Zusammenhang der Lyrik beider Jahrhunderte ganz erwiesen."

[3] *Andreas Gryphius: Sonette.* Hrsg. von Marian Szyrocki. Tübingen 1963 (Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke, Bd. 1), S. 59; vgl. hier auch die thematisch verwandten Gedichte S. 8f., 60f. und 78.

[4] Wolfram Mauser: *Dichtung, Religion und Gesellschaft im 17. Jahrhundert. Die 'Sonette' des Andreas Gryphius.* München 1976, bes. S. 138ff.; ders.: "Was ist dies Leben doch? Zum Gedicht 'Thränen in schwerer Krankheit' von Andreas Gryphius." In: *Gedichte und Interpretationen.* Bd. 1. Renaissance und Barock. Hrsg. von Volker Meid. Stuttgart 1982 (Reclams UB 7890), S. 223–30.

der emotionalen Erschütterung und der geistigen Verunsicherung, die durch "tausend Schmerzen" hervorgerufen werden. Vergleicht man dies Gedicht mit geistlichen Liedern des 16. Jahrhunderts, fällt auf, daß die im Christusglauben angelegte Heilshoffnung nicht mehr ausgesprochen wird. So entspricht etwa ein autobiographisches Pestlied (1519) Zwinglis ("*Ein Christenlich gsang gestelt durch H. Z. als er mit pestilentz angriffen ward*")[5] ganz und gar nicht der bei Gryphius zu beobachtenden Textstrategie. Zwingli stellt sich die Auseinandersetzung mit der Krankheit als ein nicht aussichtsloser Kampf dar, in dem die Glaubensenergien des Ichs geweckt, mit der körperlichen auch die moralische restitutio in integrum nicht ausgeschlossen wird und zuletzt gar das "fröhliche" Ertragen von "trutz und boch in dieser wält," also eine Stärkung des von geistlichem Trost ermutigten Willens zur Selbstbehauptung, angesagt ist.

Gryphius macht jedoch Front gegen eine offenbar als bedrohlich empfundene, weil im eigenen Ich angelegte säkulare Einstellung zur Welt. Gerade in der genuin lutherischen Tradition hatte die Polemik gegen das "sichere Leben" des "Weltmenschen" einen festen Platz: das sichere Leben derer, die, im Alltag religiöser Sinngebung nicht bedürftig, nicht Geduld und Frömmigkeit oder gar Rechtgläubigkeit demonstrieren wollten, sondern sich in "Sicherheit," also ohne Heilsangst und katechetisch ansprechbare Sorge den praktischen Lebensinteressen zuwandten. Gryphius will mit seinem Gedicht verunsichern. Über die eigene Krankheit zu meditieren, bedeutet, dazu das Authentische der persönlichen Erfahrung ins Feld zu führen: in Evidenz und Experienz. Es geht um die Auseinandersetzung mit dem natürlichen Menschen, mit dem Menschen, soweit er nur Natur ist. Seine Hinfälligkeit bildet sich hier nicht in der biblischen Geschichte ab, sondern in einer Metaphernreihe (V. 11/12), in der nicht die schöne Ordnung der natürlichen Dinge, sondern ihre Vergänglichkeit herausgestrichen ist. Die fatale Vergänglichkeit der Dinge als Prinzip universaler Naturgesetzlichkeit begrenzt dogmatisch den Spielraum der Ich-Aussprache. Diese aber zielt—latent polemisch—auf die anthropologische Selbstverständigung im Horizont säkularer Gottlosigkeit. Die Frage nach der Substanz "dieses" Lebens (V. 8)—suggestiv wird das andere, das jenseitige Leben vorausgesetzt, aber nicht genannt—denunziert grundlegende Überzeugungen und Verhaltenssicherheiten des modernen Menschen. In der Krankheit und durch sie scheint widerrufbar, was in Wahrheit moderne Personalität charakterisiert: der Stolz auf die eigene Leistung, die sich in Taten manifestiert ("und was sind unsere Thaten?," V. 14), mehr noch: die Art und Weise, wie sich dieses Ich in seinen Wünschen und in seiner Phantasie als Subjekt der eigenen Welt-

[5] Hier zitiert nach: *Deutsche Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts.* Hrsg. von Adalbert Elschenbroich. Zwei Bde. München usw. 1981, Bd. I, S. 64f.; vgl. Andreas Walther: "Zwinglis Pestlied. Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte der Reformationszeit." In *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 12 (1901): S. 813–27.

orientierung entwirft ("Was bilden wir uns ein! was wünschen wir zu haben?," V. 9). Emotionale und gedankliche Spontaneität der "Einbildung," Selbstbehauptung durch Aneignung und Besitz, dadurch die Kategorien eines über gewöhnliches Maß hinausreichenden Position des Ichs in der Welt ("hoch und groß") verfallen dem Gestus der in der Drohung des Todes enthaltenen metaphysischen Entwertung. Daß der Dichter damit zugleich die Möglichkeit ausschlug, sich auch noch in Krankheit und Tod individueller Lebensleistung zu vergewissern, illustriert kontrastiv die fast gleichzeitig entstandene Grabschrift Paul Flemings, in der dieser kurz vor seinem Tod die Bilanz der eigenen Existenz im Symbol des gelungenen Werks zusammenfaßte.[6]

Was für Gryphius zu zeigen ist, gilt generell für den lyrischen Typus "De se aegrogante." Nicht der Gegenstand und der Anlaß des Textes per se bestimmten den Aussagecharakter der Gedichte. Die drastische Schilderung des Siechtums hat vielmehr argumentative Funktionen im Zusammenhang einer moralisch-anthropologischen Botschaft. Gryphius bejahte und begriff—in der Interdependenz von Leiden und Heil—die Krankheit so, wie es Blaise Pascal dogmatisch prägnant konstatierte: "Les maux de mon corps ne sont autre chose que la punition et la figure tout ensemble des maux de l'âme."[7]

Der psychosomatische Verismus wird hier deutlicher in eine religiös-metaphysische Meditation umgeformt als in früheren Sonetten, wo die Elemente der Valediktionsrede im Angesicht des Todes, also auch die schmerzliche Vergegenwärtigung sozialer Beziehungen (*An die umbstehenden Freunde*) eine bedeutende Rolle spielt.[8] Daß Gryphius nicht auf eine Traditionslinie einschwenkt, die vor allem auf den sechsten Psalm rekurriert, also den Charakter des Gebets betont ("Miserere mei Domine, quoniam infirmus sum . . ."), hängt damit zusammen daß in seinen Krankheitsgedichten trotz lutherischer Vanitas-Protreptik der humanistische Typus der lebensgeschichtlichen Momentaufnahme bzw. krisenhaften Selbstvergewisserung und die Gattungstradition der "Klage" immer noch lebendig waren. Wenn Gryphius ein Sonett aus dem Jahre 1636 *Trawerklage des Autors / in sehr schwerer Kranckheit* nennt, so bleibt trotz der unantiken Form offensichtlich die Aussagehaltung der Elegie, also die seelische Bewegung der klassischen "querimonia" bzw. "miseratio" erhalten.[9] Zwar ist es richtig, daß Gryphius'

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[6] Vgl. Wilhelm Kühlmann: "Sterben als heroischer Akt. Zu Paul Flemings 'Grabschrift'." In *Gedichte und Interpretationen*, wie Anm. 4, S. 168–75.

[7] Das Zitat aus Pascal: Prière Pour Demander de Dieu Le Bon Usage Des Maladies. In ders.: *Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Jacques Chevalier*. Paris: Gallimard 1954 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 34), S. 605–14, spez. S. 609.

[8] *Gryphius: Sonette*, wie Anm. 3, S. 60f.; zur poetischen Valediktionsrede des "Dahinsterbenden" an die Freunde vgl. aus dem neulateinischen Bereich beispielhaft ein Gedicht des Domenicus Baudius (1561–1613): "Alloquium moribundi ad Amicos." In ders.: *Poemata. Nova editio et prioribus Auctior*. Amsterdam 1640, S. 47–53; Referat bei Ellinger; Bd. II, wie Anm. 11; S. 164.

[9] Zu diesem schon antiken Verständniskonzept—neben der Tradition der erotischen

Krankheitsgedichte als Sonette auf entsprechende und in ihrer Art beeindruckende, teilweise von Martin Opitz übersetzte Vorbilder der französischen Pleiade zurückweisen: Ronsards *Derniers vers* und Desportes' Zyklus *De la mort* vor allem.[10] Doch hinter und teilweise neben allen muttersprachlichen Versionen wirkte das lateinische Vorbild, d. h. in und durch alle Varianten der europäischen Renaissancedichtung gleichsam als Prototyp des Genres vorab Tibulls dritte Elegie des ersten Buches, daneben auch Ovid, Trist. III,3.

Hierauf bezogen sich die in imitatio und aemulatio, also im Rahmen der humanistischen Produktionsästhetik gedichteten carmina namhafter italienischer Neulateiner, z. B. des Marcus Antonius Flaminius (1489–1550),[11] Franciscus Maria Molza (1498–1544),[12] und Johannes Iovianus Pontanus (1426–1503),[13] aber etwa auch des aus Ungarn stammenden Janus Pannonius (1433–1472).[14] Gerade bei Pannonius,—ebenso wie in einer bei den späteren Humanisten zurücktretenden Lyriktradition, dem Votivpoem—trat die krasse Schilderung, ja die anatomisch und pathologisch geradezu akribische Registratur der einzelnen Krankheitssymptome auffällig in den Vordergrund. Dieser in der antiken Elegie kaum ausgeprägte Darstellungshabi-

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Elegie—s. im einzelnen Walther Ludwig: "Petrus Lotichius Secundus and the Roman Elegists: Prolegomena to a Study of Neo-latin Elegy." In *Classical Influences on European Culture A. D. 1500–1700*. Ed. R. R. Bolgar. Cambridge 1976, S. 171–90 (spez. 174–77); abgedruckt nunmehr auch in W. Ludwig: *Litterae Neolatinae. Schriften zur neulateinischen Literatur*. Hrsg. von Ludwig Braun u. a. München 1989 (Humanistische Bibliothek, Reihe I. Abhandlungen, Bd. 35), S. 202–17.

[10] Vgl. das Nachwort des Herausgebers zu: *Martin Opitz: Weltliche Poemata 1644*. Zwei Teile/zwei Bände. Hrsg. von Erich Trunz. Tübingen 1975 (Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe Barock, Bd. 2–3), spez. Bd. II, S. 76–78; hier auch die Stellennachweise zu Ronsard, Desportes, Sponde.

[11] "De se aegrogante": Carmina. Padua 1743, S. 67f. (carm. II, 5); mit deutscher Übersetzung auch bei P. A. Budik: *Leben und Wirken der vorzüglichsten lateinischen Dichter des XV.–XVIII. Jahrhunderts* ... II. Band. Wien 1828, S. 116–19; hier S. 76–98 eine noch immer wertvolle Vita des Autors samt Verzeichnis der Editionen.—Die folgenden Stellenhinweise verstehen sich nur als exemplarische Belege zur Umgrenzung des möglichen Untersuchungsfeldes. Auf die kursorisch genannten Texte kann ich hier selbstverständlich ebenso wenig wie auf die autorenbezogenen Forschung eingehen. Zu diesem Gedicht und ähnlichen Carmina Flaminios vgl. auch Georg Ellinger: *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*. Bd. I–III/1. Berlin und Leipzig 1929–33, hier Bd. I. Italien und der deutsche Humanismus in der neulateinischen Lyrik. Berlin und Leipzig 1929, S. 213.

[12] "Ad sodales, cum morbo gravi et mortifero premeretur"; Abdruck mit englischer Übersetzung bei Alessandro Perosa/John Sparrow (Hrsg.): *Renaissance Latin Verse. An Anthology*. London 1979, S. 265–67; mit deutscher Übersetzung auch bei Budik (mit Autorenporträt), wie Anm. 11, S. 62–69; vgl. auch die Paraphrase bei Ellinger, ebd. S. 216f.

[13] "Casim fontem aegrotus alloquitur": *Carmina*. Ed. Benedetto Soldati. Volume Secondo. Florenz 1902, S. 100f.

[14] "Elegia XIII. Conqueritur de aegrotationibus suis, in mense Marti 1466," abgedruckt bei Harry C. Schnur: Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten. Lateinisch und deutsch. Stuttgart 1967 (Reclams UB 8739–45), S. 316–21.

tus bestimmte nicht nur den Typus "De se aegrogante" zumindest in Deutschland, sondern griff manchmal auch auf verwandte Genera über, die hier nur am Rande erwähnt werden können: auf die Danksagungen und Grüße nach überstandener Krankheit,[15] die wiederum—im sozialen System der Schreibanlässe—den "Soteria" entsprachen, den Glück- und Segenswünschen an den Freund oder Bekannten bei oder nach der Krankheit.[16] Erst recht stoßen wir auf Züge eines scientifischen Verismus in den vergleichsweise wenigen Gedichten, die—dankend oder hilfesuchend—an den Arzt gerichtet waren.[17]

Durch Tibull war das Thema "Krankheit" mit einem für die Zukunft wichtigen Motivkomplex verknüpft: der Leidende ist in der Fremde erkrankt; Krankheit bedeutet Entfernung von den Nahestehenden, den Freunden, ggf. der Familie—und im Gattungsschema der erotischen Elegie zu betrachten—vor allem von der Geliebten. Krankheit definierte also eine Situation, in der aus einem Mangel, einem Defizit, einer augenblicklichen Isolation Wünsche aufsteigen und Vorstellungen gelungenen Lebens, ja sich der Tagtraum der Goldenen Zeit zu Wort meldet. Die Krankheit des Dichters wirkt schöpferisch, beflügelt die Phantasien verwirklichter Gerechtigkeit und zärtlicher Liebeserfüllung. Das eigene Unglück entbirgt Erinnerungen und Entwürfe aus dem Ansatz der Klage heraus; ja noch die gedankliche Vorwegnahme des Todes führt zur Vision neuen Lebens und idyllischer Zweisamkeit.[18]

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[15] Vgl. exemplarisch Jacob Balde S. J.: Sylv. VIII. Ode I.: "Ad Martinum Sibenium S. J. Post quinque mensium prostratam valetudinem, ut Auctor convaluerit." In *Opera Poetica Omnia. Vols. I–VIII. Nachdruck der Ausgabe München 1792.* Hrsg. von Wilhelm Kühlmann und Hermann Wiegand. Frankfurt 1990 (Texte der Frühen Neuzeit 1), hier Vol. 2, S. 227–30.

[16] Nach dem Vorbild der "Soteria Rutili Gallici" des Statius (silv. 1.4); exemplarisch die große Sammlung von Glückwunschgedichten, die Caspar Dornau (1577–1632), dem Lehrer des Martin Opitz, nach seiner Krankheit (1616/17) übersandt wurden: "Exequiae Viventis." In: *Casparis Dornavi Dulc-Amarum* ... Beuthen 1618, spez. Buch 5. Julius Cäsar Scaliger bestimmte den Gedichttypus im Anschluß an Statius: *Poetices Libri Septem. Neudruck der Ausgabe von Lyon 1561.* Hrsg. von August Buck. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1964, S. 156 (Lib. III, cap. CIII).

[17] Vgl. exemplarisch den kleinen Zyklus von vier Elegien bei Henricus Husanus (Hausen, 1536–87): *Horarum succivisarum libri duo. Elegiarum libri totidem.* Ed. Nathan Chytraeus. Rostock 1577, hier El. I. 2–5 (S. 71v.–75v.): "Precatio ad Filium Dei.—Cum in extremo vitae discrimine constitutus, conflictaretur cum tremoribus cordis. Anno M.D.LXXIII.prid. Non. Mart.—Cum iam exhalaturus animam videretur.—Ad Henricum Brucaeum medicum CL. Anno M.D.LXIX." Zum Autor das Weitere in dem Artikel von Wilhelm Kühlmann (sub verbo). In: *Literatur Lexikon.* Hrsg. von Walther Killy. Bd. 6. München 1990, S. 23.—Zu beachten wären etwa auch die vier Elegien "Ad D. Andream Eberstorferum Medicum V. Cl." von Michael Abel (1542–ca. 1609): *Edesmata Kai Hedysmata hoc est docta & iucunda Carmina* ... Frankfurt/Oder 1598, hier Carminum Lib. I. Elegia XII.–XV. (unpag., fols. N1v–O2); zum Autor alles Nötige in dem Artikel von Fidel Rädle (sub verbo). In: *Literatur Lexikon,* Bd. 1. München 1988, S. 29f.

[18] Tibulls Gedicht ist vielfach behandelt; einen Überblick über die Forschung geben Christoff Neumeister: *Tibull. Einführung in sein Werk.* Heidelberg 1986; Niklas Holzberg: *Die rö-*

Zu den gewiß bedeutendsten Nachfolgern Tibulls gehörte in Deutschland Petrus Lotichius Secundus (1528–1560), nicht nur für die Zeitgenossen, sondern auch für Martin Opitz und über die Epoche hinaus "der Fürst aller Deutschen Poeten."[19] Krankheitslyrik des oben umrissenen Spektrums nimmt in Lotichius' Elegienzyklus einen beachtlichen Raum ein. Konzentrieren möchte ich mich hier auf die sechste Elegie des ersten Buches, gerichtet an den Freund und namhaften Gelehrten Michael Beuther. Lotichius' Elegie *De se aegrotante* läßt sich biographisch recht genau situieren; das Gedicht (erschienen 1551) nimmt Bezug auf die Erkrankung des Autors gegen Ende des Schmalkaldischen Krieges, an dem Lotichius als Soldat teilnahm (geschrieben ca. Mai 1547).[20] Hundert Jahre ungefähr trennen also die Schöpfungen des Humanisten und die des "barocken" Lutheraners Gryphius.

Die Elegie gliedert sich in drei Teile (V. 1–20; 21–78, 79–102). Lotichius setzt ein mit Bildern der ungestörten, sinnenhaft erfreulichen Frühlingsnatur. Das sprechende Subjekt ist hier offenbar in poetischer Absicht noch nicht anwesend. Die Natur, mit Zügen des 'locus amoenus' in ihrem Wandel vom Winter zum Frühling gezeigt, kontrastiert dem, was in der Geschichte geschieht: der Sphäre dessen, was Menschen tun und Menschen er-

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mische Liebeselegie. Eine Einführung. Darmstadt 1990, S. 61–86; vgl. auch den detaillierten Kommentar von Kirby Flower Smith: *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus.* Darmstadt 1971, spez. S. 232–62; zur Komposition des Gedichts vgl. im einzelnen H. Eisenberger: "Der innere Zusammenhang der Motive in Tibulls Gedicht I, 3." In: *Hermes* 88 (1960), S. 188–97; C. Campbell: "Tibullus: Elegy I.3." In: *Yale Classical Studies* XXIII (1973), S. 147–57.—Zum thematischen Zusammenhang auch ergiebig Erhard Holzenthal: *Das Krankheitsmotiv in der römischen Elegie.* Diss. masch. Köln 1967, hier spez. S. 14–22.

[19] Zu den Ausgaben, zur Rezeption und zur Forschungslage mit der älteren Literatur grundlegend Bernhard Coppel: "Bericht über Vorarbeiten zu einer neuen Lotichius-Edition." In: *Daphnis* 7 (1978): S. 55–106; zusammenfassend auch ders.: Lotichius Secundus, Petrus. In *Literatur Lexikon.* Hrsg. von Walther Killy. Bd. 7. München 1990, S. 352f.

[20] Ich benutze die Ausgabe von Petrus Burmannus Secundus: *Petrus Lotichius Secundus. Poemata Omnia.* Tom. 1–2. Amsterdam 1754, hier Tom. 1, S. 42–50. Zum Biographischen vgl. Stephen Zon: *Petrus Lotichius Secundus. Neo-Latin Poet.* New York usw. 1983 (American University Studies. Series 1, Vol. 13), S. 91–93. Einen Stellenkommentar bietet neben der Burmanniana und über sie hinausweisend auch Katherine Anne O'Rourke Fraiman: *Petrus Lotichius Secundus. Elegiarum Liber Primus. Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary.* Diss. masch. Columbia University New York 1973, bes. S. 315ff. (Ein Jammer, daß diese wertvolle Arbeit nicht gedruckt ist!) Neben dieser Elegie wären andere Krankheitsgedichte in Lotichius' Elegienbücher heranzuziehen: vgl. I 7; III 6, bes. III 9 (Zählung nach Burmann). Nicht auszuschließen ist, daß Lotichius gerade mit seinen Krankheitsgedichten auf die späteren Neulateiner eingewirkt hat: so etwa auf Sebastian(us) Scheffer(us): Elegiarum Liber Secundus. El. I.: "De se aegrotante Lipsiae 1566." In: ders.: *Poemata.* Frankfurt/M. 1572, S. 17–19; vielleicht auch schon auf Henricus Husanus: "Elegia, In festo Paschantis 1559. Patavii scripta, cum ibidem decumberet ardentissima febri" (*Horarum Succisivarum* . . . , wie Anm. 17, El. I 7, S. 80v.–83). Freilich sind neben den antiken Anregungen auch die Beispiele des früheren Humanismus zu bedenken: Die verstreuten Hinweise in den drei Bänden Ellingers, wie Anm. 11, die leider nicht durch ein Sach- und Themenregister erschlossen sind, bieten vielerlei Anhaltspunkte für ergänzende Studien. Ich verweise exemplarisch auf Bd. 1, S. 430 (Locher), 499ff. (Hadelius); Bd. 2, 26f. (Cordus).

leiden. Natur in ihrem gesetzlichen Gang wirkt friedlich; in ihr ist der Mensch geborgen, der sich als Bauer ihrem Walten anvertraut (V. 9f.). Scharf wird in abruptem Übergang (V. 10–11) an den Krieg als Zerstörung solcher Idylle erinnert, einer Idylle, die ästhetisch durch Anklänge an jene Pastoraldichtung symbolisiert ist, die seit Vergil und Tibull immer wieder Krieg und Bürgerkrieg als dunklen Hintergrund utopischer Entwürfe des Zusammenlebens einbezog.

Wenn nach dieser Einleitung mit V. 21f. die psychosomatische Erschütterung durch die Krankheit ausgesprochen wird, ist ein semantisches Feld geschaffen, das sich vom Darstellungsmuster des Gryphius markant unterscheidet: dort bestätigte sich in der Krankheit das Schicksal der natürlichen Welt, ihr Angelegt-Sein auf Zerstörung und Untergang. Hier rückt das Leiden in die Antithese zur Vergegenwärtigung natürlicher Harmonie und in Analogie zu einer vernichtenden Macht, die sich in der kollektiven Geschichte als Krieg darstellt. Mit V. 23ff. geht Lotichius—der Kenner assoziierte Tibull und seine Nachfolger—auf sein Erleben, damit gleichzeitig aber auf den Motivkomplex 'Krankheit und Tod in der Fremde' über. Das Thema 'Krankheit' verschiebt sich zum Entwurf der eigenen, gewünschten, gelungenen Existenz: Aus der Situation, in der die Vernichtung des Ichs droht, entsteht das poetische Phantasiebild sinnvoller Zukunft, einer Zukunft, die ungestörte Identität des Subjekts mit seinem Ideal, der Figur des gekrönten Dichters, verheißen sollte. Die Gewißheit des akuten Leidens und das Elend des maladen Soldaten sind so Signaturen vereitelten Glücks, einer um ihr Telos gebrachten Existenz. Bedacht wird ein Lebensweg, der sowohl ins Künftige projiziert als auch in die Vergangenheit, bis zur scheinbar nun täuschenden Weissagung des "norischen Greises" (J. Camerarius?) und der Gestirne zurückverfolgt wird. Lotichius erinnert an einen Anfang, der nicht mehr einholbar ist. Das Wiedersehen mit der Heimat (V. 43ff.) erscheint illusorisch. Krankheit erweist sich als die Krise der biographischen Selbstfindung, die das Leben als zielgerichtetes Kontinuum begreifen will.

Mit V. 53ff. rückt in den Mittelpunkt, was bei Gryphius in religiöser Katechese ausgeblendet wurde: Die Sehnsucht und die Suche nach Heilung, Heilung seelischer Erschütterung zunächst durch die "Musen," deren Gesang freilich in Fieber und Siechtum nur in der trauernden Klage der Nachtigall ihr symbolisches Äquivalent finden kann. Nur scheinbar steht die folgende Vorwegnahme des Todes, die Hinnahme der Wirkungslosigkeit aller Therapie, in Kontrast zum Verlangen nach Besänftigung der Emotionen. Der singende Dichter und der sich gegen den Tod nicht mehr sträubende Mensch (V. 71ff.) rücken im Zeichen geistiger Souveränität in eine Figur zusammen. Lotichius schreibt über sich in der Rolle des Poeten und als Leidender und beschreibt sich ebenso als Leidenden, als Sänger und stoisch gefaßten Sterbenden. Das gelungene Gedicht in seinem antikisierenden ästhetischen Glanz, ja bereits im Vorgang der Entstehung, beweist die Unanfechtbarkeit der musischen Existenz: Es wird im Akt lyrischer Aussprache selbst zum 'performativen' Argument für das, was gegenständlich zur

Sprache kommt, die psychische Unanfechtbarkeit des Ichs im Leiden, aber auch die Hoffnung des Dichters, die sich im Nachruhm erfüllen soll.

Lotichius imitiert schließlich die pragmatische Form der Abschiedsrede: an den Freund, an die Mutter, auch die Form des testamentarischen Vermächtnisses (V. 71ff.). Sozusagen als 'Tibullus redivivus' schwenkt der Dichter ein auf die Vorstellung des Wanderers, der am Grabstein des Verstorbenen vorbeigeht, den der Freund gesetzt hat. Jedoch nicht durch diesen Grabstein, der die Misere der Wirklichkeit, den Tod des Soldaten festhält, wird Nachleben verheißen und gewünscht, sondern im liebenden Gedenken der Nächsten: der Familie und der Freunde. Gerade als Abwesende sind sie gegenwärtig, denn die Krankheit als poetisch bewältigtes Ereignis ist der Moment höchster Vergewisserung und emotionaler Intensivierung des Ichs in der ganzen Spannweite seiner Lebensbezüge. Indem dieses Ich ganz bei sich ist, auf seine Körperlichkeit zurückgeworfen, bewährt sich die Schöpferkraft des Dichters und gleichzeitig die moralische Integrität des Freundes und des Sohnes.

Krankheitsgedichte dieser Art sind als Kunstwerke Symbol musischer Weltbewältigung und zugleich Indizien für die Energie des moralischen Subjekts. Dies gilt auch für die ästhetische Funktion des Krankheitsgedichts bei Gryphius, wobei hier allerdings die Rolle des souveränen Dichters in Widerspruch gerät zur religiösen Aussagedimension des Textes. Wenn alles eitel ist, warum schreibt der Heilsbedürftige anspruchsvolle Sonette? Warum predigt er nicht, warum schreit und mahnt er nicht? Der kranke Gryphius ist im Text nicht mehr der Dichter wie bei Lotichius, doch er ist immer noch der, der in der Rolle des Sterbenden virtuos zu dichten weiß. Ein Dilemma, das dem humanistischen Poeten erspart blieb. Gryphius dichtet und weint, Lotichius wehrt selbst die Tränen der Mutter ab (V. 86 f.), denn der im Leiden noch Dichtende lebt weiter in der Dichtung des Freundes.

Es liegt nahe und ließe sich—freilich nicht in dem hier gegebenen Darstellungsrahmen—nachweisen, daß zwischen Gryphius und Lotichius, also zwischen den polaren Möglichkeiten des Typus "De se aegrotante," mancherlei Übergangsformen und Varianten, auch Interferenzen zwischen lateinisch-elegischen und muttersprachlich-liedhaften Formen zu verfolgen wären. Sie würden die Entwicklung eines Genres erhellen, das—wie andere thematische Traditionen der lateinisch-deutschen Kultursymbiose der Frühen Neuzeit—mit der Fortdauer der lyrischen Sprechsituation zugleich die markante, epochenspezifische Verlagerung und Auswechselung von Motiven und Bedeutungsdimensionen ansichtig macht.

Heidelberg

Über die neulateinischen Wörter im Deutschen

BERNHARD KYTZLER

Der Einfluß des Lateinischen auf die deutsche Sprache ist weitaus älter, als es das Neulatein selbst insgesamt ist. Schon ein volles Jahrtausend, bevor Renaissance und Humanismus in Deutschland Fuß faßten und seine Sprache beeinflußten, waren Einwirkungen des Lateinischen auf das Deutsche zu registrieren. An sie kann hier natürlich nur ganz knapp und summarisch erinnert werden.[1] Immerhin sei darauf hingewiesen, daß[2] (1) bereits aufgrund der gemeinsamen Zugehörigkeit zur indo-europäischen Sprachfamilie nicht wenige Wörter sowohl dem Lateinischen wie auch dem Deutschen gemeinsam eigen sind, daß (2) das römische Militär den nördlichen Nachbarn vielerlei Vorstellungen vermittelte, daß (3) christliche Lehnwörter bereits im 3/4. Jahrhundert auftraten, wobei z. B. an das Wort 'Woche' selbst sowie an die Namen der Wochentage zu denken ist, die als Wortübersetzungen zu gelten haben; daß (4) von der Mitte des 8. bis zum des 11. Jahrhunderts die geschriebene Sprache weitgehend Übersetzungen für die Gelehrtenliteratur bietet und in diesen vor allem in Satzbau und Stilistik den lateinischen Vorlagen folgt—eine Abhängigkeit, die den a. c. i. wie den abl. abs. ins Deutsche hineinzwängte, Unterordnung von Nebensätzen statt Beiordnung bewirkte und bestimmte Bindewörter resp. Adverbien für lateinische Vorlagen erfand; daß (5) auch die Stilistik durch Übernahme von Anaphern und Parallelismen, von Figuren der Variation, der Häufung und der Mehrgliedrigkeit mitwirkte—dies alles umso leichter, als sich hier Berührungen mit germanischer Stilüberlieferung ergaben; daß (6) "während des ganzen Mittelalters Wortgut aus dem Lateinischen entlehnt worden ist,"[3] wofür auf eine Fülle von Beispielen verwiesen werden kann.

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[1] Vgl. Bernard Kytzler & Lutz Redemund, *Lexikon der Lateinischen Wörter im Deutschen*, (Mainz, 1992).

[2] Zum folgenden vgl. Adolf Bach, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*,[9] 51; 91f.; 156f.; 200f.; 284–89; 309; 331.

[3] Bach, 200.

Sind wir auf diesen sechs verschiedenen Pfaden bis in die hier zu erörternde Epoche des Humanismus gelangt, so wird das Bild von nun an noch reicher, bunter, beeindruckender. Hierfür ist es auch möglich, einen unverdächtigen Zeitzeugen anzuführen: das am Ende dieser Periode veröffentlichte erste deutsche Fremdwörterbuch, welches Simon Rott, ein Neuöttinger Schulmeister, unter dem Titel *Teutscher Dictionarius* 1571 herausbrachte. Es enthält ca. 2000 Fremdwörter, die meisten von ihnen lateinischen Ursprungs oder, falls von griechischer Herkunft, jedenfalls zumeist auf dem Wege über das Lateinische ins Deutsche transponiert. "Noch heute enthalten unsere Fremdwörterbücher zu 3/4 aus dem Lateinischen und Griechischen stammende Ausdrücke, zu deren Bestand das 14/16. Jahrhundert wesentlich beigetragen hat."[4] Freilich hat sich seit den Zeiten des Simon Rott der registrierte Bestand inzwischen verzwanzigfacht: Das *Fremdwörterbuch* der Duden-Redaktion (1960[1]) verzeichnet rund 40 000 Wörter.

Im Rahmen der Vorarbeiten für das Lexikon der lateinischen Wörter im Deutschen[5] wurde, den Kategorien der Duden-Redaktion folgend, auch eine Liste der dort verzeichneten aus dem Neulatein stammenden deutschen Wörter erstellt, die im Anschluß an diese einleitenden Ausführungen hier abgedruckt ist. Sie enthält mit 439 Wörtern nur etwas weniger als 5% der für das Lexikon ausgewählten rund 10 000 wichtigeren Wörter (Fachsprachliches im engeren Sinne sowie Veraltetes wurde eliminiert) und spiegelt damit den Übernahmeprozeß getreulich wider. Denn es handelt sich hier bei nicht um lateinische Wörter aus früheren Phasen, die erst im Humanismus Eingang ins Deutsche gefunden haben, sondern allein um Neologismen. Diese waren schon im Mittellatein von stärkerem Einfluß gewesen: "Die beiden größten mittellateinischen Lexikon-Unternehmungen der Gegenwart, das *Mittellateinische Wörterbuch* und das *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum* kommen für den Wortschatz auf die erstaunliche Zahl von 45% Neologismen. Selbst wenn man berücksichtigt, daß dabei viele seltene Wörter und 'hapax legomena' sind, zeigt das eine überraschende Vitalität der lateinischen Wortbildung im Mittelalter.[6]

Richten wir freilich unseren Blick auf die vom Duden registrierten, als neulateinische klassifizierten Wörter, so zeigt sich zunächst einmal, daß ein Großteil des dokumentierten Wortmaterials Bildungen darstellt, die einem Eigennamen die Silbe '-ismus' resp. '-istisch' anhängen. Es begegnet hier eine recht bunte Familie: Unter dem Buchstaben P versammelt sich eine so bizarre Gruppe wie die folgenden elf Begriffe: Palladianismus-Pangermanis-

[4] Bach, 284.

[5] O. Anm. 1.

[6] Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im Mittelalter* 1, (Stuttgart, 1986), 29 Anm. 88 mit Verweis auf O. Prinz, Mittellateinische Wortneubildungen, ihre Entwicklungstendenzen und ihre Triebkräfte, *Philologus* 122 (1978): 249–75.

mus-Panslawismus-Parisismus-Parkinsonismus-Paulismus-Pelagianismus-Peronismus-Petrarkismus-Phänomenalismus-Protestantismus. Ähnlich skurril das Sammelsurium beim Buchstaben M mit folgenden zehn Lemmata: Macchiavellismus-Malthusianismus-Marinismus-Marxismus-Masochismus-Mendelismus-Mesmerismus-Molinismus-Moralismus-Morganismus. Es ist deutlich, daß wir hier-trotz der Absegnung durch die Duden-Redaktion—nur in sehr bedingtim Maße von 'Neulatein' zu reden berechtigt sind. In der Mehrzahl der Fälle handelt es sich ja um Eigennamen, die als Eponym für ein bestimmtes Phänomen gelten und dabei durch Anhängung der—ja ursprünglich griechischen—Endsilbe '-ismus' zu einem sogenannten 'neulateinischen' Wort avanciert sind. Nun hat es mittlerweile in der Forschung eine ganze Welle von '-ismus' -Literatur gegeben, von der hier vor allem der Beitrag Dornseiffs hervorgehoben sei.[7] Hier wird der griechische Hintergrund des Wortelementes klug kategorisiert und die deutsche Mode massiv moniert: "Es reißt bei uns immer mehr ein, daß Menschen, Handlungen politischer, literarischer, künstlerischer Art, Bilder, Musikstücke, Bücher, Naturvorgänge als Beleg oder Ausfluß irgend eines -ismus betrachtet werden. So zieht sich immer dichter und engmaschiger ein Koordinatensystem von -ismen zusammen, das uns von der Wirklichkeit und dem Leben trennt und vieles mit seinem starren Mechanismus erstickt."[8] Es bleibt zu beachten, daß Dornseiffs kräftige Kritik kulminiert im Begriff 'Mechanismus'; sie wird so selbst augenfälliges Opfer des zu Recht getadelten Vorgehens.

Man kann bei näherem Zusehen in der beigebrachten Sammlung von -Ismen eine gewisse Unausgewogenheit nicht leugnen. So ist z. B. der Masochismus registriert, es fehlt hingegen der Sadismus, während allerdings Sodomie eingeschlossen ist. Die Erklärung der scheinbaren Lücke liegt im Kategorisierungssystem des Duden: Während Sacher-Masoch mitsamt seiner Spezialität direkt unter Neulatein registriert ist, scheint der Marquis de Sade samt seiner Wortfamilie unter 'französisch' auf und findet so keinen Zugang zur neulateinischen Gruppe.

Lassen wir den Raum der 'Ismen hinter uns und richten den Blick auf das übrige aufgelistete Wortmaterial, so ist offenkundig, daß Fachsprachen stark vertreten sind, so wie es ja schon immer beim Eintreten lateinischer Wörter ins Deutsche der Fall gewesen war. Hier sind es neben der Medizin die Bereiche der Pflanzenkunde sowie der Chemie, die am gewichtigsten hervortreten. Das hat selbstverständlich mit den Kategorisierungs—und Systematisierungs-arbeiten der gelehrten Welt in den beiden vergangenen Jahrhunderten zu tun und mit der althergebrachten Tradition des Latein-

[7] Franz Dornseiff, DER-ISMUS, zuerst: *Sokrates* 7 (1919): 319–23, sowie *Die Wandlung* 3 (1948): 346ff.; am besten zugänglich in *Kleine Schriften* 2, Sprache und Sprechender (Leipzig, 1964): 318–29.

[8] Ibid., 327.

Gebrauchs in den Wissenschaften. Diese Tradition ist interessanterweise bis heute nicht erloschen und—wie umwegig auch immer—bei Astronauten und Transplantationen, bei Personal-Computern und Data-Banken zu konstatieren.

In gewissem Sinne ist dabei auch das Chronologie-Problem mit angesprochen. Ein Großteil der Wortbildungen im Anschluß an Personennamen geht ja auf Persönlichkeiten des 19. und des beginnenden 20. Jahrhunderts zurück, seien es Leninismus oder Stalinismus, Maoismus oder Castroismus u. dergl. m. Zwar ist der Macchiavellismus durch seinen Namenspatron der 2. Dekade des 16. Jahrhunderts verankert, doch ist die Bildung selbst ganz gewiß wesentlich jüngeren Datums. So gelangen wir zu dem Paradox, daß der Duden uns als neulateinisches Sprachgut im Deutschen hauptsächlich Bildungen—oder besser: Mißbildungen?—andient, die zu einer Spätzeit geformt sind, da das Neulatein selbst bereits weit zurückgetreten ist.

Das mag denn auch signifikant sein für das Ergebnis dieser kurzen Studie: Die vorliegende Übersicht zeigt, daß—zumindest in den Kategorien des führenden deutschen Sprachlexikons, eben der Duden-Redaktion—das Neulatein sich im deutschen Wortschatz abbildet hauptsächlich als Lieferant einerseits von -Ismen, andererseits von -meist naturwissenschaftlicher Fachterminologie. Das mag ein enttäuschendes Ergebnis sein, sowohl im quantitativen Bereich (5%!) wie auch qualitativ. Darum wird man als eigentliches Fazit festhalten müssen, daß es gilt, ergänzend zum Material und zu den Kategorien des Duden weitere Studien zu führen, welche die hier angeschnittenen Fragestellungen erneut aufrollen. Vielleicht sollte dabei nicht nur auf die Rolle des Neulateins im Deutschen geachtet werden, sondern auch auf seine Spuren in anderen europäischen Sprachen auf unserem Kontinent und über diesen hinaus.

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Adamsit
Adjutantur
adverbal
Advokatur
affektioniert
Affektivität
Afrikanist
Afrikanistik
Afzelia
Agentur
Akademismus
Akademist
Aktivitas
Alanin
Albizzie
Albumin
Albuminat
albuminös
Albumose
Alexandrit
Algonkium
Alkylation
Alkylen
alkylieren
Alkylierung
Alternanz
Alternator
Amateurismus
Americium
Amin
Aminierung
ammoniakalisch
Ammonit
Ammonium (nitrat)
Analogat
Andalusit
Andesin
Andesit
Angaria
Anglikanismus
anglisieren
Anglist
Anglistik
anglistisch
Anglizismus
animalisieren
Animalismus
Animismus
Animist
animistisch
Annalin
antediluvianisch
Antihistaminikum
Anus (praeternaturalis)
Appretur
Aragonit
Aralie
Araukarie
Archivalien
archivalisch
Archivar
archivarisch
archivieren
archivisch
Archivistik
Archontat
Aristotelismus
Arkansit
Arminianismus
Arnika
aromatisieren
assoziativ
Athanasianum
Attraktivität
Aubretie
Austenit
Austenitisierung
Austromarxismus
Austromarxist
austromarxistisch
Avitaminose
Babesien
Balloelektrizität
baritonal
Baritonist
Bauxit
Bavaria
Begonie
Bennettitee
Bentonit

Bergenie
Berkelium
(Berlinale)
Berolina
Berolinismus
Berylliose
Bignonie
Bilharzie
Bilharziose
Billbergie
Bimetallismus
Biotit
(Bonapartismus)
Borazol
Bornit
Borrelie
Borreliosen
Borussia
Boson
Boulangerit
Britizismus
Bromelie
Bronzit
Brucella
Brucellose
Brucin
Byronismus
Byzantinismus
Byzantinist
Byzantinistik
Byzantinologie
Cäcilianismus
Californium
Casiopeium
Castr(o)ismus
Catechine
Catlinit
Cattleya
Chloralismus
Chroman
Chromat
Cinchonin
Clarkia (/e)
Clivia
Clownismus
Cobaea
Colchium
Columbium
Couéismus
Cremor tartari
Cristobalit
Dahlie
Dalbergia
Daltonismus
damaszieren
Darwinismus
Darwinist
darwinistisch
Defensivität
Dekonzentration
Dekonzentrieren
Demantoid
Demineralisation
demineralisieren
denitrieren
Denitrifikation
denitrifizieren
dereierend
Desinfektion
Desinfektor
Desinfiziens
desinfizieren
Desinfizierung
Desinformation
Desintegration
Desintegrator
desintegrierend
Desintegrierung
Desoxydation
desoxydieren
Desoxyribose
Desoxyribonukleinsäure
Deutzie
Devon
devonisch
(Dezisionismus)
Dien
Dilettantismus
Diolefin
Doktrinarismus

Donarit
Donatismus
Donatist
Douglasie
dramatisieren
Dunit
Echeveria
(Egozentrik)
Einsteinium
Elzeviriana
entnazifizieren
Erbium
Erythea
Eschscholtzia
Essexit
Esterase
Euhemerismus
euhemeristisch
(extraperitoneal)
(extrapleural)
Faradisation
Fasziolose
Fatimiden
Fennosarmatia
fennosarmatisch
Fennoskandia
Fermion
Fermium
Fetischismus
Fetischist
fetischistisch
Feudalismus
feudalistisch
Feudalität
Feuilletonismus
Feuilletonist
Feuilletonistik
feuilletonistisch
Florentinum
Fordismus
Forsythie
Francium
Frisur
(frontal)
Funkie
Georgine
Gerbera
Gleditschie
Hortensie
Humoristikum
Illinium
Illit
Indium
Intensivum
Jiddist
Kaledonien
Kambrium
kambrisch
Kantala
Kobalt
Kolonialismus
Kolonialist
kolonialistisch
Kommandantur
Konfuzianer
konfuzianisch
Konfuzianismus
konfuzianistisch
Konzentrizität
(kopernikanisch)
Korporativismus
(Kosinus)
Kuratie
Labrador
Lamarchismus
Latimeria
Laurentia
lauretanisch
Lawrencium
Legitimismus
legitimistisch
Legitimist
Leishmania
Leishmaniose
Leninismus
Leninist
leninistisch
Lipsia
Littreitis
(Logarithmus)

Lobelie
(Lumpazivagabundus)
Lutetium
Macchiavellismus
Macchiavellist
macchiavellistisch
MacLeaya
Magnolie
Malepartus
Malthusianer
Malthusianismus
malthusianistisch
Maranta
Marinismus
Marinist
Marxismus
Marxist
marxistisch
Masochismus
Masochist
masochistisch
Mendelevium
Mendelismus
Mesmerismus
Moldavit
Molinismus
Monstera
Montbretie
Moralin
moralinsauer
Moralismus
Moralist
moralistisch
Morganismus
(Morphium)
Morphologie
(Natrium)
Nazismus
Nestorianer
Nestorianismus
(Nihilismus)
Nielsbohrium
Nizä(n)um
Nobelium
Nonius
Normativismus
Ordovizium
Palladianismus
Palladium
Pangermanismus
Panslawismus
Pargasit
Parisismus
Parkinsonismus
Paulismus
paulinisch
Paulownia
pauschal
Pauschal
pauschalieren
pauschalisieren
Pelagianer
Pelagianismus
Peronismus
Peronist
peronistisch
Perthit
Petrarkismus
Petrarkist
Phänomenalismus
Plagiator
plagiatorisch
planetarisch
Planetarium
Poinsettie
Polonium
Pontedrie
Protestantismus
Quassie
reinstallieren
Reizianum
Resorcin
Rhenium
Rhesus(affe)
Rickettsien
Rickettsiose
Robinie
Rudbeckia
Ruthenium
Saint-Simonismus

salisch
Salmonellen
Samarium
Sarmat
Sassolin
Saxophon
Saxophonist
Scandium
Schintoismus
Semipelagianismus
Semitist
Semistik
semitistisch
Shigelle
Silur
silurisch
Sinika
Sinia
Sivapithecus
Smithsonit
Societas Jesu
Sodomie
sodomisieren
Sodomit
sodomistisch
Sorbit
Sozinianer
Sparmannia
Spartakiade
Stalinismus
Stalinist
stalinistisch
Stapelie
Subsemitonium
Swertia
Sylvanit
Sylvin
Sylvit
Syphilis
Taborit
(Technica)
(Technicus)
(Teleskop)
Telekie
Terbium
Theatiner
Thomismus
Titoismus
Tradeskantie
(Transistor)
Trautonium
(Trichine)
Troostit
Trotzkismus
Uwarowit
Vallisneria
Variszit
Veronal
Veronika
Vesuvian
(Victorianismus)
(victorianisch)
Vivianit
Washingtonia
Wavellit
Websterit
Weigelie
Wellingtonia
Welwitschia
Wesleyaner
Wiklifit
Wollastonit
Wulfenit
Ytterbium
Zinckenit
Zinnie
Zionismus
Zionist
zionistisch
Zirkon
Zirkonium

Germain de Brie écrivain

MARIE-MADELEINE DE LA GARANDERIE

Mon propos est de revenir, sous un angle nouveau et complémentaire, à l'étude d'un auteur—*Germanus Brixius* ou Germain de Brie[1] (c. 1490–1538)—auquel j'avais jadis, au Colloque de Tours 1969, consacré une communication qui a été publiée non seulement dans les Actes de ce colloque (*Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia*, [Paris: Vrin, 1972], 359–79), mais aussi au Livre I de ma thèse *Christianisme et Lettres profanes* (Paris: Champion, 1976). Je renvoie donc les lecteurs à ce texte que je désignerai par CE. Je les renvoie également au vol. 3, part 2 des *Complete Works of St Thomas More* (Clarence Miller, ed. [Yale, 1984]) que je désignerai par CW. Ce livre rassemble opportunément tous les documents concernant la querelle de Brie et de More—soit le poème de Brie intitulé *Chordigera flagrans* ou *Chordigerae navis conflagratio*, ou encore, du nom de son héros, *Herveus*[2] (1513), les *Epigrammata* de More publiées à l'initiative d'Erasme en 1518, l'*Antimôrus* (1519) et enfin l'Epître à Brie d'avril 1520 que More devait finalement retirer de la vente—tous documents traduits en langue anglaise et accompagnés d'introductions et d'annotations extrêmement élaborées.

§ § §

Trop de témoignages nous interdisent d'en douter: Germain de Brie appar-

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[1] La forme français du nom a longtemps été douteuse. La forme *Brice* se trouve fréquemment dans les catalogues. Pierre Choque en effet, le héraut d'armes d'Anne de Bretagne qui mit en mauvais vers français la *Chordigera* déclare dans sa préface n'avoir fait que traduire "une traicté faict par scientifique personne Brice." Mais la forme *de Brye* figure dans plusieurs actes officiels. De plus au ch. 21 du *Quart Livre*, Panurge, dans l'effroi de la tempête rêve que puisse lui être érigé "quelque magnificque cénotaphe comme feist. . . . Germain de Brie à Hervé le nauchier breton." Et Rabelais savait de qui il parlait.

[2] Hervé de Portzmoguer ou de Primauget. Sur ce personnage et sur l'ensemble de la question de l'incendie de "la Cordelière," voir A. Jal, "Marie-la-Cordelière," in *Annales maritimes et coloniales*, 1844, 1–80 et 1845, 717–30.

tient à l'élite de l'humanisme français. Qu'il s'agisse de Jean Lascaris, de Jérôme Aléandre, d'Erasme ou de Guillaume Budé, de Jacques Sadolet ou des frères Du Bellay, tous s'accordent à vanter son exceptionnelle connaissance du grec et du latin, son érudition, ses talents de poète et de prosateur, l'élégance de son esprit raffiné, souple et divers. Or il n'est jusqu'à présent connu qu'indirectement et en quelque sorte "de profil." On sait qu'il fut le plus fidèle des amis français d'Erasme (c'était le thème de mon précédent article: "Un érasmien français, Germain de Brie"). Et si l'on sait aussi qu'il célébra en vers latins le capitaine breton qui mourut dans le double incendie de *la Cordelière* et de *la Régente*, c'est moins au poème lui-même qu'on s'est intéressé qu'au duel littéraire dont il fut l'origine et qui mit en émoi de 1519 à 1521 toute la "nation lettrée." Il s'agit désormais d'étudier Germain de Brie pour lui-même, c'est-à-dire de le lire.

Or il est déjà remarquable que la publication du dossier de la querelle avec Thomas More ait pu amener S. M. Foley à écrire (CW, 430): "His quarrel with More was celebrated, embarrassing, and regretted, because it involved not merely one prominent humanist, but two." Etudier Brie comme un *prominent humanist* reviendra en fait à rechercher sur quels critères se fondent, en ce premier XVIe siècle, l'importance d'un écrivain et, sinon sa gloire, du moins son éminente réputation. Le cas de Brie peut à cet égard être regardé comme exemplaire.

En effet sa réputation est strictement littéraire. Il n'a exercé aucune responsabilité importante ni dans l'Eglise ni dans l'Etat. Mais l'Eglise lui a de canonicat en canonicat, d'Albi et d'Auxerre à Notre-Dame de Paris (CE, 364), doucement et libéralement fait son nid. La cour l'a accueilli comme secrétaire de la reine, comme aumônier du roi. Il a mené—pieux épicurien[3]—une existence feutrée et raffinée: confortables maisons, riants jardins, table généreusement garnie ... [4] "Heureux Brie—lui écrit Erasme le 25 août 1525 (Allen, ep. 1597)—qui vis parmi les roses des muses et ne connais pas les épines des théologiens!" Effectivement il n'a connu les épines des théologiens ni en 1525, ni non plus aux heures plus graves encore de 1534–1535. Sa fine sensibilité a pu librement se complaire aux agréments et aux beautés de la nature champêtre, aux douceurs de l'amitié, aux joies pures de pieuses études (il fut, comme on sait, traducteur de saint Jean Chrysostome), et aux nobles exigences du métier d'écrivain.

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[3] En référence, il va de soi, au colloque *Epicureus* d'Erasme.

[4] Voir la lettre de Budé à Brie du 4 avril 1520 (G. B. O. O., 290, *Répertoire* de L. Delaruelle, p. 110, traduite par R. Galibois in *G. B., Les lettres grecques*, Sherbrooke, 1977 [il s'agit en fait d'une lettre latine]).

§ § §

La biographie du personnage ne nous fournit guère de matière. Aussi nous bornerons-nous à l'observer en une suite de "plans fixes."

Le premier se situe en Italie, à Venise, puis Rome et Padoue. Il nous montre une jeune homme (dix-huit ans environ) charmant et exceptionnellement doué. Il est en quelque sorte "sous l'aile" de Jean Lascaris, qui est pour lors—nous sommes en 1508—ambassadeur du roi de France à Venise. Originaire d'Auxerre,[5] Germain de Brie a étudié le droit à Orléans, où il a eu comme professeur le plus lettré des juristes, François Deloynes,[6] l'ami intime de Guillaume Budé, lui-même ami et tardif disciple de Jean Lascaris. C'est ainsi qu'avait dû prendre corps le projet de voyage en Italie. A Venise Brie fréquente assidûment les presses aldines et fait la connaissance d'Erasme qu'il célèbre dans trois poèmes—deux en grec et 115 hendécasyllabes latins—qui mériteront de figurer au fronton de l'édition aldine des *Adagia*. Plus tard, à Padoue où il s'est perfectionné en grec grâce aux leçons de Marc Musurus, il rencontre Erasme encore (CE, 361–62). Telles furent donc pour Germain de Brie, dans l'Italie la mieux hellénisée, les influences décisives auxquelles il restera fidèle sa vie entière: il sera helléniste, il sera poète, et toujours érasmien.

§ § §

Le deuxième tableau nous transporte en France, sans que nous connaissions les circonstances du retour. Nous savons seulement que Brie, dans l'intervalle, est entré dans la carrière ecclésiastique au service de Louis d'Amboise, évêque d'Albi et neveu du très puissant ministre Georges d'Amboise. Toutefois, Louis d'Amboise étant mort en 1510 (CE, 362–63), ce fut sous d'autres protecteurs, le chancelier Jean de Ganay jusqu'en 1512, puis Anne de Bretagne jusqu'en 1514, puis le roi lui-même, qu'il s'intègre à la cour et à la "république des lettres." C'est le temps où l'orléanais Nicolas Bérault[7] déploie à Paris une prodigieuse activité d'éditeur et de professeur. C'est le temps où Guillaume Budé, déjà vénéré pour ses *Annotations aux Pandectes*, va, à l'aube du règne d'un jeune roi dont on attend précisément le renouveau des lettres, s'imposer comme le champion de la France dans la compétition savante entre les nations.

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[5] D'une famille apparemment aisée et pourvue de relations. Lebeuf signale dans ses *Mémoires d'Auxerre* (II, 502) qu'un de ses parents était dit, dans un acte du temps, *nobilissimus adulescens*; ce qui n'implique pas noblesse, mais notoriété.

[6] Sur Deloynes, voir *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s. v. Son amitié avec Budé est proclamée en toutes occasions par celui-ci, et en particulier à la fin du *De asse*. Voir aussi *Corr. Erasme-Budé*, 52–53 et passim. Le poème "Deloinus" que nous commentons ici est une des principales sources de sa biographie.

[7] Sur Bérault voir *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v.

Brie devient vite l'ami des plus savants. Il jouit alors de l'hospitalité presque quotidienne[8] de la famille de François Deloynes. L'ancien professeur de droit civil est alors membre du Parlement de Paris (il sera en 1522 premier président aux Enquêtes). Ce haut magistrat est aussi un homme aimable, un esprit brillant, très cultivé et sans doute poète à ses heures. Autour de lui, le petit cercle de l'humanisme parisien, Budé, Bérault, Ruzé. Auprès de lui une épouse affable, vertueuse et cultivée, et trois filles dont la plus jeune est une enfant délicieuse et mutine et qui porte un nom de fleur (*cui anthos nomen dedit*). Brie est sous le charme. Il l'exprime, vers 1511,[9] dans un poème (240 hendécasyllabes) qu'il ne publia pas à l'époque, mais qui dut circuler dans le cercle des amis puisque Salmon Macrin[10] y fera allusion en 1519 dans la pièce qui sert d'avant-propos à l'*Antimôrus*.[11] Or ce poème à Deloynes—qui sera publié en 1520 sous le titre "*Deloinus*"—est le chant du bonheur: "Que tu es heureux, Deloynes—tel est le leit-motiv—, que tu es heureux d'avoir une si merveilleuse enfant, une épouse si bien accordée à toi-même, de tels amis, de si hautes fonctions, et de tels dons. . . ." Brie chez Deloynes, c'est un peu Erasme chez Thomas More à Chelsea!

Nous retiendrons surtout le passage qui concerne la petite fille:

> Felix prole pia venustulaque
> Nata praecipue minore, nomen
> Anthos cui dedit; ore quae venusto
> Lingua blandula, blesula parentum
> Mentes exhilarat, leuatque & omnem

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[8] Cf. la lettre de Brie à Erasme du 6 avril 1517 (Allen, 567, ligne 209).

[9] Cette datation nous est donnée par la préface de recueil de 1520: Brie était encore au service du chancelier de Ganay († 1513).

[10] Sur Macrin, voir V. M. Bourilly, *G. du Bellay* (Paris, 1905), 116–18; McFarlane, "J. S. Macrin," in *BHR* 21–22 (1959–60); *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v.; et G. Soubeille, éd. du *Livre des Epithalames* et des *Odes* (Toulouse, 1978).

[11] Cette pièce est reproduite par CW, 482. Voici les vers qui contiennent cette allusion:

> Sic castis tibi blandiens labellis
> Chloris basia tot ferat, sereno
> Clara quot numerantur astra coelo,
> Chloris de numero puellularum
> Una illustrius adsecuta nomen
> Tuis hendecasyllabis disertis. (v. 7–12)

Ils appellent deux remarques:

1° Il s'agit bien—comme cela ressort du poème de Brie—d'une enfant (*puellula*) et la traduction anglaise de CW, "maiden," tend à suggérer une interprétation erronée.

2° Le texte utilisé par CW, celui de la Beinecke Library à Yale, attribue à l'enfant le nom de Chloris. L'exemplaire de la Bibl. Mazarine porte "Floris"; toutefois l'absence du v. 14 dans ce texte incline à penser qu'il est le moins bon. D'autrepart Floris n'existe pas comme nominatif. On peut objecter d'un autre côté que Chloris n'est pas un prénom "chrétien." Faute de pièce d'état-civil qui permettrait de trancher, on peut penser que *Chloris* (qui transpose l'*anthos* du poème de Brie) n'a qu'une valeur symbolique et que la petite fille pouvait tout aussi bien s'appeler Marguerite ou Rose.

Domo tristitiam procul repellit.
Adfert laetitiam, fouetque pacem,
Miscet gaudia, liberosque risus,
Miscet blanditias, iocos, amores.
Quam circum illecebrae elegantiæque
Lusus, ludicra, fabulae, Iepores,
Et circum Venus, & Cupido circum,
Et circum Charis, & Melissa circum
Hyblaeo fragrat, atticoque rore.
Spargit lilia, spargit & ligustra.
Spirat cinnama, spirat ac amoma.
Quae mi suauia saepe, saepe surdos
Amplexus geminans, dedit roganti,
Et nostris, leue pondus, e lacertis
Arridens pueriliter, pependit,
Et curas animi leuauit omneis.
Risuque ac roseis decens labellis.

On ne saurait être insensible à la grâce de ces vers, à l'usage heureux des répétitions et des allitérations (*blandula / blesula*, *lusus / ludicra*, *risu / roseis*). Sensualité du regard, attention aigue aux gestes. Sensibilité aux parfums: lys, troènes, cinname, amome ... Cette sensualité est plus flagrante quelques vers plus loin quand le poète présage pour la fillette un heureux mariage:

Et semper tibi Cypris e capillis
Semper roridulo e sinu, e papillis,
Semper roscidulisque de labellis,
Semper de genulis, ocellulisque,
Adflet idalios, syrosque odores,
Adflet ambrosiamque, balsamumque.

Voilà une poème au style "doux-coulant" qui, écrit en français, eût trouvé place auprès d'oeuvres de Baïf, de Belleau, et de Ronsard dans une anthologie poétique.

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Toutefois, à cette époque, ce n'est pas par ces sortes de grâces que Brie songeait à apprivoiser la gloire. Il entendait se manifester sur un plus haut registre. Son ambition était virgilienne. Bien d'autres que lui ont connu, ainsi, la "tentation épique": celle de célébrer en un long poème quelque héros—fondateur ou celle, moins ambitieuse, de célébrer un événement contemporain. Le combat de la *Cordelière* et de la *Régente* offrait à Brie l'occasion et de plaire à sa protectrice Anne de Bretagne, et d'entrer "en littérature." La *Chordigera* (Paris: Bade, 15 janvier 1513) est, comme tel poème de la *Légende*

des Siècles, une courte épopée: 354 hexamètres, suivis d'une épitaphe (cinq distiques) pour le cénotaphe du héros. Et c'est une oeuvre d'imitation. Mais ceci n'appelle nullement la critique. Le poète, à l'époque, est avant tout un humaniste, un *poeta doctus*. Quant à la vérité historique (que l'anglais More invoquera avec indignation contre Brie), elle n'a, pour peu que l'on se réfère aux règles du genre, rien à voir à l'affaire. Car seuls importent, dans ce récit de mer et de feu, de bravoure et de mort, la grandeur de la geste, la noblesse du héros, l'éloquence des discours, la tension, et la puissance évocatrice du récit.

Que l'on prenne la peine de lire ou, mieux, d'écouter ce texte, et l'on sera vite frappé par la fermeté du style, sa rapidité et son ampleur. Brie a le sens du mouvement, de l'espace et de la lumière. Ainsi, aux v. 234–38, l'embrasement des deux navires fait resplendir les rivages:

> Surgit in immensum geminatis ignibus atrox
> Flamma rogum, abrumpens nubes, rapidoque volatu
> Aethera conscendit. Collucent littora late, et
> Fulgorem emittunt quanquam longinqua coruscum.
> Et rutilans splendore nouo coelum undique fulget.

Le succès du poème à la cour est attesté par la promptitude avec laquelle la reine prit soin de le faire traduire: traduction manuscrite sur parchemin hâtivement enluminé,[12] destinée aux non-latinistes qui étaient évidemment le plus grand nombre. Au reste, succès presque sans lendemain: la mort de la reine le 9 janvier 1514 retirait à Brie le profit immédiat de la gloire qu'il avait convoitée. Et il devait en perdre à lointaine échéance le profit devant la postérité, puisque le XIXe siècle ne découvrira son poème qu'à rebours en quelque sorte, à partir de la très maladroite traduction de Pierre Choque et dans l'ignorance presque totale où l'on était alors du contexte où avait pu éclore la poésie néo-latine. Mais surtout il devait recevoir—à retardement, en 1518—la douche glacée des *Epigrammata* de More. Ne revenons pas sur cette querelle bien connue et sur l'*Antimôrus*, poème satirique qui ne grandit pas son auteur.

Toutefois il y a autre chose dans l'*Antimôrus* que l'humeur agressive et chagrine d'un "bel esprit" dont l'amour-propre est offensé. Brie y affirme des principes qui méritent notre attention, car ils sont déjà ceux de l'âge classique. D'abord un purisme, certes exacerbé et quelque peu hargneux, mais qui dénote un grand respect et une remarquable connaissance des modèles anciens. D'autre part—en réponse aux moqueries de More—une théorie de l'imitation que l'on retrouvera notamment dans les préfaces de Corneille et de Racine. En particulier la revendication du droit (pourvu que soit respectée la vraisemblance) à l'inexactitude historique. Car sans une telle liberté il n'y aurait point de poésie:

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[12] Voir A. Jal, 19–20.

Ecquid Vergilius, vel vatum gloria Homerus
Troianae historiae seruat ubique fidem?
Num quae de Aeneae Didusque ardoribus ille
Luserit, esse putas omnia veridica?
Hic quoque dum errores varios contingit Ulyssei,
Obligat historica num sua scripta fide?
Si nescis, bone vir, sua sunt figmenta poetis,
Quae si sustuleris, nulla poesis erit. (v. 132–39)

On voit combien la querelle a rendu l'écrivain plus conscient de son esthétique.[13]

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Mais surtout elle a été pour lui une stimulation. Car il ne se borna pas à riposter. Il voulut donner des marques de sa valeur. Sans perdre de temps il donna aux presses (Paris: Nicolas de la Barre, 2 juin 1520) des poèmes qui lui étaient chers à plus d'un titre, mais qu'il n'avait pas jugé bon de publier jusque là. Oeuvres de jeunesse, poèmes de l'amitié. D'abord l'*Erasmus*: les 115 hendécasyllabes qui en 1508 avaient célébré le génie d'Erasme et l'éveil des "nations du nord" à l'éloquence et à la beauté. (La préface du recueil faisait habilement observer que si More avait pu trouver mauvais que Brie eût glorifié Hervé, il ne pourrait trouver mauvais un éloge de son ami Erasme.) Puis le *Deloinus*, les 240 hendécasyllabes écrits huit ou neuf ans plus tôt et dont nous avons évoqué la ferveur et la grâce.

Cette plaquette de poésie aux accents personnels révélait mieux sans doute les dons poétiques de Germain de Brie que n'avait su le faire son poème épique. Il est remarquable en tous cas que ce soit un Anglais, John Leland, chapelain et bibliothécaire d'Henri VIII, qui ait pu, dans ses *Collectanea* (que je cite ici d'après CW, 430), écrire "Brixius est nivei candoris plenus" et aussi "Brixius aequavit Morum mellito carmine."

Bientôt pourtant, à la mort de François Deloynes, cette poésie "de neige et de miel" allait prendre le deuil. Deloynes dut mourir le 1er ou le 2 juillet 1524. Le 4 juillet Brie adresse à Benoît Théocrène et à Salmon Macrin, "amicis optimis," une lettre qui est un cri de douleur: "me ipsum nullo prorsus res solari potest, tam alte animo meo hic adactus est." Elle accompagne l'envoi de poésies écrites sous le choc même de l'événement ("tumultuarie in tanta doloris acerbitate"). Le recueil sortira des presses de Pierre Vidoue au mois de septembre. Il comprend une élégie de 189 distiques, suivie de huit épitaphes ou *tumuli*: trois pour le même Deloynes, mais aussi deux pour Marc Musurus (mort à Rome en 1517) et trois—deux en latin, une en grec—pour Christophe de Longueil, dont Brie avait en 1520 préfacé

[13] Sur l'importance de cet aspect dans la querelle More/Brie, voir CW, 575–88.

les *Perduellionis rei defensiones duae.*[14] Rapprochement significatif: le professeur de droit et l'ami des années parisiennes, le professeur de grec des années italiennes, et Longueil, le héros emblématique de l'humanisme transalpin, si cher aux lettrés pour son destin singulier, sa quête de perfection et sa mort prématurée à Padoue en 1522. Enfin un dernier poème (126 hendécasyllabes), adressé à Claude et François Robertet,[15] les fils du célèbre Trésorier de France, pour les encourager à l'étude, évoquait l'amitié de leur père avec Jean Lascaris, "ille pater elegantiarum atque idem pater eruditionum" qui avait été pour Brie lui-même "alumnus in juventa quique idem institutor."

A l'exception de cette dernière pièce le recueil de 1524 était donc consacré à la déploration funèbre. C'était là un genre auquel Brie s'était exercé depuis longtemps, mais de façon plus conventionelle. On se souvient que la *Chordigera* s'achevait par un "Cénotaphe d'Hervé." D'autre part, à la mort d'Anne de Bretagne en 1514, Brie avait offert au roi et à la cour douze Epitaphes latines.[16] Enfin le recueil de 1520 faisait suivre l'*Erasmus* et le *Deloinus* d'une épitaphe pour l'avocat Antoine Disomme. Toutefois les pièces de 1524 sont d'une autre veine; elles ne sont pas de simples exercices de style; elles condensent, enchassés dans leur forme brève et contraignante, les témoignages d'une authentique émotion. Je me bornerai à citer ici une de celles consacrées à Musurus:

Amisso imperio per te retinebat honorem
  Viresque eloquii Graecia, Marce, sui.
Per te iterum sibi sperabat Marci Ciceronis
  Dicendi summum Martia Roma decus.
Roma tuum coram eloquium admirata, tuaeque
  Conscia doctrinae, conscia et ingenii.
Ah dolor, extremam traxit misera illa ruinam,
  Spe vero haec cecidit te moriente sua.

Ces vers peuvent faire songer à la fermeté et au bel équilibre de certaines pièces des *Antiquités de Rome.*

§ § §

Arrêtons-nous maintenant en 1536 et tentons d'embrasser la dernière partie de la vie de Germain de Brie. Elle a le plus souvent pour scène son agréable

[14] Voir E. V. Telle, *L'"Erasmianus" d'Etienne Dolet* (Genève, 1974), notamment la page 409, pleine d'indications précieuses sur l'environnement littéraire de Brie.

[15] Théocrène, qui allait en 1524 devenir précepteur des "enfants de France," veillait alors, secondé par Macrin, sur l'éducation des Robertet. Budé y prenait aussi grand intérêt (seize lettres dans sa correspondance leur sont adressées).

[16] Voir mon essai "Les Epitaphes latines d'Anne de Bretagne par G. de B," dans *Annales de Bretagne*, 74:3,377–96.

maison de campagne de Gentilly (quoique nous puissions, comme chanoine de Notre-Dame, le trouver à Paris, ou comme aumônier du roi, dans les successives résidences de la cour, ou encore à Notre-Dame de Brétencourt dont il est prieur). Années studieuses: Brie est entré dans l'entreprise érasmienne de traduction de l'oeuvre de saint Jean Chrysostome. La traduction—il importe de le rappeller—est à l'époque un genre littéraire à part entière et rien n'est plus noble ni plus utile que la traduction du grec en latin. Brie est un excellent traducteur: Erasme en témoigne dans sa lettre au roi Jean de Portugal (Allen, 1800, ligne 94). L'immersion dans les textes de Chrysostome a pu fortifier la piété[17] de notre chanoine; elle a développé son esprit critique à l'égard de l'Eglise de son temps: quelques vers en mètre phalécien, dédiés à Laurent Mégret et fustigeant les "mauvais bergers qui non seulement laissent les loups dévorer leurs brebis, mais sont eux-mêmes des loups," accompagnent son édition du *De sacerdotio*. Elle ne l'empêche pas de goûter—pieux esthète—les charmes de la nature champêtre et les agréments d'un mode de vie convivial et raffiné. Elle ne l'empêche pas non plus de prendre soin de sa gloire.

Toutefois, ce soin, c'est moins à la poésie, désormais, qu'il le confie qu'à la belle prose de ses traductions et surtout peut-être à ses belles épîtres. Car l'épître—ce genre dont la fonction est essentielle à l'époque puisqu'il ne se borne pas à diffuser l'information et la pensée, mais fait rejaillir sur les auteurs la notoriété des destinataires—convient particulièrement par sa brièveté à des écrivains peu abondants, mais orfèvres en la matière. Tel est Germain de Brie. Jérôme Aléandre, dans sa préface à la *Chordigera*, avait donné autant de louanges à l'épître dédicatoire qu'au poème lui-même, saluant Brie non seulement comme un nouveau Virgile, mais comme un nouveau Cicéron. En mars 1522 deux lettres grecques de Brie avaient été publiées dans les *Epistolae Guglielmi Budaei Posteriores*.[18] L'affaire de l'*Antimôrus* en 1519, puis celle du *Ciceronianus* en 1528 avaient associé des épîtres d'Erasme et des épîtres de Brie. Et l'on sait l'intérêt que présente la correspondance Brie-Erasme durant ce qu'on pourrait à bon droit appeler "les années-Chrysostome" (CE, 369–74). Mais je voudrais insister ici sur une publication qui, tant par son organisation que par son contenu, éclaire particulièrement bien la personnalité et les visées littéraires de notre auteur. Il s'agit de huit lettres suivies de quelques poèmes. Mais le titre du recueil est à lui seul un langage et dénote un projet démonstratif et décoratif:

> Germani Brixii altissiodorensis eleemosynarii regii gratulatoriae quatuor ad totidem viros clarissimos,
> Ejusdem epistolae quatuor ad totidem viros doctissimos,

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[17] Influencée sans doute par celle d'Erasme dont il lit les *Paraphrases* (Allen, ep. 1117). Voir aussi sa correspondance avec Budé en 1520–21, concernant le *prédicateur* Fourmont, et aussi la pratique du carême (G. B., *Lettres grecques*, trad. G. Lavoie [Sherbrooke, 1978]).

[18] Lavoie, 67 et 72.

Ejusdem versus aliquot ad Francescum Galliarum regem. (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1531)[19]

Donc quatre lettres de félicitations sont adressées par l'aumônier du roi à quatre personnages illustres. (Je m'attarderai un peu plus sur les deux premières qui sont, en vérité, des morceaux d'anthologie.) Les destinataires sont:

1° Le cardinal Antoine Duprat, chancelier de France, archevêque de Sens, évêque d'Albi et primat de Gaules. Rien de plus illustre—nous est-il dit—que ce personnage que son autorité place au rang des héros et des dieux. Mais c'est précisément le rôle d'un dieu que de se porter au secours des mortels. Or Duprat a su arracher le roi des mains de ses ennemis et rendre la liberté et la paix à la patrie. Il faut féliciter Louise de Savoie de lui avoir conféré la charge de chancelier. Brie lui-même serait ingrat s'il ne manifestait pas son admiration et sa reconnaissance. § La lettre est complétée par huit distiques de style maniériste: le soleil qui s'était caché se mit soudain à briller à l'entrée du chancelier dans Paris: "Desine mirari, phas est ut olympica terrae Nonnunquam assurgant numina numinibus."

2° François de Tournon, qui vient d'obtenir le chapeau de cardinal, juste récompense pour les négociations qu'il a menées pour le rétablissement de la paix. En fait il n'est pas de plus grande récompense que la gloire. Elle console de la brièveté de la vie. Plus que les triomphes, les statues, les monuments, ce sont les coeurs des hommes qui gardent la mémoire des bienfaits. Si la piété chrétienne l'autorisait, François de Tournon devrait être honoré comme un dieu. Mais c'est Dieu lui-même qui a inspiré à Louise de Savoie le dessein de lui faire conférer la dignité de cardinal. Brie aspire pourtant au moment où, délivré de ses tâches politiques, Tournon pourra revenir et aux études et au mécénat.

3° Gabriel Montaigu, évêque de Tarbes, qui vient d'être élevé à la dignité de cardinal.

4° Georges d'Armagnac, évêque de Rodez. Brie le félicite de sa faveur au près de la reine de Navarre et fait l'éloge de cette princesse lettrée et protectrice des lettres.

Les quatre lettres suivantes ont pour destinataires très savants:

1° Erasme. C'est l'ép. Allen, 2405, du 8 novembre 1530. La première partie est un éloge dithyrambique du cardinal Augustin Trivulce. La seconde—sorte de post-scriptum—répond à trois lettres d'Erasme que Brie vient de recevoir et dresse l'état présent de la traduction de Chrysostome, traduction pour laquelle François Ier a manifesté à Brie son intérêt et ses encouragements.

[19] La date de 1530, qui a été adoptée par Allen (2:80), est celle qui figure sur le manuscrit de Leipzig. Le recueil imprimé par C. Wechel porte 1531.

2° Jérôme Vida. Description d'une scène de cour dont les personnages ont été le roi, François de Tournon et Jacques Colin; on y a fait l'éloge de Vida.
3° Jacques Sadolet. Brie qui n'a fait que l'apercevoir jadis à Rome exprime son vif désir de le rencontrer maintenant qu'il habite la France.
4° Lazare de Baïf. Félicitations et encouragements pour son ambassade à Venise.

A ce double bouquet d'épîtres sont joints—pour que l'on n'ait garde d'oublier que l'auteur est un poète—quelques vers: une pièce de vingt-neuf hexamètres et une dizaine d'épigrammes. Poésie de cour: les épigrammes célèbrent une statue de Vénus récemment offerte à François Ier. Les hexamètres méritent de retenir l'attention à la fois par le charme de leur style Renaissance et par leur référence au "lieu royal" par excellence, Fontainebleau et sa "fontaine de belle eau" qui attire désormais sur ses bords fleuris et parfumés non seulement Charites, Napées, Dryades, et Néréides échappées de leurs grottes marines, mais les grands de ce monde ("magni heroes magnique proceres") séduits par l'air pur, les hautes forêts et les plaisirs de la chasse. Certains vers semblent commenter quelque peinture de Botticelli:

> Quin etiam et cultae per prata hortosque Napeae
> Discursant, violasque et candida lilia carpunt.
> Auratos passae per eburnea colla capillos.
> Nec non et Charites adsunt, et floribus aureos
> Exornant variis crines, miscentque amarantho
> Gramina narcissi, et narcisso gramina tymbrae.

En 1535 sortiront des presses d'Antoine Augereau deux belles épîtres encore, l'une (de Brétencourt le 28 janvier 1535) est une nouvelle lettre de félicitations au cardinal de Tournon, l'autre (de Paris, le 2 mars 1534) est un des plus jolis textes que Brie nous ait laissés. Elle évoque, portée par une citation de Pline le Jeune, les charmes du domaine de Gentilly, tout proche de celui de du Bellay (aussi est-ce un plaisir pour les amis que de passer "ab hortulis meis Diogenianis ad tuos illos vere Sallustianos hortos"). Et Brie se prend à rêver d'une vie champêtre et studieuse qui serait, en somme, comme l'un des beaux-arts. Une dernière épître enfin (de Paris, le 29 septembre 1536), destinée à Guillaume du Bellay, paraîtra, suivie de trois épitaphes, dans le *Tombeau d'Erasme*. Elle est en effet presque entièrement consacrée à la déploration et à la célébration du prince des humanistes. La vie littéraire de Brie s'achève, comme elle avait commencé, par un hommage à Erasme.

Ainsi Brie aura édifié sa propre statue en érigeant celle des autres. Car le genre encomiastique est un art de statuaire (que l'on songe aux *Hymnes* de Ronsard). Si la statue est belle, peu importe le modèle, peu importent les motivations de l'artiste, reste la statue. Or chez Brie elle n'est pas froide, elle s'anime, tant est grande la familiarité entre l'auteur et son modèle ou—dans le cas de l'épître—son destinataire. Car le cardinal, l'ambassadeur, le

gouverneur de Piémont, le président aux Enquêtes sont des humanistes. Et l'on est entre soi. Mais aussi quel art subtil, quelle élégance morale ne faut-il pas pour s'adresser à un très grand personnage surchargé de responsabilités sans pourtant se rendre importun ou indiscret! C'est que là aussi on est entre soi.

Car l'on ne saurait imaginer le "portrait de groupe" de l'humanisme français sans Germain de Brie. Certes la postérité pourra retenir de préférence les noms d'esprits hors mesure, inventeurs de paradoxes, d'utopies ou de vastes desseins. Brie, lui, n'est qu'un humaniste. Brie n'est qu'un écrivain. Ce qui à l'époque n'implique pas tant une "manière," une "griffe" originale, qu'un fini, une perfection *ad unguem*. Or, qu'il s'agisse d'éplucher les *Epigrammes* de More ou de traduire saint Jean Chrysostome, nous avons vu combien Brie est perfectionniste. Pour sa perfection il eût été en d'autres temps, sans problème, élu à l'Académie Française. Il est grand temps—pour la petite fille au nom de fleur, pour les jardins de Gentilly ou les eaux de Fontainebleau, et aussi pour les monuments de prose ou de vers élevés à ses héros—que nous le fassions rentrer à l'"Académie néo-latine." C'était le but de cet exposé.

Batz-sur-mer

The Use of Learning

PER LANDGREN

Background

The classical heritage resulted in a European republic of letters, which survived despite the formation of nation-states. As long as Latin, the *lingua eruditorum vernacula* was preferred to the different mother tongues as the language of learning, the learned world, was to a great extent, uniform in nature. This common learned culture is, I assume, a source of comfort and pleasure to all of us. It is a great aid in our cross-national and sometimes parallel studies. Trends, philosophies, educational policies, etc., turn up in our different countries with perhaps only short time lags, and comparative studies and mutual understanding are, of course, facilitated.

In the early seventeenth century, Sweden rose to a position of great power in Europe. The need for well-educated and eloquent official administrators and ambassadors soon became urgent. The reign of Gustavus I during the Reformation, with his anti-church policy, had been disastrous for the sole university of Sweden, in Uppsala, and for the clerical schools in the different dioceses. However, with the reforms of his grandson Gustavus II Adolphus in the 1620s, learning and education were given priority.

The first chancellor of Uppsala University was the baron Johan Skytte.[1] He had spent a whole decade on the Continent traveling and studying at different universities. For instance, he earned a masters degree at the University of Marburg and was knighted by James I of England, where it is said that he made a great impression on the king with his eloquent Latin.[2] Skytte was an important politician in the circles around Gustavus II Adolphus. Among other things, he became well known in Sweden for his adher-

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[1] Johan Skytte, 1577–1645.

[2] Skytte functioned as Swedish ambassador to England in 1604, 1606, 1610, 1617, and 1635; to the Low Countries in 1610, 1617, 1635, and 1640; to Denmark in 1615, 1617, 1619, 1635, and 1645; to the Hanse in 1620 and to France in 1629.

ence to the ideas of the French reformed philosopher, Pierre de la Ramée or Petrus Ramus. Ramus's educational program stressed the social use and utility of academic studies and he was, accordingly, highly critical of Scholasticism and Aristotelianism. During a visit to the Sorbonne, Skytte is said to have accused the university staff of participating in the murder of Ramus in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572, and was forced to flee headlong after his foolhardy accusation.

When Skytte began to function as chancellor in 1622, he personally founded a unique chair in Eloquence and Political Science. This combination emphasized the importance of skilled Latin oratory in international politics and Skytte's own determination to make use of learning. This determination is also clear from the early constitutions of the university, which Skytte helped to write, and which were confirmed by the king in 1626. Chapter XIIX *De Lectionibus* states that professors, particularly in philosophy, shall present their subjects to their disciples clearly and with perspicuity, avoiding all perplexities, metaphysical speculations, intricacies and subtleties of the Scholastics. In teaching they shall adhere accurately to the order and method of Socrates or Ramus and never injudiciously deviate from them.[3] It says specifically that professors of logic shall teach the logic of Ramus and avoid wearying the young students with the complicated disputations and numerous dictations of the Scholastics.[4]

The Skyttean chair soon acquired high status even outside Sweden and the first five professors were successively and carefully chosen from continental Europe by the first patron, and later by his descendants. There was the former professor of Rhetoric at Rostock University, Johannes Simonius; and Johannes Loccenius, who had earned his doctor's degree in jurisprudence at Leiden. From Strasbourg came proponents of political humanism who stressed the political use of humanistic studies of antiquity, including Johannes Schefferus, Johann Freinshemius and Elias Obrecht. All three were followers of the Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius.[5] They all assumed important positions in the intellectual history of Sweden.

On November 14, 1698, Charles XII confirmed the first offer of this most prestigious chair to a Swede. His name was Johan Upmarck, later

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[3] C. Annerstedt, *Upsala universitets historia* (Uppsala, 1877–1909). Appendix I "Handlingar 1477–1654," 276, Caput XIIX. De Lectionibus, In Genere, IV "Professores, inprimisque Philosophiae, disciplinas suas clare et perspicue sine omnibus prorsus Scholasticorum perplexitatibus metaphysicisque speculationibus, tricis et subtilitatibus juventuti proponent, inque ijs tradendis ordinem et methodum Socraticam seu Rameam accurate tenebunt, nec a rebus ipsis temere umquam recedent."

[4] Ibid., 280 in specie, IV. Philosophorum, IX. "Logices Professor Rami Logicam enarrabit, ubi cavebit perplexis scholasticorum disputationibus multisque dictatis juventutem fatigare."

[5] Gerhard Oestreich, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius* (1547–1606). *Der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung* (Göttingen, 1989), 195ff. and *Neostoicism and the early modern state* (Cambridge, 1982), 109ff.

raised to the nobility as Rosenadler.[6] Two German scholars had also competed for the professorship. However, the recently crowned king decided the appointment himself, saying Upmarck was "legally summoned and ought not to step down for a foreigner and a German, who does not always understand more than others."[7] The decision was, I believe, quite important for the academic intellectual self-confidence of the University at Uppsala. According to a former professor of learned history and ideas at Uppsala, Sten Lindroth, Latin eloquence during Sweden's period of great power was at its most exuberant with Upmarck and a few others.[8] Johan Upmarck made his inaugural speech on 4 May, 1699, in the lecture hall at Gustavianum in Uppsala.

Form

The autograph of Upmarck's highly rhetorical *Oratis auspicalis* which I presume he learned by heart in the Ciceronian manner, is still preserved at the university library, Carolina Rediviva. Below I present some of the background, form and content of the oration. My paper is based upon my own forthcoming edition, translation and commentary. My title *The Use of Learning* may be seen as a summary of the educational policy dominating this important chapter of Swedish intellectual history. In the manuscript, which is twenty-two pages long and which I have divided into 114 paragraphs, the author left readable cancellations and additions, which sometimes show his rhetorical reflections. My ambition has been to establish the text in its final form on the day of its delivery.

I suggest that the genre of the oration is a certain kind of mixture between the academic genre of inaugural speeches and the *genus demonstrativum* with its classical roots. This suggestion is founded upon the fact that the oration is, to a large degree, panegyric. The objective, or the *inventio* if you like, of the eulogies which the professor and his disciples were to perform, was firmly stated by Skytte himself in the statutes of the chair. Firstly, God Almighty should be honored in monthly orations. Secondly, the royal family should be praised, and thirdly—and here he clearly did not hesitate for a moment—he demanded that the professor eulogize the *primus fundator*, i.e., Skytte himself, his family and the current patron, in an annual oration.

The Skyttean professor was officially forced to swear to follow these statutes. Furthermore, Skytte wrote that he wished all the curses, calamities and misfortunes reserved in Holy Scripture for children who disobey their parents to fall upon all who did not follow the statutes. And one day, Skytte

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[6] Johan Upmarck, 1664–1743.

[7] C. Annerstedt, op. cit. vol. II, (Uppsala 1908–9), 342.

[8] Sten Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria. Stormaktstiden* (Stockholm, 1975), 197.

wrote, "the transgressor will have to explain himself to me before the severe judgement of God."[9] This special oath which the Skyttean professor had to swear in addition to the one for ordinary professors, did of course bind him to the previously mentioned educational program of Ramus. However, the men behind the second confirmed edition of the university constitutions from 1655 deleted all references to Ramus.

Content

The rhetorical disposition of the oration is the ordinary one of this *genus*: *exordium* (paragraphs 1–20), *narratio* (paragraphs 21–99) and *peroratio* (paragraphs 100–111). The *genus elocutionis* that the orator has chosen is the *genus grande*. His Latin is exuberant and quite pure, but not Ciceronian. For instance he uses archaisms like *crepusculum*, which means "twilight" (paragraph 2) and *lessus*, which means "funeral lamentation"(paragraph 21). Neo-Latin designations also occur, such as *Areopagus* for *Areo-pagus* as two different words or *Areo-iudicium* (paragraph 14) as two different words as well, which Krebs presents as the purist's choice of words,[10] and *Hellas* for *Graecia* (paragraph 22) which Krebs also recommends.[11] Upmarck is, on the other hand, rather polemical against the purists. But let me flesh out this disposition with the ideas Upmarck wanted to express.

The opening of the oration (paragraph 1) is an elevated salute to the audience presented in a hierarchical order from the archbishop and vice-chancellor down to the students of the commoner estates. The introduction (paragraphs 2–20) is a veritable masterpiece of hopelessly useless rhetoric—at least according to modern standards—of just the sort that gave rise to the bad reputation from which rhetoric unfortunately still suffers. In approximately one quarter of the whole speech Upmarck succeeds in saying almost nothing, while spouting the standard rhetorical introductory agenda of the baroque era. He emphasizes his pleasure at having been introduced into this temple of the republic of letters. In a *captatio benevolentiae* he tries to persuade the audience the he, a simple man, does not despise all speakers' unpretentious habit of minimizing their own rhetorical capabilities. One the contrary, imprudent overestimation and faith in his own ability is, he says, so distant to him that he has almost lost his mental consistency and frankness, which he now needs more than ever. Then he poses the rhetorical question: "Am I, do you think, ignorant of the audience I have to address?" etc.

Nonetheless, later in his introduction Upmarck promises that he will never allow the audience's expectations to come to nought (paragraph 11). He

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[9] C. Annerstedt, Appendix I, "Handlingar 1477–1654," 203.

[10] J. P. Krebs, *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache* 7, 1st ed. (Basel, 1905–7), 197.

[11] Ibid., 647.

also mentions that, as holder of the Skyttean chair, he is bound by its constitution and he properly expresses his gratitude and that of the university to the founder for his generosity. He then reminds his audience that the founder's will demands of him an annual commemorative oration. This duty the orator fulfills thoroughly. Paragraphs 21 to 99 are the core of the oration and are almost wholly dedicated to Skytte. Upmarck deals with the life of Skytte (paragraphs 21–63) and with his original intentions for the professorship (paragraphs 64–99). In the two final paragraphs of this section, Upmarck also honors the current patron, Georg Gyllenstierna junior, a descendant of Skytte. In the final part of the oration (paragraphs 100–111), the speaker mentions his famous predecessors. Owing to his humility he asks not to be compared with them. Although he wants to follow them, he is fully aware of his distance and intends to keep it. At the end of the speech, Upmarck performs the obligatory formula of prayers, sighs and wishes of prosperity and success for Charles XII, the royal family, the vicechancellor and the university (paragraphs 112–14).

The most distinctive feature—I would call it the proposition—of the whole oration is Upmarck's stress on the use of learning for the private man, especially for the common good. This message, however, is mainly conveyed through the example of Skytte. According to my interpretation, there are two important, mutually dependent theses Upmarck wants to carry through in his speech. The first is that learning is or must be useful. The second is that the life of Skytte provides specific evidence of this usefulness. The argumentation Upmarck uses to support his case is, I think, quite impressive. Let us examine it.

In his opening salutation, Upmarck begins by maintaining that the young pupils are the surest hope and potential (*incrementum*) for the country.[12] But the recently inaugurated professor also rejoices in being a co-worker for the utility of the country, learning and the academy.[13] There is a clear distinction between the private and the official utility of learning in the opus of Upmarck. Among his new colleagues he does not try to conceal the fact that all *cives academici* want to experience the generosity of the foremost men in the country and that, Upmarck confesses, they will not scornfully reject honor and praise, which entice even the best scholar.[14] Upmarck and his colleagues must make the most important men in the country appreciate learning, otherwise learning will not escape its demise.[15]

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[12] Paragraph 1: "... certissima patriae spes et incrementum."

[13] Paragraph 2: "... vobiscum in Patriae reique literariae et florentissimi hujus coetus emolumentum conspirare. ..."

[14] Paragraph 94: "... fateamur velle nos principum virorum munificas experiri manus, nec gloriam et laudem, qua optimus etiam quisque ducitur, respuere."

[15] Paragraph 94: "Vix autem est, ut contemptum artes nostrae effugient, ut non jaceant ingloriae ac conclamatae, ut non cum indigentia et sordibus luctentur, nisi effeceris, ut placeant."

With regard to learning's official utility, Upmarck states plainly that the well-being of states and kingdoms is never so dependent upon the virtue of one man than when learning is dependent upon one man's dedication to it.[16] Later, the speaker says that he will not remind the audience of examples either from Greece and Rome or from Germany, France and the Low Countries, although that would have been easy. Instead, he turns to Sweden. Upmarck says that it must be made known who is responsible for the beauty of our learned and cultivated country. This beauty forces other people to *aemulatio* or *invidia*. According to Upmarck, it was not long ago that the torch of learning was given to Sweden, and he encourages his listeners to examine their minds carefully and ponder who could possibly have made the greatest contribution to learning and culture. According to Upmarck the answer is, not surprisingly, Johan Skytte. He is the patron, the Maecenas of academia and education in Sweden. How can this be?

I will not spend time here on the rhetorical figure, a *praeteritio*,[17] Upmarck uses when despite his own words, he nevertheless mentions all the titles and official positions Skytte once held.[18] Upmarck assures his listeners, however, that the most important thing is not Skytte's career. In this respect Skytte did have peers. But in comparison with other mighty men in the circle around the king, Skytte was not born to inherit these positions. He earned them through his virtues. Here Upmarck uses the topos of poor origin[19] and an elaborate metaphor. Skytte has succeeded in steering a little damaged boat alone on the fierce sea to a safe harbor, and we ought to admire him much more than we admire the man who has reached the harbor in a huge admiral's ship supported by sailors and with favorable winds.[20]

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[16] Paragraph 24: "Nunquam civitatum communis res, nunquam regnorum salus et incolumitas evidentius se debent unius eminenti virtuti, quam literarum splendor et efflorescentia unius principis cujusdam viri propenso in studia animo."

[17] Paragraph 32: "... multiplex nomen non adnecto ..."; paragraph 33: "... non memoro..."; and paragraph 34: "... silentio transire patior..."

[18] Paragraph 33: "Quod Regius Senator, quod Eques auratus, quod Baro, quod Camerae, uti vocant, Regiae praefectus summus, quod supremi apud Gothos tribunalis Praeses, quod Livoniae, Ingriae ac Careliae generalis Gubernator, quod Legatus ad Potentissimos Europae Reges, Celsissimos Principes et Respublicas magnificentissimas saepiuscule missus fuerit, non memoro, non quod hujus Academiae fuerit Cancellarius, quanquam nullum cum literarum salute et patrocinio conjunctius esse soleat nobis nomen."

[19] Cf. *Rethorica ad Herennium* III.7.13. "Ab externis rebus: genus—in laude: quibus maioribus natus sit; si bono genere, parem aut excelsiorem fuisse; si humili genere, ipsum in suis, non in maiorum virtutibus habuisse praesidium."

[20] Paragraph 35: "Obsecro enim vos, Auditores, an qui exiguo lintre aut lacerae navis fragmento, quum iniquissima tempestas renitentibus ventis et oborta caligine saevit, ita solerter moderatur, ut per infestos Oceani fervores nullius adjutus arte rectoris, nullo nautarum ministerio nixus, ipse sibi solus et nauta et gubernator in optatos evadit portus, an hunc talem non multo magis admirantes stupentesque circumsistimus, quam hominem instructa praetoria navi, faventibus Zephyris, coelo marique placido, per nautarum impigerrimam ad quanvis opem destinato litori expositum?"

Upmarck now tries to augment his impression on the audience by mentioning all Skytte has done for education in Sweden. He displayed his learning to the learned world on the continent through his successful studies and impressive orations at different universities, and as an ambassador at royal receptions in different countries. According to Upmarck it was the merits of Skytte alone which brought him fame and honor. He wrote learned literature and founded schools and academies, but above all he was the preceptor of Gustavus Adolphus in his childhood.

Upmarck makes a great deal of the fact that Skytte was the tutor of Prince Gustavus Adolphus, enumerating all the contributions the king then made to learning. Through large sums of money, rich funding, privileges, exemptions from taxes, book donations and statutes, the king reformed the university and made the sciences prosper. But according to Upmarck, we ought to be firmly convinced that if he returned from heaven the king would acknowledge all things he accomplished in this field by attributing them to the man who was his teacher for nine years.[21]

But, and this is even more significant to Upmarck, the man who forms the conduct and genius of a prince functions as an architect of the enterprises of the state and as an arbiter over the fate of peoples and kingdoms. In a way, he creates gods on earth, new directions for history, and new destinies for mankind.[22] In that respect he ought not only to be praised by Upmarck's words, not only celebrated in Sweden, not only in the Nordic countries, but the voice of Europe and the whole Christian world should acclaim the greatness of that man. What an imperishable honor to his native country, what a lode star for the Arctic people! How his learned creations for all nations and empires resembled the divine, when he guided the royal childhood of Gustavus Adolphus, by virtue of his leadership and precepts![23]

What I call Upmarck's proposition is stated clearly more than once in his oration, and is also confirmed in his use of his panegyric of Skytte and his underlying intentions. He demands of himself and of his colleagues that they do nothing that will not bear fruit and delight while at the podium or

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[21] Paragraph 55: "Verum tamen et id persuasissimum vobis habetote, nihil horum Divino septentrionis Principi acceptum nos referre, quod non is, si remeantis ab coelesti consortio animae voces excipere non supra votum nostrum esset, suo per novennium institutori liberrima confessione tribueret."

[22] Paragraph 56: "Qui principis mores ac genium formant, architecti quodammodo publicarum utilitatum et communis populorum regnorumque sortis arbitri sunt, dum quosdam veluti in terris Deos creant et novas seculo vices, nova fata humanis rebus inferunt."

[23] Paragraph 56: "Non videtur autem id privato ore a me efferendum, non patriae totius, non universi Septentrionis, sed Europae, sed orbis, quantus quantus est, Christiani voce decantandum, quod immortale decus Patriae, quale sidus Arctois populis, quantum numinis instar cunctis gentibus et imperiis finxerit Skyttius, cum regiam Gustavi Adolphi pueritiam indolemque suo ductu et praeceptis flecteret."

in the seats of the lecture hall.[24] The orator also uses all the means at his disposal to refute those who slander learning. There are those who say that learning is rubbish[25] and who attack learning using the new sarcasm of pedantry.[26] Upmarck dismisses them saying that these people have abandoned the sciences on the pretext that they are dry and uninteresting. The truth is rather, according to Upmarck, that they did not get past the elementary stages of knowledge in their education.

Upmarck evidently also felt forced to establish a second front-line, not only in relation to the slanderers but also to the true pedantics:[27] learning can be misused. There are orators who merely repeat what they have gotten from others, who like magpies not only steal but are just as inelegant, and who fill their speeches with empty phrases like magpies.[28] These men, says Upmarck, are guided by unnatural rules.[29] In criticizing the exaggeration common in the use of rhetorical devices, Upmarck, on the one hand, typically emphasizes common advantage and official utility[30] while, on the other, he ensures that no one even dares to think he is criticizing philology. He does not disapprove of men like Lipsius, Scaliger, Salmasius and Casaubonus. Philological work and learning led them to the stars.[31] Upmarck does not condemn sober, but only immodest efforts in the hunt for words by the rhetorician.[32] The men he previously mentioned were like heroes led by a divine inspiration. He would not try to imitate them. To try to do so would be preposterous. But what about Upmarck's own rhetoric? Does he not use the same rhetorical devices himself in his critique of others?[33]

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[24] Paragraph 96: "Nihil autem hic conemur, quod non extra hunc suggestum et haec subsellia fructum et delectationem secum ferat."

[25] Paragraph 49: "nugamenta."

[26] Paragraph 49: "novo dicterio pedantismi ubique exagitant."

[27] On the history of pedantry cf. W. Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat. Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen, 1982), 288ff.

[28] Paragraph 86: "... et dum Picarum more acceptas ab aliis formulas iterant, in hoc quoque sunt simillimi, quod subsultim et impare gressu ubique incedant." and paragraph 79: "inanibus flosculis explenda oratione occupati."

[29] Paragraph 81: "ad immania Rhetorum praecepta."

[30] Paragraph 81: "communes fructus et publicam utilitatem."

[31] Paragraph 83: "Num dicam impingo viris, Lipsiis, Scaligeris, Salmasiis, Casaubonis, quos idem ille ad sidera evexit labor?"

[32] Paragraph 84: "At vero in verborum indagine non sobrias, sed immodicas curas damno."

[33] Paragraph 84: "... Heroibus ... quos si imitere, pro coelesti impetu saepe insana temeritas, pro admiranda constantia ferina contumacia, pro successu pernicies, pro facti gloria sempiternum convitium, foedam tui memoriam apud posteros faciet."

Conclusion

In conclusion, I must say that the oration of Upmarck, as well as his whole career, was characterized by loyalty to the king and the Swedish kingdom. Upmarck wanted to promote learning in the spirit of Ramus and Skytte. Learning was not for its own sake, learning was for the individual, but above all for society and the state. Philology was good, but only the heroes from continental Europe were skilled enough for that heavenly calling. Learning in Sweden should be applicable to public life and should benefit the official establishment politically, judicially and ecclesiastically. Loyal, skilled ministers of the state ought to be produced regularly and efficiently. Furthermore, Upmarck's emphasis on the social applicability of learning and his constant warnings to the faculty and to pupils against learned or, for that matter, unlearned, excesses were important elements in a determined effort at promoting the social standing of the *cives academici*, who represented a new and growing class in of society.

In a broader historical perspective, we can say that the Reformation resulted in a shift of control over the educational institutions in Sweden. Earlier the universities and clerical schools were servants of the church. During the sixteenth century they became servants of the state. Skytte was an efficient engineer in the transformation of the educational system in Sweden. Johan Upmarck shows us, in his first hours as Professor Skytteanus, his strict loyalty to the standards of Skytte and Ramus. This utilitarian ethos had then and still has in Sweden today one ideological goal: learning must be useful, useful for the state.

University of Gothenburg
Sweden

Der Ringkampf zwischen Pan und Eros im antiken und im neulateinischen Epigramm

MARION LAUSBERG

Unter den Epigrammen des neulateinischen Renaissancedichters Ercole Strozzi findet sich das folgende Gedicht über einen Ringkampf zwischen Pan und Amor:[1]

In Pana, et Amorem certantes
Pan, et Amor quondam Lucta certare volentes
Deponunt Calamos ille, vel ille Sacros.
Hic onus alarum, villosae Nebridos ille,
Proijcit hic arcus, proijcit ille pedum.
Tum liquido exutos artus perfundit olivo
Cecropiaeque modum servat uterque Pales.
Conseruere manus totis conatibus ambo,
Robore Pan fidens, dexteritate Puer.
Aspera pugna fuit, primisque assultibus anceps,
Nunc Pana aiebant vincere, nunc puerum.
At demum elato prensavit cornua saltu,
Panaque, qui vincit omnia, vicit Amor.

Aus der Antike ist nur eine literarische Quelle bekannt, die von einem solchen Ringkampf zwischen Pan und Amor berichtet. Es handelt sich um

[1] Strozii poetae pater et filius (Venetiis: Aldus, 1513 [1514]), 83r (cf. F. J. Nichols, *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry* (New Haven, London, 1979), 340). Ich gebe den Text, auch in Orthographie, Großschreibung und Interpunktion, nach der Aldina. Der Text bei Nichols enthält zwei Druckfehler: V. 3 *Hoc* statt *Hic*, V.9: *fiat* statt *fiat*. Zum Datum der Aldina vgl. W. Ludwig, *Die Borsias des Tito Strozzi. Ein lateinisches Epos der Renaissance* (München, 1977), 59. Maria Wirtz, "Ercole Strozzi poeta ferrarese (1473–1508)," *Atti della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria* 16 (1906): 21–156, hier 147 weist auf dieses Epigramm eigens hin mit der Bemerkung "è pièno di vigoria, ma in sulla fine si chiude rapidamente ed in modo affatto inatteso."

eine Stelle bei dem Vergilkommentator Servius; dazu kommen einige hiervon abhängige Belege.[2] Bei Servius heißt es (Serv. buc. 2.31) hic (i.e., Pan) quia totius naturae deus est, a poetis fingitur cum Amore luctatus et ab eo victus, quia, ut legimus (Verg. buc. 10.69), omnia vincit Amor. Grundlage bildet ein pseudoetymologisches Wortspiel zwischen dem Namen des Gottes und dem griechischen Wort für "alles" πᾶν. Auf die Vergilstelle, auf die Servius hier Bezug nimmt, spielt Strozzi ganz offenkundig am Schluß seines Epigramms an; die literarische Reminiszenz und das Wortspiel bilden die Schlußpointe des Gedichts. Das Vergilzitat fehlt in einer von Servius abhängigen Isidorstelle. Servius ist also die Quelle für das Gedicht des Strozzi.

Bei Servius ist davon die Rede, daß Dichter dieses Thema dargestellt hätten. Erhalten war zur Zeit von Strozzi davon nichts. So ist zu vermuten, daß Strozzi mit seinem Epigramm die verlorenen Gedichte der Antike zu diesem Sujet gleichsam rekonstruieren wollte. Sein Verfahren entspricht damit demjenigen der Renaissancemaler, die ihren Ehrgeiz darin setzten, verlorene antike Gemälde, von denen in antiken Quellen berichtet wird, nachzugestalten.

Nun ist nach Strozzi ein antikes Epigramm zu diesem Thema wieder ans Licht gekommen. Es handelt sich um einen griechischen Vierzeiler, der 1876 von einer Wand in Pompeii aus der Casa degli Epigrammi veröffentlicht wurde.[3] Er begleitet dort eine bildliche Darstellung dieses Ringkampfes. Das Bild in Pompei wird von der archäologischen Forschung um

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[2] Isidor. orig. 8, 11, 81ff.; Comment. Bern. Lucan. 3.402. Ebenso im MA Mythogr. Vatic. 1.127;2.48 (3,8,2 ohne Erwähnung des Ringkampfs). In der gleichen Tradition Boccaccio, *Genealogiae* 1.4; Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De Deis gentium* (Basel, 1548), 619f. *A poetis fingitur, cum Amore deo luctatus, et ab eo victus: quia, ut legimus, omnia vincit amor.* Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae* (Venedig, 1567) 5.6.139 *Fama est hunc cum Cupidine aliquando fuisse colluctatum, et victum.* Francis Bacon, *De sapientia veterum* (1609) Kap. 6. Poliziano verweist in seinem Kommentar zu den *Silvae* des Statius ausdrücklich auf Servius, wo er auf diesen Ringkampf zu sprechen kommt: Angelo Poliziano, *Commento inedito alle Selve di Stazio*, a cura di L. Cesarini Martinelli (Firenze,1978), 463. Im 19. Jh. hat der englische Dichter W.S. Landor die Begebenheit zu einem längeren erzählenden Gedicht ausgesponnen, zuerst lateinisch, dann englisch (Cupid and Pan), vgl. dazu P. Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God. His Myth in Modern Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 76f.

[3] A. Sogliano, "Dipinti pompeiani con epigrammi greci," *Bollettino dell' istituto archeologico* 1876: 29–32; C. Dilthey, *Epigrammatum Graecorum Pompeis repertorum trias* (Zürich, 1876) (grundlegend); G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878), Nr.1103; A. Mau, CIL 4 Suppl.2 (Berlin, 1909), 3407; J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme* (Heidelberg, 1916), Nr. 312; E. Diehl, *Pompeianische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes*, Kleine Texte, vol. 56 (Berlin, 1930), Nr. 821. Ich gebe den Text nach Geffcken, der die unsicheren Buchstaben am deutlichsten bezeichnet; die untergesetzten Punkte ließen sich allerdings hier drucktechnisch nicht wiedergeben. Bei Mau und Diehl erscheint der Schluß des zweiten Verses, den Dilthey aufgrund nur schwacher Buchstabenreste durchaus hypothetisch rekonstruiert hat, zu Unrecht als sicher. In der Übersetzung ergänze ich das, was vom Kontext her zu erwarten ist; vgl. außer der von Dilthey verglichenen Stelle Nonnos Dion. 19.221f. auch Enn. ann.78 Skutsch "omnibus cura viris uter esset induperator"; 82f. "sic expectabat populus atque ore timebat/ rebus utri magni victoria sit data regni" (davon abhängig Lucr. 3.836; Verg. Aen.12.716f.; Ov. Met. 9.46f.; Lucan 9.19f. vgl. auch Ov. ars 1.168).

30 v. Chr. datiert,[4] dürfte aber zusammen mit dem Epigramm auf ältere Vorlagen zurückgehen. Bildliche Darstellungen zu diesem Thema sind aus der Antike auch sonst zahlreich erhalten,[5] im Unterschied zu der spärlichen literarischen Überlieferung. Durch den Fund in Pompei ist nun uns ein Vergleich möglich geworden zwischen einer antiken dichterischen Gestaltung und der ohne deren Kenntnis vom Renaissancedichter vorgenommenen "Rekonstruktion."

Schauen wir uns zunächst kurz das griechische Epigramm an:

ὁ θρασὺ[ς] ἀνθέστακεν Ἔρως [τῷ Πανὶ παλαίων],
χἀ Κύπρις ὠδίνει, τίς τίνα [πρ]ῶ[τος] ἑλεῖ
[ἰ]σχυρὸς μὲν ὁ Πὰν καὶ καρτερός, ἀλλὰ πανοῦργος
[ὁ π]τ[α]νὸς καὶ Ἔρως· οἴχεται ἁ δύναμις.

Der dreiste Eros ist dem Pan im Ringkampf gegenübergetreten,
und Kypris ist in ängstlicher Sorge, wer wen [besiegen wird].
Stark zwar ist Pan und ausdauernd, doch trickreich ist
der Geflügelte, und er ist Eros: entschwunden ist die Kraft.

Das Epigramm aus Pompei stellt im ersten Vers ganz knapp die Hauptakteure und die Situation vor. Es ist in seiner sprachlichen Form nicht erzählend, sondern beschreibend. Im Perfekt ἀνθέστακεν ist das Gegeneinanderantreten von vornherein nur in seinem zuständlichen Resultat, dem Gegenüberstehen, ins Auge gefaßt. Im zweiten Vers wird eine dritte Person, Aphrodite, als Zuschauerin genannt, die auch auf dem Bild dargestellt ist. Die Frage, wer der Sieger sein wird, ist aus ihrer Perspektive gesehen. ὠδίνει ist übertragen gebraucht im Sinne von "ängstlich besorgt sein, in schmerzlicher Ungewißheit sein," aber die Grundbedeutung "in Geburtswehen sein" ist sicher noch mitzuhören; Aphrodite ist ja die Mutter eines der beiden Kontrahenten, des Eros; ihre Sorge ist also nicht ganz unparteiisch. Nachdem mit der Frage nach dem Ausgang des Ringkampfes am Ende des ersten Verspaares auch beim Leser Spannung geweckt worden war, stellt nun das zweite Verspaar Überlegungen an über die Eigenart der beiden zum Kampf angetretenen Götter. Mit der Gegenüberstellung von μέν δέ vollzieht der Text auch sprachlich die antithetische Kampfsituation nach. Kraft steht gegen Geschicklichkeit; diese gilt auch sonst beim Ringkampf als das letztlich Entscheidende,[6] und zudem ist hier Eros höchstpersönlich

[4] M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell' antica Pompei* (Napoli, 1979), 71f. mit Lit. Ich kann hier nicht auf alle Fragen zu diesem Text eingehen und beschränke mich auf das, was als Hintergrund für das neulateinische Epigramm von Bedeutung ist. Zum Verhältnis von Bild und Epigramm vgl. vor allem B. Neutsch, "Das Epigrammenzimmer in der 'Casa degli epigrammi' zu Pompeji und sein Wandbild 'Eros im Ringkampf mit Pan'," *JdI* 70 (1955): 155–84. Allerdings ist hier (166) fälschlicherweise von einem Futurum im Schlußkolon die Rede.

[5] Vgl. F. Brommer, "Pan," in *RE* Suppl. 8 (1956), 949–1008, hier 988.

[6] Vgl. M. B. Poliakoff, *Kampfsport in der Antike* (Zürich, München, 1989), 227 Anm. 1. Vgl.

angetreten, der, wie ja seit Hesiod immer wieder gesagt wird, Menschen und Götter bezwingt im übertragenen Sinne. So ist anzunehmen, daß er hier auch im wörtlichen Sinne die Oberhand gewinnen wird. In einem knappen Schlußsatz wird dieses Ergebnis formuliert: Die Kraft ist entschwunden, was hier wohl im Sinne von unterlegen gemeint sein muß. Das Bild des Ringkampfes hatte schon Sophokles für die Unüberwindlichkeit der Liebe verwendet, hier von Aphrodite statt von Eros: Welchen der Götter könnte sie nicht im Ringkampf dreimal niederwerfen?[7] Der Sieg des Eros über Pan ist für den Verfasser des Epigramms ein Beispiel für diese Macht des Eros; selbst ein so kraftvoller Naturbursche wie Pan vermag nichts gegen ihn auszurichten.

Insgesamt enthält das erste Verspaar die Vorstellung der Situation, das zweite die Deutung, eine im antiken Bildepigramm übliche Gliederung.[8] Hier sind die Teile geschickt verbunden durch die Abfolge von Frage und Antwort. Mythologische Themen erscheinen im antiken Epigramm in der Regel wie hier als wirkliche oder fiktive Bildbeschreibung, nicht als Erzählung.[9] Das Epigramm faßt hier wie sonst ein Geschehen punktuell im fruchtbaren Augenblick, wie es die bildende Kunst zu tun pflegt.[10] In diesem Augenblick ist das Vorhergehende—das Gegeneinanderantreten—wie auch das Folgende—der Ausgang des Kampfes—mit erkennbar. Das kurze Epigramm ist unter den an sich sukzessiven sprachlichen Formen diejenige, die dem punktuellen Charakter der bildlichen Darstellung am nächsten kommt.

Nun zu Strozzis Gedicht. Es ist, wie gleich das *quondam* im ersten Vers zeigt, im Unterschied zu dem antiken Epigramm erzählend gehalten.

Als Pan und Amor sich einst im Ringkampf messen wollten,
  Legt der eine wie der andere seine heiligen Rohre ab.
Dieser wirft die Last der Flügel ab, jener die des zottigen Hirschkalbfells,
  dieser den Bogen, jener den Hirtenstab.
Dann übergießen beide ihre entkleideten Glieder mit flüssigem Öl
  und halten die Regeln des griechischen Ringkampfs ein.
Beide begannen den Kampf mit voller Wucht,
  Pan auf seine Kraft vertrauend, auf seine Geschicklichkeit der Knabe.
Rauh war der Kampf und beim ersten Anspringen unentschieden.

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vor allem Simon. epigr. 52 Page; Plut. Quaest. conv. 638d; Heliodor 10.313 ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ τὴν ἄγροικον ἰσχὺν κατασοφίζεσθαι. Diese Stelle zeigt zuvor verbale Ähnlichkeiten zu dem Epigramm, so daß zu erwägen wäre, ob vielleicht Heliodor die Verse gekannt hat (εἰστήκει ... ὠδίνων ... τῆς ἀντιθέτου δυνάμεως).

[7] TrGF Soph. 941 τίν' οὐ παλαίουσ' ἐς τρὶς ἐκβάλλει θεῶν; Ein Ringkampf zwischen Bacchus und Amor liegt, wie E. J. Kenney, "Notes on Ovid: II," *CQ* n.s. 9 (1959): 240–60, hier 244 gezeigt hat, der Stelle Ov. Ars. 1.231–36 zugrunde.

[8] Vgl. Verf., *Das Einzeldistichon. Studien zum antiken Epigramm*, Studia et testimonia antiqua, vol.19 (München,1982), 200.

[9] Vgl. Verf., a.a.O. 199.

[10] Vgl. Verf., a.a.O. 203.

Bald sagte man Pan siege, bald, der Knabe.
Doch schließlich packte Amor mit hohem Sprung die Hörner,
und er, der alles besiegt, besiegte auch Pan.

Die zwölf Verse sind deutlich gegliedert in zweimal sechs Zeilen. Die erste Gedichthälfte schildert die Vorbereitungen zum Ringkampf, die zweite den Ringkampf selbst. In den ersten vier Versen ist davon die Rede, daß beide, Pan und Amor, ihre Attribute ablegen. In Vers zwei übersetzt Nichols: "this one laid down his reed pipes, and that one his holy things." Doch *sacros* im Maskulinum kann schwerlich "heilige Dinge" heißen, ganz abgesehen von der inhaltlichen Unklarheit. Vielmehr möchte ich *sacros* als Attribut zu *calamos* auffassen. Sowohl Pan wie auch Amor legen ihre *calami sacri* ab. Bei Pan sind mit *calami* die Flötenrohre gemeint, bei Amor die Pfeile; *calamus* kann beides bedeuten;[11] *sacer* drückt aus, daß es sich um göttliche Attribute handelt. Die weiteren Attribute, die für Pan genannt werden, sind dieselben, die auch Servius an der angeführten Stelle bespricht, *nebris, fistula septem calamorum, pedum.*[12]

In der zweiten Gedichtshälfte geht Strozzi vom historischen Präsens zum Perfekt über. Antithetisch auf die beiden Pentameterhälften verteilt werden in Vers 8 die unterschiedlichen Fähigkeiten, auf die sich die beiden Kämpfer verlassen, angegeben, Kraft und Geschicklichkeit. Das vorletzte Verspaar spricht zur Erhöhung der Spannung von der Härte und anfänglichen Unentschiedenheit des Kampfes, um dann am Schluß vom Sieg des Amor zu berichten.

Ein Vorbild für die Beschreibung der Vorbereitungen des Ringkampfes dürfte die Erzählung Lucans vom Ringkampf zwischen Hercules und Antaeus gewesen sein.

ille Cleonaei proiecit terga leonis,
Antaeus Libyci; perfudit membra liquore
hospes Olympiacae servato more palaestrae;
ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem
auxilium membris calidas infudit harenas.
conseruere manus et multo bracchia nexu ...
Lucan 4.612ff.

Wie bei Strozzi legen beide Kontrahenten zunächst ihre Attribute ab. Wie in Strozzis Vers 2 sind Verbum (*proiecit*) und Objekt (*terga leonis*) identisch, die

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[11] Flötenrohre: *Thes.l.L.* 3.123, 84ff.; Pfeile: Thes.l.L. 3.123.46ff. Von den Pfeilen Amors Strozzi selbst p. 86 "seque facesque super spolio calamosque locarat." Die Junktur *ille vel ille* im Sinne von "der eine wie der andere" findet sich bei Ovid fast. 5, 188 "convenit in laudes ille vel ille tuas." Bei Strozzi mag auch noch der spätantike und mittelalterliche Gebrauch von *vel* im Sinne von *et* nachwirken, vgl. dazu Du Cange s.v. In den antiken bildlichen Darstellungen braucht Eros natürlich seine Flügel nicht abzulegen für seinen Ringkampf mit Pan.

[12] Serv. buc. 2.31 "... in pectore nebridem habet stellatam ad stellarum imaginem ... fistulam septem calamorum habet propter harmoniam caeli, in qua septem soni sunt ... pedum propter annum, qui in se recurrit."

Differenzierung erfolgt bei Lucan durch die Herkunftsepitheta *Cleonaei-Libyci*, bei Strozzi durch die Doppeldeutigkeit von *calamos sacros*. Das Verbum *proicere* verschiebt Strozzi auf das dritte Glied.[13] Wie bei Lucan ist dann bei Strozzi vom Salben mit Öl die Rede, wobei das Verbum *perfundere* übernommen wird und nur die Substantive in der Wortwahl gegenüber Lucan variiert werden, *liquido olivo* (eine vergilische Junktur: Georg. 2.466) für *liquore*, und *artus* für *membra*; in dem Epitheton *liquido* klingt der Wortstamm des von Lucan gebrauchten Substantivs an. Enge Übereinstimmung herrscht dann im jeweils folgenden Vers, wo von der Einhaltung des griechischen Ringkampfbrauches die Rede ist. Die Wendung *modum servare* ist unmittelbar aus Lucan übernommen, *Cecropiae pales* ist Ausdrucksvariation für *Olympiacae palaestrae*. Wörtlich übernommen an gleicher Versstelle ist sodann *conseruere manus*, und auch *fidens* hat noch seine Entsprechung bei Lucan. Die folgende ausführliche Erzählung des Epikers konnte der Epigrammdichter dann nicht mehr verwenden, doch hat das Grundthema der langen Unentschiedenheit des Kampfes auch bei ihm noch seine Entsprechung; zu *primis assultibus* ist noch auf 621 *primo ... certamine* zu verweisen.

Die Lucanstelle lieferte dem Renaissancedichter ein willkommenes Muster für eine dichterische Ringkampfschilderung. Andere mögliche Muster haben nicht erkennbar eingewirkt, außer dem Gebrauch des griechischen Wortes *pale*, wie sie sich in einer Ringkampfschilderung bei Statius findet.[14] Da es bei Lucan speziell um Antaeus geht, könnte eine weitergehende literarische Anspielung im Hintergrund stehen. Am Anfang des plautinischen Persa heißt es "ich hätte lieber mit Antaeus ringen wollen als mit Amor," *cum Antaeo me deluctari malueram quam cum Amore:* Die Schwierigkeiten, die ein Liebender zu bestehen hat, sind schlimmer als die Kämpfe, die Hercules auf sich nehmen mußte.[15]

Insgesamt ist das Renaissanceepigramm mit zwölf Versen wesentlich länger. Kürze ist in der Tat auch sonst im Renaissanceepigramm im allgemeinen wesentlich weniger gesucht als im hellenistischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen und später im barocken Epigramm. Der größere Umfang entsteht bei Strozzi vor allem durch die Vorschaltung des ersten Teiles über die Vorbereitung des Wettkampfes. Strozzi zeigt hier sein humanistisches Wissen über die Attribute der beiden Gottheiten und über die Regeln des Ringkampfes. Er hat offenbar Freude daran, dieses antiquarische Wissen auszubreiten. Außerdem ist sein Gedicht erzählend, das antike dagegen bleibt in seiner Kürze beim Punktuellen

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[13] Für die antithetische Form *ille/ille* kann aus Lucan noch aus der folgenden Kampfbeschreibung die Formulierung 4.636f. herangezogen werden: "conflixere pares, Telluris viribus ille, / ille suis."

[14] Stat. Theb. 6.830; das Wort im Lateinischen sonst nur Stat. Ach. 2.155 und bei Sidon. Apoll., vgl. *Thes.l.L.*10 1. 112.2. Zu *assultibus* vgl. Verg. Aen. 5.442 (Faustkampf) "variis assultibus irritus urget."

[15] Die Plautusstelle wird von dem erst nach Strozzi publizierten Servius auctus zu Vergils *omnia vincit amor* buc. 10.69 zitiert.

der Bildbeschreibung und deutet auf den Sieg des Eros nur voraus, ohne ihn wie Strozzi als neue Handlungsstufe sukzessive zu erzählen. Für das Erzählende im Epigramm des Strozzi liegt bezeichnenderweise eine Vorlage aus einer ganz anderen Gattung, dem Epos, zugrunde. Mythologische Erzählungen, gerade mit Amor als handelnder Person, sind aber auch sonst im Epigramm der Renaissance beliebt.[16] Im straffen Aufbau und in der Knappheit des Stils hat das antike Epigramm über den Ringkampf seine spezifischen Vorzüge, die Strozzi weder erreicht noch auch gesucht hat.

Im zweiten Teil des neulateinischen Epigramms sind die Grundelemente ähnlich wie in dem antiken. Es ist der Gegensatz zwischen der Stärke des Pan und der Klugheit bzw. Geschicklichkeit des Eros. Aber dieser Gegensatz bildet bei Strozzi nur den Hintergrund, während die eigentliche Sinngebung darüber hinaus geht. Die Schlußpointe ist komplexer durch das Vergilzitat und das Wortspiel, wobei die Deutung des Namens nicht als bloßes Spiel aufzufassen ist, sondern als Hinweis auf die wahre Natur des Gottes. Zumindest für einen Kenner der Serviusstelle ist das Wortspiel mit der Deutung Pans als Allgott verbunden,[17] die im Renaissancehumanismus auch sonst eine große Rolle spielt.[18]

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[16] Vgl. P. Laurens, *L'abeille dans l'ambre: Célébration de l'épigramme de l'époque alexandrine à la fin de la Renaissance*, Collection d'études anciennes, vol. 59 (Paris, 1989), 391 "récit épigrammatisé." Antike Hauptmuster sind hexametrische Kurzgedichte wie Ps. Theocr.19 (Eros als Honigdieb, u.a. auch von Strozzi in einem Epigramm nachgebilddet, 90r, später dann in der Emblematik); Moschos 1; AP 16, 210.

[17] Servius führt auch die von Strozzi aufgenommenen Atribute des Pan als Beleg für diese Deutung an, vgl. o. Anm.12. In der Antike findet sich die Deutung Pans als Allgott sonst vor allem beim kaiserzeitlichen Stoiker Kornutos c. 27, 49.5 Lang (aufgrund von Brev. Expos. Verg. Georg.1.17 auf Apollodor zurückgeführt: FGrHist 244.F.136a) und in den orphischen Hymnen (11), vgl. dazu F. Brommer, *Pan*, RE Suppl. 8 (1956), 949–1008, hier 1005f.; Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan*, (Genève,1979) 113 Anm. 259. Wortspiele mit dem Namen Pan sind älter als die Deutung als Allgott und von dieser grundsätzlich zu unterscheiden, auch wenn die Deutung das Wortspiel zur Voraussetzung hat (vgl. Hymn. Hom. 19.47; IG IX2,1.2.253; vgl. auch Platon, Crat. 408 c).

[18] Vgl. F. Saxl, *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg vol. 8 (Berlin,1927), 22ff.; A. Chastel, *Art et humanisme a Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique* (Paris 3.A., 1982), 226–33; M. J. B. Allen, *The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino* (Berkeley, 1984), 39f.; D. Blume, "Im Reich des Pan—Animistische Naturdeutung in der italienischen Renaissance," in *Die Kunst und das Studium der Natur vom 14. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. W. Prinz-A. Beyer (Weinheim,1987), 253–76; Marullus, Hymni naturales 2.1. Bei Boccaccio und Natalis Comes wird speziell der Ringkampf zwischen Pan und Eros (in untereinander unterschiedlicher Weise) kosmogonisch gedeutet: Boccaccio, *Genealogiae* 1.4. "Et quoniam supra Pana naturam naturatam esse dictum est: quid sibi voluerunt fingentes eum a cupidine superatum: facile reor: videri potest. Nam quoniam cito ab ipso creatore natura producta est: e vestigio coepit operari: et suo delectata opere illud coepit amare: et sic a delectatione irritata amori succubuit." Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae* 5.6 140 "Dicunt illum fuisse cum Cupidine colluctatum, et ab eo victum, quia, ut diximus, amor et litigium principium fuisse rerum naturalium putata sunt. Amor enim procreandi materiam excitat, et in omnes formas ad generationem effingit, quae ita dicitur ab opifice superata dum cum illo colluctatur." F. Bacon, *De sapientia veterum*, Kap. 6.

So hat jedes der beiden Epigramme seine spezifischen Reize, das antike vor allem die elegante Kürze, das neulateinische die anspielungsreiche Hintergründigkeit.

Universität Augsburg

Reiner Brockmann: A Neo-Latin or an Estonian Poet?

MARJU LEPAJÔE

If we take the literature of a small nation, such as Estonia, we may find very great difficulty in saying when that nation's literature should be said to have begun, and with which authors and which works. The role of other literatures makes these questions problematic. In the last fifty years research into Estonian literature has given relatively little attention to literary texts written before the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] Because the contention is that Estonian literature was born at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, all earlier production is regarded as being unoriginal, mere imitation, material with which it is not necessary to deal. This attitude reflects the prevalent tendency to examine the development of Estonian literature solely from the standpoint of the Estonian language, in isolation from the influences of neighboring literatures and from the earlier local literary tradition in other languages.[2]

For these reasons, the question arises whenever anybody compiles a new anthology of Estonian poetry: what is to be done about Reiner Brockmann, a German, who wrote the first Estonian poem in 1637? To which literature do his poems belong, considering that they are written in four languages (among them, four in Estonian)? And, indeed, are they literature at all? In order to specify connections between the birth of Estonian poetry in the seventeenth century and the contemporary poetical tradition in Europe, I

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[1] More profoundly treated in histories of Estonian literature: *Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu*, ed. A. Vinkel, vol. 1 (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965); and Herbert Salu, *Eesti vanem kirjandus* (Rome: Maarjamaa Books, 1974).

[2] Otto A. Webermann, "Zum Problem der Gelegenheitsdichtung," in *Estonian Poetry and Language, Studies in honor of Ants Oras*, ed. Viktor Kôressaar and Aleksis Rannit (Stockholm: Vaba Eesti, 1965), 218–33.

shall firstly give a biography of Reiner Brockmann; secondly, I shall present a short analysis of his poetry and characterize the tradition within which he writes; thirdly, I shall describe the poetical activity in Estonia before Brockmann and his time; and, lastly, I shall consider the probable influence of Brockmann on Estonian poetry.

Some Biographical Information About Brockmann[3]

Reiner Brockmann was born on 28 April, 1609, in Schwan in the dukedom of Mecklenburg. He was the son of the pastor of Schwan, also named Reiner Brockmann. He went to school in Rostock, Wismar and Hamburg. He studied Greek with particular interest and showed himself a talented student. Later he studied theology at the University of Rostock. In 1633 he was invited to Estonia, to the gymnasium of Reval (now Tallinn) to become professor of Greek. It is possible that the author of this invitation was Heinrich Vulpius, rector of Reval's gymnasium, who had been rector of the school at Rostock from 1620 to 1632, that is to say, at the time when Brockmann was studying there.[4] Brockmann arrived in Reval in May, 1634.

In the autumn of the same year his Latin and German poems were printed, constituting the first publication of the press recently installed at the gymnasium.[5] The next year, 1635, was of decisive importance for Brockmann. At the beginning of January there arrived in Reval the legation of Friedrich III, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, on its way to Moscow and the Orient. Among the members of the legation was Paul Fleming, who stayed in Reval along with some of the others for the whole of a very happy year, as he himself said.[6] It was in Reval that he wrote his best poetry. Fleming and

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[3] The most substantial biographical publication is his funeral booklet, of which two copies are extant: 1) in the library of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, Baltica I–5443, no. 28; 2) the library of Tartu University, department of Rare Books, RE A–5062, no. 38. The booklet contains the funeral sermon by deacon Andreas Sandhagen, "Vita defuncti" and two poems dedicated to him. The most extensive survey of Brockmann's biography is Kaja Altof, "Reiner Brockmann Tallinnas ja 'Lasnamäe lamburid,' " *Looming* 11 (1987): 1556–62. Biographical lexicons: F. K. Gadebusch, *Livländische Bibliothek nach alphabetischer Ordnung*, vol. 1 (Riga, 1777), 128; and J. F. von Recke and K. E. Napiersky, *Allgemines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen Livland, Esthland und Kurland*, vol. 1 (Mitau, 1827), 267–68.

[4] *Die grosse Stadtschule in Rostock in 3 1/2 Jahrhunderten* (Rostock, 1930), 115.

[5] "*Acclamationes votivae Quibus ILLUSTRI ET GENEROSO DOMINO Dn. Philippo à Scheidingh / Domino in Schedwy & Arnöö / Regni Sueciae Senatori, per Esthoniam Gubernatori, & Reg. Svec. Majestatis ad Magnum Principem Moschoviae p. t. Magno LEGATO, Domino & Mecoe nati nostro gratioso, Cum ipse felici rerum successu & foe dere cum Ruthenis innovato, salvus & incolumis rediret in Esthoniam, Gratulabamur GYMNASII REVALIENSIS PROFESSORES. . . .*" (Revaliae: Typis Chr. Reusneri, [1634]).

[6] F. Amelung, "Der Dichter Paul Fleming und seine Beziehungen zu Reval," *Baltische Monatschrift* 28 (1881): 361–90; Klaus Garber, "Paul Fleming in Riga," in *Dass eine Nation die ander verstehen möge. Festschrift für Marian Szyrocki zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von N. Honsza, H.-G. Roloff. Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis, Bd. 7 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), 255–308; Heinz Entner, *Paul Fleming* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1989), 381–446.

Brockmann became good friends. The other professors at the gymnasium, the professor of Poetry, Timotheus Polus; the professor of Rhetoric, Heinrich Arninck; and the mathematician Gebhard Himsel, were also interested in poetry, and so a small literary circle was formed.

Brockmann was professor at the gymnasium up until 1639 and then he became a pastor in St. Catharinen. Both as professor and as pastor he continually translated ecclesiastical literature into Estonian. In 1637 he published his first prose translation of hymns.[7] In 1645 he was appointed to revise the Estonian translation of the New Testament. In 1656, after his death, there appeared an edition of twenty-two hymns translated into syllabic-accentual, end-rhymed verse.[8] Already during his lifetime he was known as an expert in the Estonian language. He died in St. Catharinen in 1647, at the age of thirty-eight.

The Poetry of Brockmann and Tradition

As research into Estonian occasional poetry is in its very early stages, it has been decided to begin by collecting and publishing texts. Both Brockmann's poetry and Estonian occasional poetry comprise a relatively small number of texts, compared with Swedish occasional poetry, for example, not to mention German. Nearly twenty years ago there was published an anthology titled *Estonian Occasional Poetry of the Seventeenth and the Beginning of the Eighteenth Centuries* (Tallinn, 1973), and this contains all the extant occasional poems in Estonia.[9] The collected poems of Brockmann are now ready for publication.[10] This edition will contain facsimiles of all his known poems in four languages and of title-pages of his publications, translations of the poems into Estonian, notes on persons mentioned in the poems, a list of addressees, facsimiles of his hymn-translations, articles about his use of the Estonian language and about the connections between his poetry and German and Neo-Latin poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a biography of Brockmann, and a facsimile of the most substantial biographical publication about him—his funeral booklet.[11] The publication of this volume is at present suspended for financial reasons. Despite this, Brockmann's work

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[7] In Heinrich Stahl, *Hand-vnd Haußbuches Für die Pfarherren vnd Hauszväter Esthnischen Fürstenthumbs Ander Theil Darinnen das Gesangbuch Zusampt den Collecten vnd Praefationen* (Reval: Chr. Reusner, 1637).

[8] *Hand-, Hausz- Und Kirchen-Buch Für die Pfarrherrn und Hausz-Väter. Neu Estnisches Gesangbuch Vorinnen die Kirchen Gesänge Sel. Hn. Lutheri* . . . (Reval: Adolph Simon, 1656), 7–8, 16–18, 42–44, 84–85, 102–5, 156–58, 226–29, 238–39, 262–64, 323–26, 340–43, 349–51, 355–57, 397–99, 402–4, 432–34, 457–60, 492–94, 550–52.

[9] Villem Alttoa and Aino Valmet, eds., *17. sajandi ja 18. sajandi alguse eestikeelne juhuluule* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1973).

[10] Prior to this only his Estonian poems had been published.

[11] Cf. n. 3.

can be analyzed on the basis of the material which has been compiled in readiness. It should be said that this edition is probably not complete because it was not possible to work in Swedish and German libraries. More printed publications may be found, and even manuscripts. At the moment we have only one autograph poem by Brockmann, which is in the Adam Olearius collection.

At present, thirty-eight poems by Brockmann are known, four in Estonian, eighteen in Latin, fourteen in German and two in Greek. They were mostly written while he was professor at the gymnasium. The majority are dedication poems and wedding odes, with one funeral ode. The most frequent meter in the Latin and Greek poems is the elegiac distich, with some examples of iambic meter in Anacreontic lyrics. Brockmann's German poems are mostly sonnets and heroic songs in alexandrines. The meter of the poems in Estonian is specified in the titles: i) "Carmen Alexandrinum Esthonicum ad leges Opitij poëticas compositum" (1637); ii) "Oda Esthonica Jambico-Trochaica" (1638); iii) "Oda Esthonica Trochaica" (1639); iv) "Der Bräutgam redet die Braut an" (1643), which is also a trochaic ode.

On the basis of so few poems it is hard to affirm that the type of poem determines the choice of language. All that can be said is that all the Estonian poems are wedding odes. However, the choice of language does determine some features of the poems:

a) meter and verse-form, in which the Latin and Greek poems differ from the German and Estonian poems;
b) some compositional devices, such as anagram and word-play, which are frequent in the Latin and Greek poems, but occur only occasionally in the German poems, and not at all in the Estonian ones;
c) some aspects of their content: in both the Latin and the Estonian wed ding odes religion and frivolity are combined, but if in the Latin poems this religious element always tends to the sublime and the panegyrical, in the Estonian poems God is made to partake of the general levity, as is also the case in the German poems.

Apart from these differences, there is an overall similarity between the poems in Brockmann's four languages, and they cover the conventional topics for their genre. To cite the words of Johann Wischmann, at the beginning of his work on Latvian poetics[12] (the only work on poetics published in the seventeenth century in the region of Estonia and Livonia):[13] "Die

[12] Johann Wischmann, *Der Unteutsche Opitz Oder Kurtze Anleitung zur Lettischen Dicht-Kunst* (Riga, 1697), 1.

[13] Livonia (Livland, Liivimaa)—the historical name of the area including South Estonia and North Latvia. The name is connected with the old Finno-Ugrian nation—Livonians, who lived there earlier. In Brockmann's time i.e., under Swedish rule, Estonia, Livonia and Latvia were separate administrative units. In the wider sense *Livonia* has often been used for the whole of Estonia and Latvia.

Natur und *Constitution* der Dicht-Kunst ist in der Griechischen / Lateinischen / Deutschen und Lettischen Sprache gemein. . . ."

To a writer in the last decade of the seventeenth century this was self-evident, but in Brockmann's time that was not the case. In the same booklet of 1637 in which Brockmann published his first poem in Estonian, there is also a poem which is almost a manifesto for writing in Estonian:

Andre mögn ein anders treiben;
Ich hab wollen Esthnisch schreiben.
Esthnisch redet man im Lande
Esthnisch redet man am Strande
Esthnisch redt man in der Mauren
Esthnisch reden auch die Bauren
Esthnisch reden Edelleute
Die Gelährten gleichfals heute.
Esthnisch reden auch die Damen
Esthnisch die aus Teutschland kamen.
Esthnisch reden jung und alte.
Sieh was man von Esthnisch halte?
Esthnisch man in Kirchen höret
Da Gott selber Esthnisch lehret.
Auch die klugen Pierinnen
Jetz das Esthnisch lieb gewinnen.
Ich hab wollen Esthnisch schreiben;
Andre mögn ein anders treiben.

This poem can be read as an echo of the topos frequently found in Horace: "others can do it another way." In 1635 Brockmann had already written a dedication poem in imitation of Horace, *Odes* 1.6, which develops the same theme.[14] Quotations and themes from Horace can also be found elsewhere in his poems. The tradition within which Brockmann is writing does not need special characterization, because Estonian and Livonian occasional poetry closely reflects German occasional poetry. Brockmann's poems in German and Estonian are based on Opitz.

Questions are often raised about the role of Paul Fleming in Brockmann's poetical interests. It has even been claimed that Fleming brought the tradi-

[14] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.6: "Scriberis vario fortis et hostium / victor Maeonii carminis alite, / quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis / miles te duce gesserit. // nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec gravem / Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii / nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei / nec saevam Pelopis domum // conamur, tenues grandia . . ." and Brockmann: "Te scribent alij difficili in via / Felicem, Heinsiadae carminis alite, / Quam rem cun que, sagax consilio aut manu / Cimber te Duce, gesserit. // Nos, Brugmanne, neq; hoc dicere nec gravis / linguam Crusiadae cedere nescij, / Non Gramanniadae, non Olearij / Nec Flemmingiadae viam // Conamur, tenues grandia. . . ."

tion of occasional poetry to Estonia.[15] The following points need to be taken into account:

i) Brockmann certainly wrote poems before he met Fleming; that is shown by a booklet of poems dated 1634. The year during which Fleming stayed in Tallinn (1635–1636) was no more fruitful for Brockmann in terms of output. He may also have known Opitz's poetry previously.
ii) Several of Brockmann's poems are addressed to Fleming. Brockmann dedicates to Fleming the following verses: "Ich folge dir gemählich auch von fernen, / Bisz man mich auch mit dir sieht unter hohen Sternen."[16] Fleming himself dedicated poems to Brockmann. Seven of these are known.[17] Fleming also wrote a grand wedding composition in prose and poetry for Brockmann's marriage, the most substantial work from his period in Tallinn and of a type quite rare in his production.[18]
iii) It is possible that Brockmann knew Fleming's works even before making his personal acquaintance. For example, two very similar poems might be compared. In 1634 Brockmann starts his greeting poem to Philipp Scheidingh: "O Lang gewünschter Tag! O offt begehrte Stunden! / Darin sich hat gesund bey uns / Gott lob, gefunden / Derselbe...." Fleming also has a sonnet, dedicated to his patrons Ed. Becker and J. Behr in Leipzig, dated 1630: "Die lang-gewündschte Zeit/ die offt-erseufftzen Stunden / Die kommen nun auf uns, Wir müssen seylig seyn."[19] It is possible that they are both quoting a third author or employing a well-known topos.

These facts make it difficult to come to a conclusion about Fleming's influence on Brockmann.

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[15] *17. sajandi ja 18. sajandi alguse eestikeelne juhuluule*, 11. H. Salu also emphasizes the influence of Fleming: Herbert Salu, "Zur Entwickling des estnischen Kirchenliedes im 17. Jahrhundert," *Apophoreta Tartuensia.* Acta universitati Tartuensi (Dorpatensi) ad diem restitutionis Kal. Dec. MCMXIX nunc tricesimum celebrandum a professoribus discipulisque eorum in exilio dedicata (Stockholm: Societas Litterarum Estonica in Svecia, 1949), 81; id., "Svensktidens estniska bröllopsdiktning," *Svio-Estonica.* Studier utgivna av Svensk-Estniska Samfundet, vol. 14, ny följd 5 (Lund, 1958), 53–86.

[16] H. Salu, *Eesti vanem kirjandus*, 41.

[17] Paul Fleming, *Lateinische Gedichte*, hrsg. von J. M. Lappenberg. Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. 73 (Stuttgart, 1863), 64, 78, 80, 84, 99, 326, 330.

[18] One copy from the original edition is in the library of the Estonian Academy of Sciences XII–947. The words of H. Entner in *Paul Fleming*, 575 could be understood to mean that another is in Zwickau (Germany) (RSB Zwickau, 6.5.19, Nr. 3). The text is published in Paul Fleming, *Deutsche Gedichte*, hrsg. von J. M. Lappenberg, Bd. 1. Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. 82 (Stuttgart, 1865), 72–94.

[19] H. Entner, *Paul Fleming*, 89.

Poetry in Estonia and Livonia Before Brockmann and His Time

From the end of the thirteenth century up until the sixteenth century there is an abundance of evidence for poetry in middle-low German in Estonia and Livonia, and texts survive from that period. Some are outstanding, notably the *Chess-book* of Master Stephen of Dorpat (now Tartu) from the fourteenth century. *Spruchdichtung* was also widespread.[20]

From the period after the Reformation we have some religious poetry (Andreas Knopken, Burchard Waldis), some *Minnesang* poems and some satirical poems in middle-low and middle-high German.[21] We also have vestiges of the learned Latin poetry which was cultivated among jurists, schoolteachers and clergymen. Among local poets the names of Daniel Herman, Basilius Plinius, Andreas Knopken (who corresponded with Erasmus) and Rotger Becker are known. There is evidence that Latin school plays were as popular in Livonia as they were in Germany.[22] We have evidence of time spent in Livonia by humanist poets from other countries. A few poems from 1554 by Joannes Lorichius of Hadamer have been published.[23] However, this whole subject has been insufficiently investigated. Research has been concentrated on the occasional poetry of the seventeenth century to such an extent that it has usually been treated as an entirely new phenomenon without any previous local literary history.

The first half of the seventeenth century was certainly a very favorable time for poetry.[24] The wars which had devastated the country continuously during the second half of the sixteenth century had ceased. Baroque occasional poetry was supported in two locations. Firstly, there was the gymnasium at Reval, where Brockmann had in fact been welcomed with verses

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[20] *Grundriß einer Geschichte der baltischen Dichtung*, hrsg. von Arthur Behrsing (Leipzig: L. Fernau, 1928), 7–11; Karl Kurt Klein, Literaturgeschichte des Deutschtums im Ausland, Neu hrsg. mit einer Bibliographie (1945–78) von Alexander Ritter (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1979), 10–15.

[21] Th. Schiemann, "Altlivländische Dichtungen," *Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte*, bd. 13, Hf. 4 (Riga, 1886), 493–512; von Riekhoff, "Lyrische Dichtungen Altlivlands," *Jahresbericht der Felliner litterarischen Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1888* (Fellin: F. Feldt, 1889), 73–84; id., "Niederdeutsche Dichtungen Altlivlands," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, Bd. 31 (Jahrgang 1905) (Norden, Leipzig: D. Soltau, 1905), 44–57; *Grundriß einer Geschichte der baltischen Dichtung*, 11–20; Lutz Mackensen, "Mittelniederdeutsche Dichtung im Baltikum," *Niederdeutsche Welt*, 11 Jahrgang, Hf. 1 (Jan., 1936) (Lübeck, 1936), 5–7; K. K. Klein, *Literaturgeschichte des Deutschtums im Ausland*, 32–42.

[22] Th. Schiemann, "Altlivländische Dichtungen," 498–500; Th. von Riekhoff, "Mag. Rötger Becker. Rutgerus Pistorius, ein livländischer Humanist," *Jahresbericht der Felliner litterarischen Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1888* (Fellin: F. Feldt, 1889), 59–72; id., "Studien der Literatur Altlivlands," *Baltische Monatschrift*, Bd. 38, Hf. 1 (Reval, 1891), 47–70.

[23] Th. Schiemann, "Altlivländische Dichtungen," 498–500; Th. von Riekhoff, "Aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv," *Jahresbericht der Felliner litterarischen Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1888* (Fellin, 1889), 85–91.

[24] K. K. Klein, *Literaturgeschichte des Deutschtums im Ausland*, 59–66.

written by twenty friends, acquaintances and patrons, although these were not published until 1639, on the occasion of Brockmann's departure from Reval, when they appeared in print together with valedictory poems.[25] Secondly, in 1632 the University of Tartu was founded and a press was established. On the basis of the few disputations preserved in the university library, it can be said that at least every second one contained two or more poems, mostly in Latin and usually in elegiac distichs, composed by friends and compatriots of the disputant. There are therefore more poems in disputations presented by students from Livonia and Sweden.

Most of the poems remaining from the seventeenth century are wedding odes.[26] In addition to the few booklets extant in libraries, two sets of *Vota nuptialia* survive in the Tallinn City Archive, making 105 booklets in all from the years 1637 to 1644.[27] In the middle of the nineteenth century more than 300 booklets of wedding poems were known.[28] Probably more could be found in the libraries of Sweden and Germany. The wedding poetry is in Greek, Latin, German, Estonian and Swedish.[29] Just as Brockmann wrote his wedding poems in Estonian, so the other poems written in Estonian in the seventeenth century are mostly for weddings (eight out of the twenty-one which have survived). On the basis of extant editions, it would appear that the most prolific period for wedding poetry in Estonian as well as in other languages was the second half of the 1630s and the first half of the 1640s. Later, poems ceased to be written in Estonian. Only one text remains from the 1650s. This decline cannot be connected with censorship, because censorship was not imposed on wedding poetry in Tallinn until 1667, and the general ban on such poetry was enforced in Swedish areas of the Baltic in 1668.[30]

Occasional poetry was one of the most important, but not the only factor in creating a climate conducive to the writing of poetry in Estonian. The same period saw the creation of a body of ecclesiastical literature in Estonian. Between 1632 and 1638 the pastor Heinrich Stahl published his *Hand- und Hauszbuch für das Fürstenthumb Esthen in Liffland* in Tallinn in four volumes containing Luther's catechism, hymns, gospel-readings and prayers. At the

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[25] K. Garber, "Paul Fleming in Riga," 259–60.

[26] Th. von Riekhoff, "Livländische Gelegenheitsdichtung im 17. Jahrhundert," *Baltische Monatschrift*, Jahrgang 45, Bd. 55 (Riga, 1903), 255–76; H. Salu, "Svensktidens estniska bröllopsdiktning."

[27] There is a description of these collections in A. H. Neus, "Die Poesie des Inlandes in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Das Inland.* Eine Wochenschrift für Liv-, Esth- und Curlands Geschichte, Geographie, Statistik und Literatur, Jahrgang 10, Nr. 46 (13. Nov. 1845) (Dorpat, 1845), 795–98.

[28] Ibid., 795.

[29] Per Wieselgren, "Gamla svenska dikter i Tallin," *Svio-Estonica* (Tartu, 1936), 83–118.

[30] Herbert Salu, "Förbjuden estnisk litteratur under svensktiden," *Svio-Estonica*, 10, ny följd 1 (Lund, 1951), 169–203.

same time, preparations were made for translating the Old and New Testaments into the north and south Estonian dialects. The first Estonian grammars were published by those prominent in bible-translation, in 1637 a grammar of north Estonian in German by Heinrich Stahl, in 1648 a grammar of south Estonian in Latin by Johannes Gutslaff. It has been stressed that occasional poetry and hymn-translations evolved together in Estonia.[31] This parallelism is reflected within occasional poetry itself. In the wedding booklets secular poems and psalm-translations are printed side by side.

The Probable Influence of Brockmann on Estonian poetry

Leaving aside the fact that one Estonian folk song, published by H. Rosenplanter in 1817,[32] is most probably an adaptation of Brockmann's *Oda Esthonica Jambico-Trochaica* (but in the more popular trochaic meter), no direct influence of Brockmann's wedding poems can be found.[33] However, one may justifiably claim for him an indirect influence, ideological, inspirational and formal. Brockmann established a precedent for writing poetry in Estonian. He showed that it was both necessary and possible. It can also be claimed that Brockmann's poetical activity inspired others, because the majority of Estonian wedding odes were composed at the same time as he was writing his. And it can be claimed that Brockmann influenced the form of Estonian poetry. It was he who first introduced into Estonian the themes and the style of baroque poetry which were later used by others. It was he who first employed syllabic-accentual meter with end-rhyme in the north Estonian language.[34] This form of versification did not disappear and has been used by Estonian poets up until the present day. The metrical form was fixed in the hymn-translations published in the new hymn-book of 1656, for which there were four translators, one of them being Brockmann. The prose translations of the earlier hymn-book of 1637 were not suitable for singing, but the new versions of the hymns were in syllabic-accentual verse with end-rhyme. The new hymn-book became extremely popular and

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[31] O. A. Webermann, "Zum Problem der Gelegenheitsdichtung," 218–33; Erna Siirak, "Eestikeelse salmi ajaloost XVII sajandil," *Keel ja Kirjandus* 11 (Tallinn, 1962), 689.

[32] *Beiträge zur genauern Kenntniß der ehstnischen Sprache*, Hf. 7 (Pernau, Reval, Riga, Dorpat, 1817), 71.

[33] H. Neus, "Ueber die poetischen Versuche der Deutschen in der Ehstnischen Sprache," *Das Inland*, 5 Jahrgang, Nr. 35 (28. Aug. 1840) (Dorpat, 1840), 545–50.

[34] There is evidence that the Catholic handbook *Institutiones esthonicae* by Wilhelm Buccius, a Jesuit of Tartu, contained rhymed hymns in the south Estonian dialect with notes. The book was printed in Braunsberg 1622 or 1623 (E. Siirak, "Eestikeelse salmi ajaloost XVII sajandil," 690). The translators of the new hymn-book of 1656 present Buccius as their model in the preface.

was published twenty-seven times during the eighteenth century alone.[35] It can be said to have become part of Estonian popular culture. Thirty years ago, when the new Estonian hymn-book was compiled, theologians and philologists concluded that the hymn-translations of the seventeenth century were often better than the later ones, even though the later translators were frequently Estonians.[36] The metrical hymns were heard and sung by the common people every Sunday, and they gradually ousted the old alliterative verse. The result was that a very rich tradition of popular spiritual song and rhymed folk song developed. Perhaps we owe it to the distant influence of Brockmann.

In conclusion, in the context of Brockmann's own time it would be evidently inappropriate to ask whether he was an Estonian or a Neo-Latin poet.[37] If we can legitimately ask that question now, the answer must be that he belonged to both cultures. Research into his and all Estonian occasional poetry is still to be done. More precise evaluations will demand a better knowledge of earlier Latin and German poetry in Estonia. The German poetry has been touched on by German scholars, but the Latin poetry still awaits attention.

Tartu

[35] Uku Masing, Albert Soosaar, "Kolme sajandi eest värsistatud lauluraamatust," *Eesti Evangeeliumi Luteriusu Kiriku Aastaraamat* (Tallinn, 1956), 50.

[36] Ibid., 72; H. Salu, "Zur Entwicklung des estnischen Kirchenliedes im 17. Jahrhundert," 81.

[37] O. A. Webermann, "Zum Problem der Gelegenheitsdichtung," 228.

The Meaning of "Pontifex" in More's Utopia

GERMAIN MARC'HADOUR

The word *pontifex* is used three times to designate the chief priest of each Utopian city[1] and three times in reference to Catholic clergy. In humanist Latin, the classical word does felicitous duty for a Christian hierarch: *pontifex* is, says Christine Mohrmann,[2] a "rhetoricopoetic term," which, unlike *episcopus*, never narrowed into a precise institutional label. In Christian parlance, *episcopus*, shedding its general meaning of "overseer," assumed that of "bishop," while *pontifex* retained its semantic breadth and elasticity. One pontiff heads the college of priests in Utopia as in both pagan and Christian Rome: "[Pontifex] ... unus reliquis praeficitur" (*CW* 4: 226/25). He sits at a table of honor for meals (140/14), and a candle is borne before him when he walks in public (194/5).

The meaning of *pontifex* is no less clear in two of its Christian occurrences. In one, Raphaël Hythlodaeus sarcastically says that the majesty of European treaties is inviolable ... "partly through the reverence and fear inspired by the sovereign pontiffs."[3] In the other, More, addressing his book to Peter Gillis,[4] mentions an English theologian who, being eager to plant the Church in the newfound Isle of Nowhere, "decreuit ante curare ut mittatur a Pontifice, atque adeo ut creetur Vtopiensibus Episcopus" (42/9). Whatever the variations in the details of their renderings, all translators agree that More's priest "decided to have himself sent by the pope, and

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[1] *Utopia*, vol. 4 of *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, ed. Edward Surtz and Jack Hexter (Yale Univ. Press, 1965), 140/14; 195/5; 226/25); hereafter referred to in parentheses as *CW* 4. The other works of More in the Yale edition will also be designated as *CW* with volume number.

[2] *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens*, (Rome: Edizioni di Litteratura, 1977), 4:100.

[3] " ... summorum reuerentia metuque pontificum" (*CW* 4, 196/24).

[4] "As much a work of art as *Utopia* itself, and an essential part of it, this [prefatorial] letter conceals a poetics which it invites us to discover," writes Elizabeth McCutcheon in *My Dear Peter* (Angers: Moreana, 1983), 9.

to be in fact created bishop of the Utopians." The juxtaposition of *pontifex* and *episcopus* makes it obvious that this pontiff cannot be any bishop.

The one exception to this unanimity is the author of the first English translation to be made, or at least to appear (1551): Ralph Robynson. Our zealous ecclesiastic, he writes, "is minded to procure that he may be sent thither of [=by] the bishop, yea and that he himself may be made bishop of Utopia."[5] This *editio princeps* of More's book in More's mother-tongue is dedicated to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and one can guess at the young translator's recoiling from the word *pope*, which had been struck off hundreds of pre-Reformation books. His "*the* bishop" is awkward at best, since England alone had 22 dioceses and a number of auxiliary bishops. Yet more disconcerting is the fact that, in the second edition (1556), when Mary Tudor had replaced her Protestant brother Edward on the throne, Robynson still avoided the obvious *pope*; he just retouched *bishop* by substituting *high bishop*. His repetition of *bishop* does no justice to the original opposition *pontifex / episcopus*.

The knot which this article aims at untying lies toward the end of Book II. The Portuguese sailors who landed in Utopia drew a fair number of the islanders to the Christian church, and catechized them into a fervent desire to receive "the sacraments which only a priest can administer." At Hythlodaeus's departure, the neophytes were debating whether one of themselves "would obtain the sacerdotal[6] character without . . ." Well, without what, precisely? Translators so differ here that we need a close look at the original: "inter se disputant an *sine Christiani pontificis missu* quisquam e suo numero delectus sacerdotij consequatur characterem" (218/15–16).

The two interpretations of the phrase which we italicize are perfectly represented by their first renderings into English. Robynson (1551) has "without the sending of a Christian bishop." Gilbert Burnet (1684) paraphrases the words thus: "even though he had no authority derived from the Pope." He construes *missu* as a mission or commission rather than the physical dispatch of a missionary, as many translators have continued to do, down to our day, in their several languages. If, in the prefatory clause "ut mittatur a Pontifice" (42/9), "mittatur" is meant to echo "missu,"[7] the reader is invited to understand the actual sending of a person. But *pontifex* constitutes the major crux of the passage: the 43 translations I have consulted in a dozen languages are almost evenly divided between "*a* bishop" and "*the* pontiff, or pope."

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[5] *Utopia* (Abraham Veale: London, 1551), fol. A1 v. There are hundreds of re-editions and reprints. I modernize or normalize the spelling in all quotations.

[6] I choose this epithet because *sacerdotij* in More's Latin is less restricted than *presbyteratus*. A bishop too is *sacerdos*: the term is, like *pontifex*, borrowed from pagan Latin and rather comprehensive.

[7] The most careful translations make a point of keeping the repetition: "to be sent/sending," "envoyé/envoi," "Missionsauftrag/ohne Auftrag" etc.

The ambiguity would be lifted if Latin possessed a definite article. To remedy its lack, Erasmus resorted to a demonstrative, rendering *ho logos* (John 1:2–14) by "sermo ille" or "ille sermo"; hence also his triple "vitulum illum saginatum" for "*the* fat calf" (Luke 15:23,27,30). Had he translated *Utopia* into Greek, would he have interpreted Hythlodaeus's *pontifex* as *ho archiereus*, "*the* high priest?" Did More himself supply a clue by substituting a capital P in the fourth edition of *Utopia* (Basel, Nov. 1518), where the earlier three read *pontifex*? One cannot tell: the change may have come from Erasmus, or even the printer. The Catholic edition of More's *Opera* (1689) retains the *Pontifex*, but the word is noble enough in itself to explain the majuscule, without any further motive.

The statistics of *a bishop* v. *the pope* in English editions down the ages are affected by the enormous prestige of Robynson, whose version is constantly reprinted as the Everyman *Utopia*. His very wording "without the sending of a Christian bishop" reappears in the translations of G. C. Richards (1923) and Peter Marshall (1965). Surtz, in the Yale edition (1964), merely replaced *sending* by *dispatch*. Some foreign translators behave as if Robynson's version was More's *ipsissima verba*. George Burnet's version, appearing 133 years after Robynson's, has been less influential. This is a pity because, as an ecclesiastic and a historian of the Reformation, he is doubly competent to handle the religious word *pontifex*.

This inquiry has led me to conclude that the response to our semantic problem is conditioned less by the readers' religious affiliation than by their socio-linguistic environment. On reaching the University of Copenhagen for the Congress, I sounded out two scholars whom I knew to be consummate Latinists. On hearing "sine missu pontificis," the Frenchman said unhesitatingly "sans mission du pontife," with the article making it the pope; the American spoke of "a Christian bishop." The vernacular languages are themselves tainted by a *Weltanschauung*: in Rome's daughter-nations of Europe, the cultural landscape includes the towering figure of the Roman pontiff, even where his authority has been challenged and rejected. In the Romance tongues, *pontifex* itself survives, and the definite article seems to escort it quite naturally, giving us *le Pontife, il Pontefice, el Pontifice*,[8] or an equivalent epithet, as in "sine permiso pontificio." Surprisingly, however, Jehan le Blond (1550) anticipated (and perhaps influenced?) Robynson with "sans l'entremise d'un évesque chrestien" (Paris: l'Angelier, fol. 90). Also impressive is the consensus of German translators in favor of the papal interpretation: *der christliche Oberpriester, das christliche Oberhaupt, der Papst der Christenheit, der Oberste Priester, der christliche Pontifex*. In the Hebrew edition, Ephraim Shmueli has *ha cohen ha gadol*, with the article twice, designating *the* great priest. Several translators have omitted the problematic clause:

[8] Ortensio Lando (1548) does not even bother to translate *Christiani*, he writes just "el Pontefice," forgetting that in Utopia that title is already borne by the city's high-priest.

Chappuys (1585), Stouvenel (1830), Marinho (1961), and Bottigelli-Tisserand (1966) who follows Stouvenel.

One must keep in mind that the letter to Peter Gillis, where a would-be missionary is taking steps to be sent to Utopia (by the pope) as bishop, is a bunch of keys added to the work on the eve of publication. As a priest, the English theologian can already administer most of the sacraments, yet he knows that a bishop alone can establish a self-perpetuating church. Like everyone, he sees the Holy See as the fountainhead of sacerdotal jurisdiction. In *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529), More has a telling sentence about the "Bohemian sect" (or Hussites). These schismatics, he writes, acknowledge "that they cannot have the sacraments ministered but by such priests as be made by authority derived and conveyed from the pope, which is under Christ vicary[9] and the head of our Church" (*CW* 6: 192/20f.). Though all bishops share in the papal jurisdiction, a close reader of the book declares herself "inclined to think More is referring to the pope.... Is there a faint suggestion that Utopia is so important that of course it would be the pope?"[10] The more so because, as an island, it already belongs to the pope. In 1156 Hadrian IV donated Ireland to Henry II,[11] and in 1493 Alexander VI divided the newfound lands (all conceived of as *insulae*) between Spain and Portugal.

To sum up this lexical examination, the fact that *pontifex* clearly designates the pope in two *Utopia* occurrences creates a presumption that it does so in the third, while *sacerdotij* in the same crucial sentence (*CW* 4: 218/16) is also a non-technical term, which embraces *presbyter* and *episcopus*. To put ourselves into the mind and skin of More's immediate audience, it will not be beside the point to cast our net more widely than in *Utopia* itself.

Pontifex *in More's Other Works*

In the *Letter to Dorp* (1515), nearest in date to Book 2 of *Utopia*, bishops and abbots loom large, as prelates whose ignorance the Louvain theologian scorns all too readily; *episcopus* occurs so often (seven times in the first twenty lines of *CW* 15: 112) that More's single use of *pontifices* (line 15) can be motivated by a wish to break the repetition. The abbots are called *antistites* (e.g., 118/6 and 120/16). *Antistes* is as elastic a title as *pontifex*. More, like Erasmus, often uses it as a somewhat nobler designation for bishops (e.g., *CW* 15: 146/2, 260/25, 268/18). *Pontifex* has a majestic aura, which is enough to explain why, listing the bishops of England who have befriended

[9] More usually says *vicar*, yet *vicary* also existed, stemming from *vicarius* as naturally as *auxiliary, contrary, secretary*, etc. from Latin forms in *-ius*.

[10] Anne Lake Prescott, letter to me of 5 June 1985.

[11] Raymonde Foreville, *L'Eglise et le Royaume en Angleterre sous Henry II* (Paris, 1942), 83.

Erasmus (*CW* 15: 208/10f.), More follows "Roffensem episcopum" (Fisher of Rochester) with "Cantuariensis ecclesiae pontificem" (Warham of Canterbury, primate of all England).

The *Historia Richardi Tertii* is doubly useful for our purpose, because it is contemporaneous with *Utopia*, and because More's English *Richard III* often throws light on his *Richardus*. Thus, in a discussion of sanctuary, we encounter statesmen hesitant to break a privilege "quod reges ac pontifices tam boni instituerant" (*CW* 15: 364/21). Daniel Kinney's modern version "kings and bishops" would seem the more impeccable as *pontifices* is in the plural and follows *reges*. Yet More's English has "both kings and popes" (*CW* 2: 27–28). Yet the contemptuous *pontificulus* in the mouth of Edward IV (*CW* 15: 440/20) corresponds to "the *bishop*" in *CW* 2 (64/17), and the plural *Pontificibus* is also plain "Bishops" (64/31).

In a single page of More's 1519 letter to Edward Lee, *pontifex* is used ten times, in six forms,[12] without an epithet, to designate the pope.

Unlike the *Contra Henricum* which it answers, More's *Responsio ad Lutherum* is a humanist composition. More uses *papa* only when he is echoing Luther. His own references to the pope can be illustrated by a single passage in which *pontifex* occurs four times (all on 138 of *CW* 5):

> Mihi lector non erat propositum hoc in loco, de pontificis quicquam potestate tangere ... Lutherus ... sic intricauit ecclesiae quaestionem, cum quaestione pontificis ... De ecclesia igitur tractaturus abstinere uoluissem libenter non solum a causa pontificis ... Certe quod ad pontificis primatum pertinet ..."

The rest of the book is on a par with this excerpt, and the Yale edition wisely renders each *pontifex* by *pontiff*, even in the plural, e.g., thrice in a row (*CW* 5: 330/15, 19, 22; 331/18,22,25).

Nevertheless, as we have seen, *pontifex* can mean a bishop. Thus, in 1526, answering the *Epistola ad Anglos* by Johann Bugenhagen, Luther's parish-priest and confessor, More uses *pontifices* to designate the bishops of England, perhaps to contrast their episcopal dignity with the empty title of "bishop of Wittenberg" which Bugenhagen was rumored to have assumed without any ordination.[13] *Pontificis munus* on the same page is rightly englished as "the office of pope" which the German pastor is arrogating to himself, as if he felt responsible for the isle of Britain in emulation of Pope Gregory the Great, who in 597 took the initiative of turning the *Anglos* into *angelos*. That More here alludes to Wittenberg as a rival Rome cannot be

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[12] Including the adjective *Pontificius*. See E. F. Rogers, *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1947). The forms are *Pontifex, Pontifici, Pontifice, Pontificem, Pontificis, Pontificius,* all with majuscules (p. 210, lines 47–77).

[13] *Responsio ad Pomeranum*, ed. Frank Murray, *CW* 7 (1990), 27. The bishops are mentioned between the people and the king.

proved, yet becomes highly probable in the light of another answer of the same year: Johann Dobneck explicitly compares Bugenhagen's *Epistola* with documents emanating from the See Apostolic, "tanquam e Roma in Vuittenbergam transposita sit sedes Apostolica."[14] Further on in the letter, More denounces Luther's teachings "(de) potestate Pontificis" (94/33), which for his readers refers to the pope as clearly as *papa* would.

One last Latin work is *De Tristitia Christi*. The *pontifex* in this narrative of the Passion is, of course, the Hebrew high-priest. The dual tradition in the Vulgate's handling of *archiereus* is reflected in More's pleonastic renderings: "pontificis, summi sacerdotis et sacerdotum principis" (*CW* 14: 473/4–5); "Pontifices ergo et sacerdotum principes" (535/3–4). More is conflating four narratives, and while John's *pontifices* is convenient, More may—weigher of words that he is—find *principes* relevant for its link with the devil as *princeps huius mundi* and *princeps tenebrarum* (545/1 and 7; 547/1, 551/1), and with the devil's princely satellites (547/3 and 7; 549/2).

A Proper Parallel: princeps

While there are doubts concerning the etymology of *pontifex* as applied to a high priest, *princeps* clearly derives from the root, *primum caput*, and has retained its connotation of being at the head, whatever the level. The word occurs sixty-five times in *Utopia*, sometimes as an adjective meaning "principal," e.g.; *principem aduersarium* (*CW* 4: 202/31). The burgmeister of Bruges is *princeps et caput* of the Flemish delegation with whom More negotiates in 1515 (*CW* 4: 46/23). When unqualified, *princeps* usually designates the "first head" of a country, the sovereign, whether he is king, duke, doge, count or prince-bishop. Henry VIII is *egregius princeps*, "the outstanding prince" (*CW* 4: 46/10). The biblical saying "Indignatio regis nuntii mortis" (Prov. 16:14) was often quoted, during the Henrician "terror," as *indignatio principis*. From Augustus on, the Roman emperor was called *princeps*, a title the pope inherited. In Irenaeus's second-century Latin, the papal primacy is *potentior principalitas (Adv. Haereses*, III, ii, 2B). More follows suit when, in his 1519 *Letter to Lee*, Leo X is "summus ille Christiani orbis princeps" (*CW* 15: 270/10), or when, in his *Responsio ad Lutterum*, he quotes Henry VIII defining the pope as "sacerdotum omnium principem" (*CW* 5, 328/33). In Utopian cities, the prince and the pontiff are joint-possessors of the highest authority; they alone are recognizable by a public symbol (*CW* 4: 194/5).

[14] Johannes Cochlaeus, *Responsio ad Johannem Bugenhagium Pomeranum*, ed. Ralph Keen (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1988), 51/23. Less concerned than More with Latin elegances, Cochlaeus refers to Gregory I as *papa* (53/22).

Pontifex *in Erasmus's Works*

More's Latin is that of his readers, and especially that of his fellow-humanists. The arbiter of good usage was Erasmus, whose writings I have sounded at a good many points to find what he means by *pontifex*. Barring very few exceptions, it is his word for *pope*. Never does he say *papa*, though he does not shun other canonical titles such as *cardinalis, episcopus, abbas*, etc. "Pontifex nescio quis" in his *Enchiridion* (1503) is correctly englished (by Tyndale?) as "a pope/ I wote not who,"[15] and "pontificiis condonationibus" (15/3) as "the popes pardon" (22/8).

Let us examine Erasmus's correspondence over the months (from May 1515 to December 1516) during which *Utopia* was composed and printed. He frequently uses *princeps* (like *pontifex*, a generic word) of the pope: it would have been fitting, he writes to Warham, to dedicate my edition of St Jerome to Leo X: "thus the prince of all theologians wuld be consecrated to the prince of all pontiffs" (vt theologorumo omnium princeps pontificum omnium principi consecretur).[16] Leo X is "the prince of the whole world" in ep. 335 (totius orbis principe) and "the prince of the Church" in ep. 447 (Ecclesiae principem), a title quite different from the later usage of calling a cardinal "*a* prince of the Church."

Two other classical and unspecific terms dear to Erasmus are *praesul* and *antistes*. He even combines them. Thus Warham, dedicatee of *St Jerome*, is "the glory of prelates, number one in both virtue and culture" (praesulum decus et virtutum ac litterarum antistes) (396, p. 211). Just as Erasmus calls the emperor *Autokrator* (e.g., ep. 463) when writing to hellenists and expressing disapproval or annoyance, he conceals his criticism of the pope by giving him the biblical name of the Jewish high-priest, *Archiereus*, the word behind the *pontifex* of the Vulgate: he uses it of Julius II (480, p. 368) and of Leo X (483, p. 497).

One might be tempted to construe the plural *pontifices* as *bishops*, but in Erasmus it does mean or at least includes "popes"; when he voices the wish that all the magnates—"vtinam omnes pontifices, omnes cardinales" (413, p. 245)—should join forces for peace, Brussels' "tous les pontifes" and Toronto's "all pontiffs" rightly suggest the Supreme pontiffs, while F. M. Nichols says "popes" explicitly. Erasmus not seldom (as we saw More doing in his preface to *Utopia*) juxtaposes *pontiff* and *bishop*. Léon Halkin, in a letter to me, points to "relaxationem pontifex non committit episcopis" (the pope

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[15] Latin text in *Erasmus Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Hajo u. Annemarie Holborn (München, 1933), 14/13; English in *Erasmus, Enchiridion: An English Edition* by Anne M. O'Donnell (EETS, Oxford, 1981), 21/3.

[16] *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen et al. (Oxford Univ. Press, 1906f.), ep. 332 of 15 May 1515, vol. 2, p. 71. Hereafter the reference to the date, and/or the epistle number, and the page in vol. 2 will be given in parentheses. The French (Brussels) and English (Toronto) translations conveniently retain Allen's numbering of the epistles.

does not entrust the right of dispensation to bishops).[17] Erasmus even defines the two functions: "Quum Moria loquatur de pontificibus et episcopis ... episcopus est Christi vicarius ... pontifex est summus Christi pauperis vicarius."[18]

When Erasmus adds *summus* to *pontifex*, it is not to identify the pope, but to enhance his authority; and he does so, exactly like More, to chide Dorp and Lee for finding fault with something the Vicar of Christ has commended or even commanded (e.g., ep. 337, 456). On 22 August 1516, when Erasmus deprecates "uniuersum strepitum pontificiae fortunae" (II, 320/11–12), it would be tempting to construe the last two words as referring to the "episcopal dignity" which is rumored to be coming his way, but the Toronto translator is surely right in rendering the phrase as "the whole noisy business of a position from the pope" (*CWE* 4: 43/14).

Erasmus's usage never changed. In *Ecclesiastes*, his last major work, he reminds the bishops of their "pontificiae dignitatis,"[19] that plenitude of the priesthood which they possess like the pope: the epithet stresses the exaltedness of their office. But throughout the book, as in the *Enchiridion* thirty-two years before, and in the correspondence, *pontifex* is used alone to designate the pope, whose unique position is occasionally stressed as "summo pastori," (352/682) "summi sacerdotis" (352/682). This is the normal, obvious meaning even in the plural, e.g., "negligentia pontificum" (352/699), "pontificum assensum" (353/704).

Pontifex *in the Latin of More's compatriots*

Erasmus, speaking of or to John Fisher, uses *praesul*, a generic term, and more often *episcopus*, never *pontifex*.[20] The good bishop, who in a letter to Erasmus signs himself "discipulus tuus," writes Erasmian Latin, and so *pontifex*, under his pen, designates the pope. The word occurs hundreds of times in his polemical works, especially in *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio* and in *Sacri sacerdotij defensio*, both of 1525. I examined with special care pages 501–601 of *Ioannis Fischeri Opera Omnia* (Würzburg, 1597), to find the pope called just *pontifex* up to seven times on a single page (598, including the double *pontifices*). The "papal indulgences," to which Fisher devotes a long

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[17] *Ratio seu methodus*, in Holborn, 208. Cf. "Sunt pontifices, sunt episcopi" in ep. 288/76f.

[18] *Apologia aduersus rhapsodias ... Alberti Pii* (Basel: Froben, 1531), 69–71: "My Folly speaks of popes and bishops; a bishop is a vicar of Christ, the pope is the supreme vicar of the poor Christ."

[19] *Ecclesiastes*, ed. Jacques Chomarat in the *Opera Omnia* of Erasmus (Amsterdam: North-Holland), V-4 (1991), 202/307.

[20] In a letter to Erasmus (ep. 520 of 30 Jan. 1517), William Latimer refers to Fisher as *excellenti pontifici* (440/91), but in his answer (ep. 540) the humanist uses *praesul* (485/10, 486/34, 487/79).

section, are "veniae pontificiae." In one instance (298), he distinguishes between "summo Pontifice" and "caeteros Pontifices." Like Erasmus, he sometimes uses a periphrase to define the pope's office—"totius Ecclesiae pontifex" (727), "Ecclesiae totius principem" (742). Since Luther uses *papa* all the time, Fisher will occasionally echo him (e.g., 499, 571, 586, 594, 599, 724). An additional reason he may have for avoiding *papa* is the fact that *papae/pape* is also a Latin exclamation, which he uses on page 405. In English, of course, he says *pope* like everybody. To our surprise, perhaps, yet in full conformity with English usage of his day, he renders *pontifex* (in Hebrews 9:11) as *bishop*: "Christ Iesu is our bishop."[21] But this has little to do with his own humanist Latin.

We have encountered Henry VIII's *Assertio* of 1521 as quoted in More's 1523 *Responsio*. In his *Litterae* answering Luther's (1526), the king continues to refer to the pope as *pontifex*.[22] A perfect index of scholastic usage, both English and international, is provided by the bilingual *Divorce Tracts of Henry VIII* (1530–31).[23] In the very phrasing of the royal thesis on the title-page—"it is so unlefull /=unlawful/ for a man to marry his brother's wife that the pope hath no power to dispense therewith" (3)— "the pope" translates "nullus pontifex" (2). The seven universities whose determinations are quoted vary in their terminology, from *papa* (8, 20), to *pontifex* with "summus" (6, 12, 14), "beatissimus" (20), "Romanus" (26) or no epithet. In the University of Angers, the Law Faculties frame the question as "an summo pontifici liceat," while on the same day (7 May 1530) their theological colleagues leave out the epithet and ask "an pontifici liceat" (and the divines allow the pope more power than do the fussier lawyers). In the treatise, made in London, *papa* dominates, as one would expect in the work of civilists and canonists; next come *Summus*, then *Romanus Pontifex*. Yet no qualifier is needed; thus, "quisquis Pontifex" (238/8) is englished as "what so ever pope" (239/10).[24]

More himself always says *pope* in his English works, according to the rule he enunciated for Tyndale—"to call anything in English by what word soever Englishmen by common custom agree upon" (*CW* 8: 212/10). And, like Erasmus and Fisher, he will on occasion go out of his way to remind

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[21] *The English Works of John Fisher*, ed. John E. B. Mayor (EETS,1876), 217/30. In Wyclif's Bible, *pontifex* is rendered by *bishop*; Mary Basset does the same repeatedly when translating "erat notus pontifici" (John 18:15–16) in her grandfather's *De Tristitia Christi* (*CW* 14, 569). Tyndale, in 1525, set a precedent by using *high priest* for scriptural *archiereus*, to be followed by all Anglican versions and even the Catholic New Testament of Rheims (1589).

[22] See instance quoted and translated in *CW* 6, 459 n. 3.

[23] Ed. Edward Surtz, S. J., and Virginia Murphy (Angers: *Moreana*, 1988).

[24] See also "popes" for "pontifices," 72/3. An incipient reluctance to use *pope*, insofar as the term implies universal supremacy, may account for the awkward phrasing (on 66–67), where "Pontifices alij" becomes "there be other bishops"; as the three "pontifs" named there are popes, the English version of the next sentence corrects the misleading "bishops" by rendering "In his sunt . . ." as "Among the which popes be. . . ."

the readers what reality is conveyed by that monosyllable: the table of his *English Works* (London, 1557) singles out "the common head" of the Church (1427) and "the general vicar of Christ" (129, 326, 615, 798); such is the person he also refers to when he says *pontifex*.

Testimony of the Modern Languages

The organizers of the Copenhagen Congress invited the speakers to bring the vernacular languages into their papers. Where *pontifex* is concerned, English has hardly ever adopted its derivative *pontiff*: even the Rheims-Douay Bible, for all its partiality to the Vulgate, retained Tyndale's *high-priest*. The adjective *pontifical* has fared better, and bears witness to the papal meaning of *pontificius* in the Latin of the Renaissance no less than of the Middle Ages: where More speaks of "pontificia maiestas" or "clipeus pontificius,"[25] there is not the slightest ambiguity. Likewise, on finding that PIMS means "Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies," no one fails to see the papal connection. The equivalence may be even more obvious in the Latin languages, especially perhaps Italian, because *lo stato pontificio* lies in the peninsula and the *Anuario pontificio* is compiled by the Roman curia. And yet there are phrases in which *pontifical* is not interchangeable with *papal*: when a mere bishop conducts a Eucharist, one calls it "a pontifical mass," and the ritual he uses for certain ceremonies is called "a pontifical."

The native elasticity of *pontifex* survives even more strikingly in the verb "to pontificate" and the French "pontifier": roughly meaning to play the *persona* of a high-priest, solemn, lordly, dogmatic, peremptory and pompous.[26] So both the adjective and the verb perpetuate the margin of ambiguity which has prompted all of my essay. And yet all modern dictionaries agree that English the *pontifical*, like its counterparts in the Romance languages, will, much more often than not, refer to the pope, as it already did in the Middle Ages, and in 1533, when an anonymous Protestant wrote of More: "Lord, how this pontifical poet playeth his part!"[27]

Concluding Remarks

An epigraph on a Roman bridge crossing the Danube sang the praise of

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[25] Rogers (see n. 12), 210/51 and 76. This 1520 letter to Lee, unlike the longer one of 1519, is not included in *CW* 15. Between line forty and line eighty *pontifex* occurs ar least eight times, always designating the pope.

[26] In the Yale translation of *Utopia*, "with much pontificating" renders "magna cum auctoritate" (*CW* 4, 44/10, and 45/12).

[27] The OED quotes this exclamation from *The Supper of the Lord*, which it ascribes to Tyndale, but the author was probably George Joye.

Trajan as "the emperor who is truly a *ponti-fex*," a builder of bridges.[28] That usage has obtained in Christian parlance too, though Erasmus and More do not, as far as I know, exploit it, perhaps because it represents a mere guess. The word would seem to be connected rather with a specific bridge over the Tiber. That the *pontificatus* was an institution of pagan Rome is the main reason why it remains linked with that city as a Christian metropolis. As, however, the college of the apostles, unlike that of the pagan pontiffs, was dispersed over the *oecumenè*, and every bishop is considered a successor of the apostles, the term *pontifex* ceased to convey an exclusive reference to Rome. In scholastic jargon, one might say that the pope is *pontifex simpliciter* while a bishop is *pontifex secundum quid*.

Since no article is available to differentiate these two semantic levels, the half-line "sine Christiani pontificis missu" is not susceptible to an absolutely exclusive univocal interpretation. Whether the other half-line, "ut mittatur a pontifice" (presumably written later since it comes in the preface, yet intended to be read first) was intended to throw light on both "missu" and "pontificis," or just happens to be using the same crucial words, very few translators retain the double echo, and some are no doubt unaware of it.

Our survey establishes that, with the author of *Utopia*, as with Erasmus who saw it through the press, and with their fellow-humanists, *pontifex*, when unqualified, designates the supreme pontiff, the *archiereus* of Christendom. The uses of *pontifical* in modern English, and its parallels in the other European languages, can help us feel how natural it was for *pontifex* to designate, as a rule, the antonomastic pontiff, the high-priest par excellence.

Extra-linguistic considerations tip the scale, tenuously yet cumulatively, in favor of *pope*. Islands, by an immemorial prescription, belonged to the man who governed "the bark of Peter," and Alexander VI had availed himself of this prerogative in the decade during which Raphaël Hythlodaeus joined Vespucci. The pope was sole creator of dioceses in the new-found lands. It was instinctive of the would-be evangelizer of Utopia to seek a mission from "the prince of the whole church," not from the bishop of London or the primate of England, and well he knew that a bishop, not just a priest, was needed for the Christian community of Utopia to become a real church. This priest asked *Pontifex* to make him *episcopus*. Seeing no reason why, on the lips of Hythlodaeus, *pontifex* should be robbed of its habitual acceptation, I submit that the Utopian neophytes have in mind some "mission from the high-priest of Christendom." They are accustomed to elect priests, who need, however, to receive a consecration from the members of their order. This custom will be honored by the Roman pontiff if he sends them a bishop empowered to ordain their candidate. It remains that *Christianus pontifex* can refer to the sender *and* the person sent. When

[28] "PROVIDENTIA AUGVSTI VERE PONTIFICIS," quoted by Andrea Palladio in *I Quattro Libri dell' Architectura* (Venice: Franceschi, 1570), 3, 22.

More's erudite seaman-philosopher mentions *sacerdotii* and *sacerdos*, he need not be limiting the priesthood to the level of *presbyter* (a word he never uses). *Sacerdotium* embraces all the degrees of the holy ministry, not excluding either episcopacy or even papacy. *Pontifex* and *princeps* do not by themselves designate the pope and the king. *Pontifex* can be the chief priest of a Utopian city, can be Caiaphas, can be Cranmer (in More's first prison letter), but in practice, just as *princeps* for More meant "*the* king," *pontifex* meant "*the* pope."

Angers

Alberti's Momus: *Sources and Contexts*

DAVID MARSH

Until recently, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) was studied primarily as a theorist of art and architecture and as a pioneer of Italian prose and prosody, and Alberti's works in those fields are readily available in modern critical editions. Cecil Grayson edited Alberti's vernacular works in the definitive *Opere volgari*, and the books on architecture were edited, translated, and annotated by Giovanni Orlandi and Paolo Portoghesi.[1] Grayson also published the treatises on painting and sculpture with English translation, and he and other scholars have edited several of the Latin *opuscula*.[2] Alberti's most ambitious fictions, the *Intercenales* and *Momus*, still await definitive editions, but scholars have in the past few years rendered both works more accessible through annotated translations.[3] The new edition of Alberti's

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[1] For the Italian works, see Alberti, *Opere volgari*, ed. Cecil Grayson, 3 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1960–73). For the books on architecture, see *L'architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, ed. and trans. Giovanni Orlandi, with intro. and notes by Paolo Portoghesi, 2 vols. (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1966) for the Latin text and Italian translation, and *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1988) for an English translation.

[2] The treatises on painting and sculpture are in *On Painting and On Sculpture*, ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon, 1972); *Vita S. Potiti* and *Musca* in *Opuscoli inediti: Vita S. Potiti e Musca*, ed. Cecil Grayson, Nuova collezione di testi umanistici inediti o rari, vol. 10 (Florence: Olschki, 1954); *Apologi* in Paola Testi Massetani, "Ricerche sugli 'Apologi' di Leon Battista Alberti," *Rinascimento* 12 (1972): 79–133 (reprinted in *Apologhi ed elogi*, ed. and trans. Rosario Contarino, Testi della cultura italiana, vol. 7 (Genoa: Costa & Nolan, 1984) and *Apologhi*, ed. and trans. Marcello Ciccuto (Milan: Rizzoli, 1989); *Vita* in Riccardo Fubini and Menci Gallorini, "L'autobiografia di Leon Battista Alberti: Studio e edizione," *Rinascimento* 12 (1972): 21–78; *De iure* in Cecil Grayson, "Il 'De iure' di Leon Battista Alberti," in *Tradizione classica e letteratura umanistica. Per Alessandro Perosa*, ed. R. Cardini, E. Garin, L. Cesarini Martinelli, and G. Pascucci (Rome: Bulzoni, 1985), 173–194; *Canis* (not a critical edition) in Cecil Grayson, "Il 'Canis' di Leon Battista Alberti," in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, part 3: *Umanesimo del Rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia*. 2 vols. 1: (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 193–204 and Contarino, ed., *Apologhi ed elogi*.

[3] See Book 10 of the *Intercenales* (together with other works) in Contarino, ed., *Apologhi ed*

Momus, and three valuable studies of the work, invite a re-reading of this neglected masterpiece.[4]

Completed in Rome about 1452, the satirical allegory in prose *Momus sive De principe* (*Momus, or On the Ruler*) by Leon Battista Alberti consists of four books which narrate how the gods of the Olympian pantheon nearly destroyed mankind in order to make room for a new creation.[5] As the work's alternate titles suggest, there are two main characters. The protagonist is Momus, the god of mockery who appears by turns as disaffected outcast and dissimulating courtier. His literal "antagonist," implied by the title *De principe*, is the ineffectual ruler Jupiter. The complex plot may be briefly summarized here.

Book 1 begins soon after the creation of the world. When the gods of Olympus complain that men are happier than they, Jupiter resolves to afflict mankind with numerous ills. A heavenly council is convened, and all the deities rush to adulate Jupiter—all except Momus, whose usual disgruntlement is fomented by the goddess Fraud. In a fit of pique, Momus threatens to oust Jupiter and make himself king of the gods, but he is overheard and denounced to Jupiter. Disgraced in the divine senate and forced to flee to earth, he arrives in Tuscany where, dressed first as a poet and then as a philosopher, he denounces the gods. (The passage may contain echoes of Lucian's *On Sacrifices*, which Alberti's friend Lapo da Castiglionchio translated and dedicated to him in 1438.[6]) Swayed by Momus's recriminations, people begin to neglect their offerings to the gods, and an emergency session of the divine senate is convened to deal with the crisis. The goddess Virtue is sent to earth to appease Momus, but a riot of noblemen interrupts their talks. In a further act of defiance, Momus addresses a gathering of young women and reveals to them an astonishing invention—make-up! Now winning new popularity, Momus reviews the blessings of dissimulation, and

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elogi; *Momus* in *Momo o del principe*, ed. and trans. Rino Consolo, Testi della cultura italiana, vol. 11 (Genoa: Costa & Nolan, 1986); and my translation of the *Intercenales* in *Dinner Pieces: A Translation of the "Intercenales"* tr. David Marsh, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. 45 (Binghamton, N.Y., 1987).

[4] While not philologically critical, the recent editions by Contarino (*Apologhi ed elogi*) and Consolo (*Momo o del principe*) offer useful texts, translations, and annotation. The three articles are Rinaldo Rinaldi, "Parodia come allegoria. Il 'Momus' di Alberti e la parodia classica," *Atti e memorie dell'Arcadia* 8 (1986–87): 129–63; Alberto Borghini, "Un'altra probabile fonte del 'Momo' di L. B. Alberti: Esopo," *Rivista di letteratura italiana* 5 (1987): 455–66; and Lucia Cesarini Martinelli, "Metafore teatrali in Leon Battista Alberti," *Rinascimento* 29 (1989): 3–51.

[5] Recent edition in Consolo, *Momo o del principe*. The title of the work in both manuscripts and printed editions appears alternately as *Momus* and *De principe*: see Consolo 303–4, and Alessandro Perosa, "Considerazioni su testo e lingua del *Momus* dell'Alberti," 45–62 in *The Languages of Literature in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Peter Hainsworth, Valerio Lucchesi, Christina Roaf, David Roby, and J. R. Woodhouse (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 46–52.

[6] Cf. Rinaldi, 132: "Lapo da Castiglionchio il giovane dedica ugualmente allo scrittore la sua traduzione del *De sacrificiis* composta tra il 1436 e il 1438, cioè di una fonte del *Momus* (per la parte sui voti degli uomini che salgono all'Olimpo)."

plans his next act of revenge. Breaking into the temple of Virtue, he rapes the goddess Praise, who bears a monstrous child called Fama or "Rumor."[7] The demigod Hercules forcibly abducts Rumor from the temple of Virtue and carries her to heaven, but the scorn of the gods forces her to return to earth. Momus continues his campaign of subversion by urging the populace to imitate Hercules by storming the temple of Virtue. In a violent assault, the temple gods are routed, and the cloak of Praise is torn to shreds.

Book 2 narrates Momus's return to heaven. Since his demagoguery has in fact revived human worship of the gods, Momus is recalled at the instance of Pallas and Minerva.[8] Appearing before Jupiter, Momus gives an account of his earthly adventures which puts mankind in a bad light. Then, despite Juno's protests, a banquet is given in his honor, during which Momus humorously recounts the various professions which he considered adopting on earth. Rejecting the life of a soldier, a ruler, or a tradesman, he delivers a eulogy of the vagabond, who enjoys greater liberty than even the philosophers. Jupiter's reconciliation with Momus at once arouses the envy of other gods, who pose captious questions about his terrestrial adventures. When Momus decries the atheism of earthly philosophers, priests, and scholars, he is countered by Hercules, who takes up mankind's defense. But Jupiter, angered by Juno's taunts, denounces mankind and accepts Momus's proposal to destroy the world and to plan a new creation.

In Book 3, the gods admit their perplexity in undertaking a new creation, and so decide to visit the earth to consult human philosophers. As they make ready to descend, Momus presents Jupiter with a set of tablets which hold a compendium of political wisdom, but Jupiter puts them aside for the moment. (He will open them only at the end of the story.) Arriving on earth, various gods interview different philosophers, and concur in pronouncing Socrates alone a truly wise man. Back on Olympus, the divine senate reconvenes, only to hear a series of contradictory and incoherent speeches. When at length Juno takes the floor and verbally assails Momus, he retaliates by proposing a law to exclude all female deities from the assembly. Enraged, the Olympian goddesses fall upon Momus and castrate him. Apollo now arrives and presents a detailed report on earthly madness and folly. On earth, meanwhile, people sense an impending cataclysm and seek to propitiate the gods by dedicating new temples and statues to them. In heaven, moved by this renewed worship and urged by Hercules, the grateful gods now praise mankind and denounce the maimed Momus, whom Jupiter banishes and bids chained to an ocean cliff.

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[7] Quattrocento readers will not have missed Alberti's implicit critique of epideictic rhetoric: the union of praise and blame—Laus and Momus—engenders a grotesque monstrosity.

[8] Curiously, Alberti considers Athenian Pallas and Roman Minerva as distinct goddesses—a sort of bilingual hendiadys like his frequent pairing of Greek and Latin *theatra et templa* for civic spaces.

In Book 4, the exiled Momus is befriended by sea nymphs, who aid him in his revenge against the Olympian gods. By covering the earth with clouds, they block the gods' view of mankind's devotions and force them to descend to earth. There, the gods land in a large theater, where they pose as statues of themselves. One god, Stupor, leaves the others, and by chance rescues a philosopher named Oenops ("Wineface") from brigands. In the meantime, the underworld ferryman Charon has resolved to visit the upper world, taking as his guide the philosopher Gelastus ("Comical"). Charon and Gelastus soon approach the god-filled theater, where Gelastus meets his inebriated friend Oenops. When Charon and Gelastus set sail to see more of the world, they narrowly escape an attack by pirates, and survive a great storm, which drives their boat onto the shoals near the fettered Momus. The same storm terrifies the gods posing in the theater and sends them fleeing back to heaven. Only Stupor, Spes ("Hope"), Pluto, and Nox ("Night") remain on earth. After the storm, Momus recounts his adventures to Charon and Gelastus, and the latter relates his own misfortunes. Neptune now arrives, and the four exchange views on the ideal ruler and his duties. Meanwhile, back in heaven, Jupiter suddenly remembers the tablets that Momus had given him before his unfortunate expedition, and opens them to find some general principles for the just ruler.

As the preceding synopsis should make clear, Alberti's *Momus* is a rich, rambling, and sometimes redundant narrative which defies classification as a specific literary *genre*. Rather, it is a hybrid creation combining various classical elements in an allegorical framework. The present study attempts to situate *Momus* in three contexts: the classical background of Alberti's literary sources, the veiled allusions to contemporary figures, and the subsequent reception of the work in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

§ § §

Only extant in fragments, the Homeric epic cycle *Cypria*, generally attributed to Stasinus, recounted the events leading up to those in the *Iliad*. In an account of the origins of the Trojan war, the cycle related how, when Zeus thought to destroy the overcrowded earth, Momus instead proposed sowing seeds of discord between Europe and Asia, in order to precipitate the Trojan War and thus reduce the population.[9] We know this myth from the A-scholia on *Iliad* 1.5 ("the will of Zeus"), of which one codex belonged to Aurispa and (later) Bessarion and may thus have been accessible to Alber-

[9] For the *Cypria*, see Homer, *Opera*, ed. Thomas W. Allen and David B. Monro, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912–46) 5: 117–18; W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols. in 12 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884–1937): vol. 2, pt. 2, 3117; and Albin Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, trans. James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966), 81–82.

ti.[10] Yet the more immediate inspiration for his *Momus* derives from a Greek author who was well known in the early Quattrocento, the satirist Lucian.[11]

In his poem, Alberti writes that the novelty of his work lies in treating serious topics in a comic fashion, something not found in Latin prose—although, by implication, similar to Roman verse satire. In an allusive manner, then, Alberti identifies his model as a Greek prose satirist, which can only mean Lucian. For Alberti claims to be the first Latin author to combine serious moral teaching with humor and laughter, a reconciliation of opposites which recalls Lucian's boast of being the first to combine dialogue and comedy (*Prometheus in Words* 6).[12]

In Alberti's choice of subject and setting, moreover, Lucian is a primary source for the opening of *Momus*, when the carping deity criticizes various creations of other gods. In *Hermotimus* 20, Lucian relates how Momus was asked to judge a contest of skill between three Olympian gods. Poseidon produced a bull, Athena a house, and Hephaestus a man; but Momus found fault with all three. In the *Hermotimus*, Lucian records only his objection to the man, namely, that he had no window in his chest through which others could view his thoughts. But in *Nigrinus* 32 and *True Story* 2.3, Lucian also notes why Momus found fault with Poseidon's bull: the horns, he said, should have been placed below the bull's eyes for more accurate charging. In his *Momus*, Alberti has significantly revised Lucian's account. In a strange shift of deities, Alberti ascribes the bull to Pallas, the house to Minerva (whom Alberti distinguishes from Pallas, as noted above), and the man to Prometheus. And his Momus makes two additions to Lucian's myth—first by criticizing the house as having no wheels for fleeing undesirable neighbors, and second by making his own contribution to the new creation—swarms of bedbugs, maggots, drones, hornets, and dung-beetles.[13]

While Lucian's scattered allusions to Momus have shaped the opening pages of Alberti's *Momus*, one specific Lucianic work reveals itself as the primary model for Alberti's narration. This is the dialogue *Zeus Rants* (*Iuppiter tragoedus*), which depicts Momus as an important counselor to Zeus and the Olympian gods during a crisis.[14] To be sure, other works by Lucian have

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[10] On the A-scholia, see Lesky, 76–77 (Aurispa and Bessarion, 77).

[11] For an Aesopic "source," see Borghini.

[12] English titles of Lucian's works follow the Loeb Library edition.

[13] Consolo, *Momo o del principe*, 32–34. Consolo follows Martini in printing "stataniones," but the codices have "scataveones," a coinage also found in Alberti's *Cynicus*: see Perosa, 62 n. 43; and Marsh, *Dinner Pieces*, 80, where I translate "dung-beetles," noting (with Perosa) the connection with Greek σκατός.

[14] See Rinaldi, 132: "Del resto *Iuppiter tragoedus* e *Deorum concilium* si possono largamente considerare le fonti dell'operetta albertiana, non soltanto per il protagonista e per il suo libro consegnato a Giove, ma anche per tutta la satira dei filosofi e della filosofia." For a (partial) transcription of *Iuppiter tragoedus* made by a Florentine student of Chrysoloras around 1400, see

contributed to Alberti's satire. Thus, the vanity and wrangling of philosophers in Lucian's *Icaromenippus* nearly lead Zeus to destroy the earth. And the bill to expel false gods from Olympus, proposed by Momus in Lucian's *The Parliament of the Gods* 14–18, may have inspired the similar motion made by Alberti's Momus in Book 3. Still, it is *Zeus Rants* which offers the closest model for Alberti's *Momus*.

In Lucian's dialogue, the gods are called to council when a debate between Damis the Epicurean and Timocles the Stoic threatens to undermine human belief in divine providence. In Lucian, the gods are portrayed as clumsy materialists who fear starvation if men cease to sacrifice, and are seated in council according to the value of their votive statues. A worried Zeus has himself descended to earth and assumed the bearded disguise of a philosopher in order to assess the situation; but in reporting to the Olympian council, he appears perplexed and tongue-tied. Flouting the monarch's confusion, Momus takes the floor and begins by mocking the failure of Apollo's prescience in resolving the crisis. Then he claims that men are justified in their doubts, for in fact the gods seldom reward the just and often engage in the scandalous behavior sung by the poets. At length, the gods open the doors of heaven to observe the philosophers' debate, and witness the victory of Damis the Epicurean, who derides the gods as indifferent to mankind.

Among the themes in *Zeus Rants* which inspired Alberti's *Momus*, foremost is the characterization of Zeus as a feckless politician who is afraid of losing the mankind's veneration and offerings. In both Lucian and Alberti, it is not the gods, but the Fates, who control the universe. Lucian's Zeus is resigned to his lack of authority, while Alberti's Jupiter intentionally delegates his power to the Fates in order to share the leisure of the other gods.[15]

In a Cynical reversal of the expected, Lucian makes the gods both desperately dependent on men for their sustenance and woefully ignorant of what is happening on earth. Lucian's Zeus recounts his visits to the earth disguised as a philosopher. Alberti expands this episode into three reconnaissance missions made by Momus, Apollo, and Jupiter, all disguised as philosophers. The conclusion of *Zeus Rants* portrays the Olympian gods as spectators of the human arena; while in Alberti's first book, the Olympians gather in heaven to observe Momus's debate with the philosophers.[16]

Ernesto Berti, "Alla scuola di Manuele Crisolora. Lettura e commento di Luciano," *Rinascimento* 27 (1987): 3–73.

[15] Lucian, *Zeus Rants* 25 (English: Lucian, *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, trans. H. W. and F. G. Fowler, 4 vols., [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905]; Greek: *Opera*, ed. M. D. Macleod, 4 vols., Oxford Classical Texts [Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972–87]); *Momo o del principe*, 36–38. In Lucian's *Double Indictment* 2, Zeus contrasts his overwhelming tasks to the lighter responsibilities of the other Olympian deities.

[16] *Zeus Rants* 33; *Momo o del principe*, 48–50: "Disceptantium philosophorum tumultu perciti superi, unde a caelo exaudiri voces possent ad rem spectandam accursitarunt suspendisque animis disputationis eventum exspectabant. . . ."

In Lucian, the gods are criticized on two counts. Momus asserts that they indulge the wicked and oppress the just (19), and Damis the Epicurean cites episodes of the gods' petty quarrels from Homer (40). Alberti has adapted both themes to his story. When Momus first descends to earth and lands in Tuscany, he first poses as a poet who sings of the Olympians' shameful deeds, and then as a philosopher who denies divine providence.[17]

When the gods first convene in *Zeus Rants* 8, they are seated according to the value of their statues, gold being given pride of place in the assembly. Lucian's insistence on the corporeal reality of divine statuary is a frequent motif in his writings, often employed to point the moral that exteriors can be deceiving: even an imposing colossus is often filled with rubbish.[18] By a similar identification of divinity with materiality, Lucian's gods fear lest they lose their grandeur to temple robbers (25). Alberti has seized on the idea for the comic climax of *Momus*. In the fourth book, he depicts the gods posing as statues in a human theater, in which they suffer various indignities, including befoulment by a drunken actor.

Alberti takes Lucian's emphasis on materiality several steps further. Momus's criticism of oracles and Apollo in *Zeus Rants* introduces a theme dear to Renaissance authors, the uncertainties of prognostication. Alberti develops the theme in Book 3 of *Momus*, in which Apollo offers Jupiter ambiguous oracles.[19] Later, when Apollo's pouch is stolen on earth, he mistakenly blames Socrates for the theft, further demonstrating the fallibility of the gods.[20] The satire of Rabelais's *Tiers Livre*, in which Panurge seeks divinatory counsel concerning marriage, is a well-known descendant of this tradition.[21]

Another element which Alberti has borrowed from Lucian is what may be called the *synchronicity* of the narrative. In Lucian's dialogues, men and gods converse in a chronological span that stretches from the Trojan War to the Second Sophistic, and embraces figures as remote in time and space

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[17] *Momo o del principe*, 46: "Ergo obscenas quasque superum fabulas, desumpta poetarum persona, seriove iocove ad multitudinem decantabat . . . Post id, philosophantis persona sumpta . . . disceptabat deorum vim aliud nequicquam esse quam irritum ac penitus frivolum superstitiosarum mentium commentum; nullos inveniri deos, praesertim qui hominum res curasse velint. . . ." The phrase "seriove iocove" evokes Lucian as serio-comic author (in Eunapius's phrase, "σπουδαῖος εἰς τὸ γελασθῆναι").

[18] Graham Anderson, *Lucian: Theme and Variation in the Second Sophistic*, *Mnemosyne*, Supplement 41. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 18–20, 46.

[19] *Zeus Rants* 20, 28; *Momo o del principe*, 192–94 (the comparison is made by Consolo, 194 n. 27).

[20] *Momo o del principe*, 218: "Tum Apollo cum istac pro re vellet sortes consulere et ruptam ligulam abrepta crumena intueretur maxima caepit voce indignissimum facinus in se admissum deplorare, et quod familiarius apud Socratem fuerat versatus, sibi id fecisse furtum blanditorem Socratem persuadebat et adiurabat."

[21] M. A. Screech, *Rabelais*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1979), 239, aptly notes that Panurge needs divination since Christ has silenced the ancient oracles. Still, the ambiguous advice he receives, and the quest for the Holy Bottle in later books, reflect Lucian's critique of oracles, celebrated in Erasmus's *Adages* 1.7.77 on the *oracle* of Trophonius.

as Achilles, Solon, and Chrysippus.[22] In part, this was the legacy of the classical νεκυία described in *Odyssey* 11 and imitated (possibly from Menippus) in Lucian's *Downward Journey* and *Menippus*.[23] But Lucian extends this telescoped view of history to other works like *Icaromenippus* and *Philosophies for Sale*. Alberti has followed Lucian's lead in conflating different periods of mythical and historical time. Thus, in a world which was recently created, Momus and Jupiter interact with a cast of characters that includes Hercules, Democritus, Socrates, and the populace of Tuscany.

In his imitation of Lucian, Alberti's omissions are as interesting as his borrowings. To begin with, Alberti has rejected the more doctrinal side of Lucian—the clichés of the Stoics and Epicureans, and the stock arguments concerning divine providence. Alberti's adaptation of Lucian may reflect prejudices he acquired during the Council of Florence. It is well known that Alberti's colleagues in the papal Curia regarded contemporary Byzantine Greeks as obsessed with trivial points of dogma, and Lucian's affinity for philosophical quibbles may have struck Alberti as equally tedious. When Lucian boasted that he had combined dialogue and comedy, by "dialogue" he clearly meant the dialectical contests of the philosophical sects. Alberti has little room for sectarian debate, and instead caricatures philosophers (not without a debt to Lucian) as muddled and mistaken.

Alberti's depiction of the gods borrows from Lucian the penchant of Cynic diatribe for reversing expected roles. Familiar from Old Comedy, and essential to "carnival" rituals, the dethroning of the tyrant and the exaltation of the beggar became the stock in trade of popular moralists from Diogenes onwards. Adapting these themes, Lucianic satire strips the gods of their dignity and decorum, and endows lowly outcasts with superior wit and wealth. For both Lucian and Alberti, the immortal gods embody human foibles and frustrations, while humble cobblers and beggars assume heroic dimensions.

In bringing his pantheon literally "down to earth," Alberti goes beyond his Lucianic model, in which the gods generally observe mankind from their Olympian seats. Descent and transformation are key elements in the plot of *Momus*. Much of the allegory involves both earthy humor and earthly symbolism, and the terrestrial component of this divine farce finds its antiapotheosis when Momus is metaphorized into *humus* at the end of Book 3.[24] When his story shifts from words to action, Alberti goes beyond the conventional slapstick implied by Lucian, and resorts instead to violent forms of deformation and degradation. The physicality which Lucian

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[22] Achilles appears in *Dialogues of the Dead* 26; Solon in *Charon* 12; Chrysippus in *Philosophies for Sale* 21–25.

[23] For Lucian and the traditional *nekyia*, see Rudolf Helm, *Lucian und Menipp*, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), chapters 1–2. Menippus's *Nekyia* is mentioned in Diogenes Laertius 6.101.

[24] *Momo o del principe*, 228: "Relegatum ea de re commutilatumque Momus posthac caelicolae commutilato etiam nomine 'humum' nuncuparunt."

exploits for schoolboy humor becomes savage violence. In Alberti, Bakhtin's "lower bodily stratum" seems not so much carnivalesque as cannibalistic: the physical injuries perpetrated on the gods include facial disfigurement (not unlike the Neapolitan *sfregio*), fecal befoulment, and castration.

After Momus has been exiled, Alberti's Book 4 introduces new characters and episodes which might at first seem unrelated to the preceding narrative. But in fact the appearance of the infernal boatman Charon and the soul of Gelastus adds an important dimension to *Momus*, anchoring it more firmly in the terrestrial realm. (A popular etymology, echoed by Pontano in his dialogue *Charon* of c. 1470, derived the Greek name Charon from the Latin noun *caro* or "flesh."[25]) Indeed, Book 4 of *Momus* invokes all the earthly elements—winds, seas, and earth—but omits the ethereal element of fire. Most important for the earthly perspective is the conversation betwen Charon and Gelastus. As in Lucian's *Charon*, the underworld ferryman appears here as a curious tourist, while his experienced guide is played by Gelastus, an amateur philosopher. When Charon asks him about the origins of the world, Gelastus blurts out some Aristotelian notions of form and matter, of substance and accidents, which are utterly confused and unintelligible. Charon in turn offers his own account of the origin of mankind, which he says he once heard from a certain philosopher. According to this creation myth, human beings were fashioned from mud, and soon after creation they assumed masks which they only shed in the underworld.

Momus also differs from its Lucianic models in the length and diffuseness of its story. Roughly the length of Apuleius' prolix romance *The Metamorphoses*, Alberti's satire constitutes the first Renaissance Latin novel. Where Lucian is content to portray a single crisis in heaven, Alberti has created a vast canvas depicting numerous confrontations which constantly shift the scene between heaven and earth. Each encounter, moreover, refashions Lucianic vignettes, omitting the clichés of Greek culture and pointing up the mutual misunderstanding of Alberti's characters. Lucian conceives each scene in Aristophanic terms, so that one character outsmarts and outtalks the other. Alberti balances the characters more closely—diplomatically, one might say—so that, while each advances a position, no one is a clear winner.

The episodic structure of Alberti's plot, which is characteristic of many Renaissance narratives, may also be termed Lucianic. When Lucian composes pieces longer than a brief dialogue or προλαλία, he tends to construct his works by compiling series of episodes. Obvious examples include the series of tales told in *Toxaris or Friendship* and *The Lover of Lies*. The analytic studies of Graham Anderson, moreover, have shown how Lucian

[25] Giovanni Pontano, *I dialoghi*, ed. Carmelo Previtera (Florence: Sansoni, 1943), 5 (a specious syllogism uttered by a Parisian sophist): "Charo, inquit, es, omnis autem caro morti est obnoxia, morieris igitur."

builds a work using a limited number of constituent ideas and inventions.[26] Alberti operates in much the same way, developing single episodes which the narrator often introduces directly to the reader. Stressing *inventio* and *novitas* as his creative principles, Alberti invents new characters whenever his plot seems to sag. In this respect, he may be compared to the French novelist Stendhal, who also shares with Alberti a peculiar fascination with the political dimension of his ambiguous heroes. Indeed, Julien Sorel and Lucien Leuwen might well be characterized, *mutatis mutandis*, as nineteenth-century descendants of Momus.

From the outset, Alberti's *Momus* promises to entertain the reader with novelty, an element which links both narrator and narration within the work. In his proem, Alberti draws a striking parallel between the divine creativity of Jupiter and the near-divine talent of human originality. As in a number of his previous works, Alberti here cites the dictum of Terence (*Eunuchus*, prologue 41) that "nothing can be said which has not been said before." But in *Momus* he formulates a solution to the dilemma by identifying the originality of his work in a novel (and Lucianic) combination of comedy and philosophy.[27] As narrator, Alberti insistently stresses the novelty of single episodes, while his narrative relates the analogous attempts of Jupiter to create a new world. The notion of novelty thus "associates" Alberti and Jupiter as (failed) creators of a new system of meaning. In the context of Jupiter's planned reforms, it is important to remember that in classical Latin the adjective *novus* Latin connotes political instability and disorder.[28] In the context of Alberti's narrative, such novelty takes the form of ambiguity and confusion.

While the proem links Alberti as narrator to Jupiter, his narrative proper links him to Momus. From the very beginning, Momus exercises criticism of (artistic) creations, rejecting what has been done in favor of what might be done. Competing against such useful inventions as the bull, the house, and man, Momus creates a host of flies—a symbol evoking Lucian's *The Fly*, a mock (or Momus-like) encomium which Alberti had imitated in a Latin improvisation.

To this implicit, darker side of creation, Alberti explicitly contrasts the more positive goal of edification. Alberti departs from Lucian in emphasizing the moral significance of his narrative. Explaining his use of the gods,

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[26] Graham Anderson, *Lucian: Theme and Variation*, chapters 9–10; Studies in Lucian's Comic Fiction (*Mnemosyne*, Supplement 43. [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976]), chapters 3–4.

[27] Consolo in *Momo o del principe*, 24 n. 3, rightly compares Alberti's hopes for surpassing the ancients to his preface to the treatise on painting. On the Terentian dictum, see David Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue: Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, vol. 35 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), 132 n. 22.

[28] Alberti often couples *novus* with *inauditus*. In his *True Story* 1.3, Lucian similarly characterizes his fiction as καινός, roughly the equivalent of *novus*, with connotations of strangeness.

Alberti writes that he has followed the ancient poets in using them to represent various kinds of character:

> Nos igitur, poetas imitati, cum de principe ... scribere adoriremur, deos suscepimus, quibus et cupidos et iracundos et voluptuosos, indoctos, leves suspiciososque, contra item graves, maturos, constantes, agentes, solertes, studiosos ac frugi notarem, quasi per ironiam, quales futuri sint in vitae cursu et rerum successu....[29]

The phrase *quasi per ironiam* requires some comment, since the notion of "irony" is clear neither from the immediate nor from the historical context.[30] The term *ironia* evokes the most famous ironist of antiquity, Socrates; and a recent study by Rinaldo Rinaldi has shown how Alberti parodies Socrates' myth-making in Plato's *Republic*, in which allegory and the Olympian gods also figure in political speculation.[31] Indeed, in using Olympian gods to represent human emotions, Alberti here professes to imitate Homer, Pindar, and Sophocles, all of whom are cited by Plato early in his *Republic*, albeit in a context antagonistic to poetic allegory.[32]

Alberti's allusion to Socratic εἰρωνεία implies both ethical and semantic dimensions: both Socrates and his meaning can be termed ironic. On the ethical level, Alberti has learned from Cicero to associate *ironia* with *dissimulantia*, the intentional concealment of identity—a trait dear to his protagonist Momus. On a semantic or narratological level, Alberti's *ironia* involves two systems of meaning. The first is *allegory*, by which the narrator assigns abstracted meanings to specific figures. As a means of both reading and writing texts, allegory was vigorously embraced by Christian apologists who (following the example of Plato) saw in literature a potentially seductive and subversive entertainment. In this respect, Alberti professes to offer a reliable correspondence between myth and meaning. But his *ironia* also invokes a second system of meaning, something like a narrative *irony*, which implies a

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[29] *Momo o del principe*, 26–28.

[30] For irony in *Momus*, see J. H. Whitfield, "*Momus* and the Nature of Humanism," 177–81 in *Classical Influences on European Culture, AD 500–1500*, ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1971) and "*Momus* and the Language of Irony," 31–43 in *The Languages of Literature in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Peter Hainsworth, Valerio Lucchesi, Christina Roaf, David Roby, and J. R. Woodhouse (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.) For the complex history of the term "irony," see Dilwyn Knox, *Ironia: Medieval and Renaissance Ideas on Irony*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, vol. 16 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), esp. 80 n. 21 on this passage.

[31] Rinaldi, 142–47.

[32] *Momo o del principe*, 26: "nimirum sunt dii quales esse et Homerus et Pindarus et Sophocles et optimi poetarum introduxere in scaenam." Quoting this passage, Rinaldi (145) observes that Alberti's *Momus* portrays the gods in the unflattering way which Plato condemns, but fails to add that all three poets are cited early in Plato's *Republic*. Sophocles and Pindar are cited in Cephalus' opening praise of old age in Book 1, while Homer is of course quoted at length in the attack on poetry in Books 2 and 3, which categorically dismiss the dramatic poets implicit in Alberti's "quales ... Sophocles et optimi poetarum introduxere in scaenam."

discrepancy between symbol and meaning, and replaces doctrine with ambiguity.[33]

Alberti's insistence on the moral implications of his ethical symbols represents a departure from his Lucianic model. Lucian is content to portray an undignified Zeus outwitted by a fast-talking philosopher, without drawing abstract lessons about rulers. From the lampoons of Old Comedy, Lucian inherited a *situational* approach to comedy.[34] By contrast, Alberti generally uses a *dissimulational* approach which alienates discourse from its context. And divine dissimulation finds various mythical counterparts in the human world. In Book 1, Momus teaches women how to apply makeup. In Book 4, Charon explains the origin of human masquerading, which only ends at death.

§ § §

For Alberti, the key to reading *Momus*, as the alternate title *De principe* implies, lies in political allegory, which was at best a marginal concern for Lucian.[35] Alberti's explicit espousal of the allegorical method, together with the symbolic dimension of numerous episodes, seem to call for a "solution" to the allegorical puzzle, a correct identification of the persons intended. When *Momus* was first circulated in manuscript, Alberti received a Latin epigram from Francesco Filelfo, who inquired whether he might be the model for Momus since, like the god, Filelfo had once had his beard torn by assailants.[36] But a fifteenth-century codex of *Momus*, with autograph corrections by Alberti, contains two marginal glosses identifying the Genoese humanist Bartolomeo Fazio as the model for Momus.[37] As for the anonymous dedicatee of the work, Rinaldo Rinaldi has convincingly proposed Leonello d'Este, the ruler of Ferrara who hosted the Council of Florence and acted as Alberti's patron in the 1440s and 1450s.[38]

The figure of Jupiter, the vacillating *princeps* of the allegory, has attracted similar speculation. In Alberti's "Jupiter optimus maximus," several critics have perceived the "pontifex maximus" of Alberti's first fifteen years in the

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[33] On rhetorical irony, see Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1973) 1:446–50.

[34] See R. Bracht Branham, *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1989), 173, on the "Old Comic art of vilification" in *Zeus Rants*.

[35] In arguing for Lucian's "relevance" to contemporary politics and history, Barry Baldwin,(*Studies in Lucian*, [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973]) and C. P. Jones, (*Culture and Society in Lucian*, [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1986]) seem in fact to demonstrate his general distance from them.

[36] For Filelfo's poem and relevance, see *Momo o del principe*, 11 n. 51, and 46 n. 17; for Momus's beard, 50.

[37] Perosa, 50, citing Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS. lat. VI 107, fol. II^{v} ("Sotto il nome di Momo s'asconde Bartolomeo Fazio, che fiorí nel sec. XV e morí circa l'anno 1457"), and fol. 1 ("Momi o Bartholomaei Facii Historia").

[38] Rinaldi, 138–39.

curia, pope Eugenius IV (1431–47). Unpopular and indecisive, Eugenius IV is remembered both as the pope who fled Rome hiding in a skiff on the Tiber and as the summoner of the Council of Florence, which sought to reunite the Eastern and Western churches. Both events have left their mark on Alberti's allegory. The pope's ignominious treatment at the hands of the Roman mob is implicit in the outrages suffered by the gods in Book 4. And Jupiter's plans in *Momus* to create the world anew would suggest to any Quattrocento reader the ambitious project of Eugenius' ecumenical council. It is understandable that Alberti shows little sympathy for the convener of celestial councils, since under Eugenius IV the learning of curial humanists was neither encouraged nor rewarded, as Poggio Bracciolini was to recall when he dedicated a translation to Nicholas V, Eugenius' more generous successor.[39]

§ § §

A century after its composition, Alberti's political allegory attracted a Spanish translator, Agustín de Almazán, who divided the work into short chapters headed by interpretive glosses.[40] (Obviously, the Hispanic predilection for outlining works for students antedates the pedagogical efforts of Spanish educators like Vives and Loyola. In the 1430s, Alonso García, bishop of Burgos, persuaded Pier Candido Decembrio to divide his translation of Plato's *Republic* into similar chapters and headings.[41]) The translation brought Alberti's Lucianic narrative to Spain, where it enjoyed considerable popularity. Yet the lesson of Alberti's satire to posterity lay not in the realm of politics, but in the domain of literature, whose autonomy Lucian had claimed for his own work.[42] Almazán's translation of *Momus* was reprinted in Madrid in 1598, and the following year saw the publication of the first

[39] Bracciolini 4: 681 (cited in Riccardo Fubini, *Umanesimo e secolarizzazione da Petrarca a Valla.* [Rome: Bulzoni, 1990], 108 n. 58): Nicholas V's predecessors "in erigendis ornandisque doctorum virorum ingeniis dormitarunt."

[40] See Leon Battista Alberti, *El Momo, la moral y muy graciosa historia del Momo*, trans. Agustín de Almazán (Alcalá de Henares, 1553; repr. Castro, Madrid, 1598) (I have used the Newberry Library copy); M. Damonte, "La fortuna di Leon Battista Alberti in Spagna: Una traduzione cinquecentesca di 'Momus' in ambiente erasmiano," *Atti dell'Accademia ligure di scienze e lettere* 29 (1972): 354–72; 31 (1974): 257–83; and Michael O. Zappala, *Lucian of Samosata in the Two Hesperias: An Essay in Literary and Cultural Translation*, Studia Humanistica, vol. 65 (Potomac, Md.: Scripta Humanistica, 1990), 188–90.

[41] James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols., Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, vol. 17 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 133.

[42] Wesley Trimpi, *Muses of One Voice: The Literary Analysis of Experience and its Continuity*, (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983), 23–24: "The fact that Lucian is trying to define a particular kind of satiric dialogue is not as significant as the fact that he must distinguish and defend it, as a form of literary discourse, from both rhetoric and philosophy. With respect to subject matter and style, Lucian conceives of literary discourse in a terminology explicitly borrowed from its two strongest original competitors and excludes the conservative characteristics which have remained peculiar to them."

part of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, a picaresque novel by Mateo Alemán.[43] Like Momus, the hero of Alemán's novel claims to have tried various ways of life, but found none superior to that of the wandering rogue, a claim which (as Edmond Cros has observed) makes Alberti's Momus the ancestor of the Spanish *pícaro*.[44]

The picaresque novel from Cervantes to Fielding parodies epic themes in prose, and Alberti's *Momus* points in that direction. But a recent study by Lucia Cesarini Martinelli has demonstrated the centrality of theatrical metaphors in Alberti's dialogues and fictions—including *Momus*—and emphasized how his notion of therapeutic laughter implies the reader as spectator.[45] If we look beyond the picaresque tradition, it is striking how often the narrative and dialogue of *Momus* tend toward dramatic spectacle. Indeed, if we interpret the work as a comedy (like Alberti's early *Philodoxeos fabula*, an allegory of power and ambition), we shall recognize the deeper significance of Alberti's *Momus* as the precursor of, if not the inspiration for, the "black" comedy of hypocrisy. Like Ben Jonson's *Volpone* and Molière's *Tartuffe*, Alberti's *Momus* portrays the heroic malcontent as violator of laws and ladies, an element so cosmically disturbing that only disgrace and banishment can exorcise his menacing power.

Rutgers University

[43] For Lucian in Spain 1500–1700, see Antonio Vives Coll, *Luciano de Samosata en España (1500–1700)* (Valladolid: Séver-Cuesta, 1959), esp. 116–20 on Mateo Alemán.

[44] Edmond Cros, *Protée et le gueux: Recherches sur les origines et la nature du récit picaresque dans Guzmán de Alfarache* (Paris: Didier, 1967), 239: "La complaisance avec laquelle il s'étend sur ce mode de vie, la propre expérience qu'il en a, les différents stages qu'il a faits dans les divers métiers, son caractère traditionellement médisant font bien du Momus d'Alberti l'ancêtre du *pícaro*, dont il partage la virulence satrique et le pessimisme." Zappala, 203, extends the ancestry to Lucian: "The praise of the beggar's life in Alemán's novel recalls the apology of the *furfante* in *Momus*, but also Lucian's *Ars Parasitica*."

[45] Cesarini Martinelli, esp. 16–24, 35–38 on *Momus*.

Latin and Its Uses in William Bullein's Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence

ELIZABETH MCCUTCHEON

Like such fellow writers as Thomas Wilson and William Baldwin, William Bullein, who was born between 1520 and 1530 and died in 1575/76, was Protestant, nationalistic, a humanist, deeply concerned with abuses in the commonwealth, interested in social and political issues to which he brought a conservative mindset, and anxious to be of use.[1] Most of his writing approximates the characteristic mode of mid-century English prose, what Janel Mueller aptly calls a "Prose of Counsel."[2] Intended for practical use at a time when there was a growing audience for medical works in English, Bullein's three earlier works, all medical treatises, fit comfortably into C. S. Lewis's all purpose classification of "Drab and Transitional Prose."[3] But Bullein's last work, his *Dialogue Both Pleasant and Piety-full, Against the Fever Pestilence,* while clearly transitional, is rarely "drab." What could have been just a medical treatise is also the first literary treatment of the plague in Renaissance England and a lively and empathic, if often idiosyncratic, text that exploits the resources of Latin as well as the vernacular at a time of crisis, both giving counsel and (to a degree) ironizing it or, more precisely, almost all of those who give it.

Such a radical, albeit incomplete, tranformation of mode almost certainly was triggered by the crisis the narrative represents. In 1563 an epidemic of bubonic plague broke out in London, where Bullein was a doctor. Though

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[1] For general backgrounds, see Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (Durham, N.C., 1965); John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, 1982); and Janel M. Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style 1380–1580* (Chicago, 1984).

[2] Mueller, 244.

[3] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), 272; cf. H. S. Bennett, *English Books & Readers 1558 to 1603* (Cambridge, 1965), 184.

more localized than the so-called Great Plague of 1665, this outbreak was more devastating for the people concerned: close to one quarter of London's population died in a matter of months.[4] And London's many resources (the city formulated social policies and public health measures as well as special prayers and liturgies) were badly strained as it tried to cope with suffering and a disaster it interpreted as both a natural and a supernatural phenomenon. On the one hand, the plague was associated with polluted air (miasma) and other natural causes, although neither the plague bacillus nor its vector, the rat flea, had been discovered. On the other, it was viewed as a sign of divine wrath and punishment for heinous sins, echoing the old and still pervasive idea that "the 'illnesses' of society ultimately break out in actual epidemics ... for which the actor [the city, etc.] must seek the proper remedy [prayer, science, exile, extermination])."[5] First published in 1564, and set in London during the so-called "dog-days" of early August, 1563, as deaths from the plague began to increase dramatically, Bullein's *Dialogue* presents an almost apocalyptic vision of life and death in Tudor England, seeing in the plague evidence of humankind's primal fall and offering such diverse remedies as science, medicine, laughter, charity, repentance, prayer, and faith.

The *Dialogue*, otherwise, is a very difficult text to place or describe. Simultaneously philosophical and "foolosophical," it is full of wry humor despite (or because of) the terror and suffering it represents—Bullein believed that laughter was the best medicine. And it overflows its own formal boundaries; in fact, there is so much material, apart from the story-line, that C. S. Lewis argued that Bullein "was trying to do too many things at once."[6] Elsewhere I have argued that Bullein's text is a Menippean satire or anatomy.[7] Moving between the medical and the moral/social/spiritual, and developing his role as a writer-anatomist, Bullein, anticipating later Elizabethan satirists, used his scalpel to "strip away false appearances and expose the truth," rather like John Donne in the "Anatomy of the World."[8] But Bullein's *Dialogue* is an anatomy twice over, for its formal structure is an anatomy as Northrop Frye has defined it: "a loose-jointed narrative form" that parodies and echoes countless other works and "deals less with people as such than with mental attitudes," generally presenting "a vision of the world in terms

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[4] Background studies include Charles F. Mullett, *The Bubonic Plague and England* (Lexington, 1956) and Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Boston, 1985).

[5] Randolph Starn's foreword in Giulia Calvi, *Histories of a Plague Year: The Social and the Imaginary in Baroque Florence*, trans. Dario Biocca and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. (Berkeley, 1989), ix–x.

[6] Lewis, 292.

[7] Elizabeth McCutcheon, "William Bullein's *Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence:* A Sixteenth-Century Anatomy," *Miscellanea Moreana: Essays for Germain Marc'hadour*, ed. Clare M. Murphy, Henri Gibaud, Mario A. Di Cesare (Binghamton, N.Y., 1989), 341–59.

[8] Devon L. Hodges, *Renaissance Fictions of Anatomy* (Amherst, 1985), 2.

of a single intellectual pattern"—in this case, a vision of the world (micro- and macro-cosmic) in plague-time.[9]

Like other anatomies, too, the *Dialogue* echoes and parodies countless disparate works, among them classical and Renaissance medical treatises, Aristotle, the Bible, St. Augustine, Lucian, Chaucer, *Everyman*, Skelton, More's *Utopia*, beast-fables, dramatic interludes, and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Bullein himself boasts about this variety and defends a mix of forms and feelings, more generally, in his dedicatory letter, arguing by analogy with a gallery that would "rather moue sorowe then gladnes" were it "apparelled or hanged al in one mournyng darcke colour," and needs "the diuersitie or varietie of pleasaunte colours" that would grace it.[10] But the fundamental text to which he is indebted, as Lewis rightly insisted upon, is Erasmus's *Colloquies*.[11] Even so, there are major differences. Instead of writing a number of colloquies, each of which could stand quasi-independently, Bullein wrote a sequence of interconnected colloquies, twelve by my count, which are *not* set off and allow us to infer a series of narrative actions. And both the characters and the story-line, which exists in often curious and sometimes ironic relationship to the counsel, lectures, and diatribes of interlocutors, are crucial to any interpretation of the *Dialogue*.

There are twelve interlocutors: the beggar, Mendicus; the chief speaker, Civis, and his wife, Uxor, later called Susan; their servant, Roger; a rich Italian merchant, Antonius, who is Civis's foil; the doctor, Medicus, and an apothecary, Crispinus; two lawyers, Avarus and Ambodexter, who are the doctor's rivals for the dying merchant's money; Mendax, a traveler and teller of strange tales; the wholly allegorical figure of Death, Mors; and Theologus, a good divine. The eleven Latin but non-Erasmian names gesture towards the school play and let Bullein create social, professional, and moral types along with a vivid instance of personification allegory. The one English name, Roger, could also be used generically or specifically, incidentally, and there may well be a buried pun on the word "rogue," as well, given Uxor's respose to Roger's teasing: "Out, *Roge* and Slaue! Auaunte, villaine! Out of my sight, knaue!" (62; emphasis mine).[12] Counterpointed to these abstractions, though, is a movement towards the specific (the characters intermittently become *sui generis*) and a satire that targets individuals—as when Medicus becomes Dr. Tocrub in the 1573 edition. Tocrub, a clear favorite with later Elizabethan readers like Thomas Nashe, is an anagram of Burcot (Burchard Kranich), a well-known metallurgist, physician, and fraud.[13]

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[9] Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (1957; repr., New York, 1967), 309; 310–11.

[10] William Bullein, *A Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence*, ed. Mark W. Bullen and A. H. Bullen (1888; repr., London, 1931), 1. All citations will be taken from this edition (published by the Early English Text Society) and included parenthetically in the text.

[11] Lewis, 292.

[12] *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1971).

[13] Nashe, *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B.

The action, which is not staged but conveyed through the dialogue, begins as Mendicus knocks at the door of Civis' house, begging for alms. It soon shifts to the house of Antonius, who is dying of the plague and is being treated (and mistreated) by the doctor. The second part of the *Dialogue* finds Civis, Uxor, and Roger in the countryside outside of London as they decide (too late) to flee from the plague-filled city. They stop at an inn for dinner, where they encounter an emblematic parlor (Compare the emblematic garden in Erasmus's *Colloquies*.) and meet Mendax, who tells them about many strange countries, including an almost perfectly reformed one called Taerg Natrib (Great Britain in reverse) with a capitol called Nodnol or Repentance. They continue their journey but soon there is a terrible thunderstorm, the end of the world seems at hand, and Mors strikes Civis, who has been temporarily abandoned by his wife and manservant and realizes (like Everyman before him) that he is about to die. Civis send Roger to fetch Theologus, who teaches him "the waie to the kyngdome of Christe" (120), and he dies, his last words a prayer. The deaths of Antonius and Civis are thus counterpointed by the narrative line, which moves from sickness and infection in the body natural and corporate to the anticipation of Civis's resurrection as a citizen of heaven.

This summary makes the *Dialogue* seem simpler and more straightforward than it is, though, since the text foregrounds the conversations, catechisms, counsel, diatribe, etc., rather than the story-line. And the disparateness of the parts and the mix of characters and genres make it hard to generalize about the language. If, like C. S. Lewis, one is interested in how Bullein's colloquy "bids fair to rival the novel and the drama as a mirror of life," the "incidences of doctrinal *corvée*" can be discarded for a focus on "something as easy as real conversation but a shade more elegant."[14] For Jacqueline Proust, on the other hand, the idea of dialogue is central and all-inclusive enough to include both the frequent catalogues of questions and answers and a progression of thought. As she envisions it, the *Dialogue* begins as if it were a therapeutic for the body in peril, but ends as a therapeutic for the soul. Yet she also stresses the dramatic and reflective elements that Bullein's *Dialogue* accommodates, and the way that each character speaks a language appropriate to his social condition.[15]

Both readings call attention to important aspects of the work. But they are interested in a unity or harmony that Bullein, who insists upon diversity and multiplicity—in this respect, if no other, closer to the concerns of post-

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McKerrow and F. P. Wilson (rev. ed. , Oxford, 1958), 3:20. For Kranich, see M. B. Donald, "Burchard Kranich (C. 1515–78), Miner and Queen's Physician, Cornish Mining Stamps, Antimony and, Frobisher's Gold," *Annals of Science* 6 (1950): 308–22.

[14] Lewis, 293.

[15] J. Proust, "Le dialogue de W. Bullein apropos de la peste (1564): Formulation d'une thérapeutique pour l'âme en péril," in *Le dialogue au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. M. T. Jones-Davies (Paris, 1984), 59, 62–64. See too William C. Boring, "William Bullein's *Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence*," *The Nassau Review* 2 (1974): 34, for more on the dramatic element.

modern criticism—deliberately ruptures. In a remarkably self-reflexive moment in the *Dialogue*, Roger, something of a ventriloquist, opens an inquiry about the nature of speech and language. His claim, in some sense an outrageous one, depends upon the testimony of a fellow manservant, who told him how

> in the olde tyme ... Horses, Sheepe, Hogges, Dogges, Cattes, Rattes, and Mise did speake, and I dooe partlie beleue that, for as muche as our Parate will saie, Parate is a minion, and beware the Catte, and she will call me Roger as plaine as your Maistership. (61)

Dogs too, he insists, understand language:

> When I doe whistell Trowle will come; he will fetche my gloue, my bolte in the water, or stoope or lye doune when I bidde hym; and surelie he whiche doeth vnderstand and here what I doe saie maie speake also, but that there are so many languages now adaies he can not tell whiche to speake and to leave all alone, and tourneth all too plaine barkyng.... (61)

Like so much else in the *Dialogue*, this is simultaneously comic and serious. Roger may (or may not) be pulling his master's leg: certainly he is teasing Uxor, making an analogy between Trowle's "plaine barkyng" and a woman's scolding. But the passage also signals the author's preoccupation with words and texts, his knowledge of Plutarch, and his engagement with issues that resist resolution. Civis' response is assured (even smug); only man, who excels all other creatures by reason and judgment, can claim to speak, he explains, and "Dogges are taught by custome, and not moued by reason" (61). And yet, as Bullein's own text graphically represents, men and women alike are often less reasonable than beasts, while the different languages and accents are additional evidence of the fall of humankind.

In reading the *Dialogue*, then, we quickly become aware of the "many languages now adaiyes"—ranging from Civis' slightly inflated English to Uxor's Cockney and the beggar's thick North of England accent, so thick that he is accused of being a wretched Scot, his mortal enemy. Intermingled with the many vernacular English tongues are several different kinds of Latin, for all but two of the characters (Uxor and Roger) know, or at least can speak, some Latin—though not all of them understand it. Bullein himself alerts us to the parameters of each character's language field; we discover just who is literate, in what tongue, and to what extent. At one extreme is Medicus, who has come from the Continent and knows Latin better than English. At the other extreme is the beggar, who can neither read nor write at all, but can recite two Latin prayers by rote memory. For him, like so many others in the *Dialogue*, including the doctor, the apothecary, the two lawyers, and the divine, Latin is a professional tool and a language of authority. Yet its authority had been challenged by the 1560s—in particular by Protestantism, which demanded the Scriptures and other texts in English.[16]

[16] Mueller discusses this challenge at length.

The most technical and practical (and most authoritative) Latin appears in an almost self-contained collection of prescriptions (really recipes) for syrups, pills, a pomander, perfumes, powders, electuaries, and cordial ointments against the pestilence, often accompanied by their Latin sources (52–55). These seem redundant, since there are numerous prescriptions in English, too, but Dr. Tocrub dictates them at the request of the apothecary, who, like the beggar, foregrounds the language issue: "You were borne in an other lande, and can not well pronounce English, but speake it indiffrent well" (52). "Indeede," answers Dr. Tocrub, "for that you counte me rude in English, marke what I saie in plain Latin" (52). Bullein deleted these prescriptions in the second edition, which accordingly is more symmetrical.[17] But they reappear in the third edition, evidence of the author's continued concern with cures for the body and highlighting the text's affinities with a "prose of counsel." Moreover, their presence signals Bullein's complex response to the ongoing debate over whether or not medical works should be written in English at all—a battle that was not really resolved until the 1580s.[18]

Related to these Latin prescriptions are the many classical and Neo-Latin medical treatises that the doctor and Civis, on occasion a spokesman for the author, are familiar with. A description of the suffering and infected body in plague-time constitutes much of the first half of the *Dialogue*. This is handled by way of a series of questions and answers between the doctor and his patient that accommodates a sophisticated analysis of the plague, its presumed natural causes, its symptoms, and ways to avoid it and treat it. Sometimes Medicus speaks English, sometimes Latin. But what sounds like the direct citation of Aetius, Joannes Arculanus's commentary on Avicenna, Avicenna, Leonhard Fuchsius or Fuchs, Thomas Gale, Galen, Hippocrates, Maimonides, Paulus Aegineta, Rasis, Rufus, etc., turns out to be a lucid paraphrase.[19] In this way, Bullein actively enlarged the body of medical knowledge about the plague available in England in approved humanist fashion.

But Medicus (or Dr. Tocrub) is not only a well-informed physician, steeped in the Galenist tradition and drawing on the best available authorities. He is also a scoundrel and a rogue, anxious (like almost everyone in the *Dialogue*) to advance himself and save his own skin. This split in his being—between his knowledge and what Sir Philip Sidney will later call "the infected will"[20]—reflects Bullein's deeply held Protestantism. And it is repli-

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[17] Proust used this second edition. The present discussion is based on an examination of all extant copies of the *Dialogue* and corrects information in the EETS edition; lacking knowledge of the earliest edition, it calls the second edition the first.

[18] Bennett, 179–81; Mueller, *passim*.

[19] My comments are based on work with medical treatises at the Huntington Library—treatises that I was checking for a critical edition of the *Dialogue* under contract with Syracuse University Press.

[20] Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry or the Defence of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (1965; repr., Manchester, 1973), 101.

cated in the gap between Medicus's explications of the plague and the rest of his discourse (again in English and Latin) that undermines him without destroying or ironizing the medical knowledge he has conveyed, so that he (but not the material) stands self-exposed. It is as if he speaks with a split tongue, despite his claims to plainness, so that he resembles the showier and more obviously rhetorical Ambodexter, a pettifogger in the law, who "Full well . . . can handle the matter, bothe *pro* and *contra*" (25). For instance, the doctor and his apothecary fall into Latin as (momentarily fellow conspirators) they prepare to cheat the merchant, having run out of "fine Myrrhe" for the prescription "*Contra Pestem*," (19) and almost literally act out the idea of a split tongue: "You are a wise man: put in *quid pro quo* . . . *Intelligis*?" (19). Often, though, the irony works even more dramatically, as when Medicus tells the dying merchant how they are "of one religion," (13) which turns out to be no religion at all: "To be plain, I am a *Nulla fidian*, and there are many of our secte" (14). The patient responds in kind: "Oh, *Qui dixit in corde suo non est deus*. Well, we differ verie little in this poincte, but if I doe liue, we shall draw nere to an vnitie" (14). But the omitted word, "insipiens," *fool*, mimes the blindness that afflicts both men.

Bullein turns to a second kind of humanistic discourse—sententious sayings, often emblematized—to mime similar tensions between knowledge and authority and will or character throughout the *Dialogue*. Often English or Englished, they appear in Latin at strategic moments, heightening the dramatic irony. We encounter one such cluster as Civis and Uxor begin their survey of the "faire clothes with many wise saiynges painted vpon them" (80) in the parlor at the inn in Barnet. Because Civis's wife doesn't know Latin, Civis reads and translates the first few—about following the way of the Lord. Civis approves of them, of course, but they have a more problematic relationship to their situation than they realize. And there is one he doesn't translate, exclaiming "Oh God, what serpentes thei are, lorde defende me from them!": "*O mulier omne facinus ausa est plus quam omne, verum nihil est peius nec erit vnquam muliere inter hominum calamitatis*" (81). Uxor is nonplussed; "Well man, well; truth seketh no corners; I perceiue there is some noughtie matter that I knowe not, but by one thyng that I doe here you rede, make me thinke all the rest is not well, because the firste worde is starke nought, & that is *O Mulier*, which I am sure is nor neuer was good" (81). The obvious butt of the joke is Uxor; Bullein is playing upon two meanings of the English "nought"—*nothing* and *naughty*—while effecting a bilingual pun.[21] But Civis, a latter-day version of Chaucer's Chauntecleer, is too smug by far, and seemingly oblivious to the larger implications of this misogynous allusion to the fall.

Two emblematized Latin *sententiae* in the rich merchant's garden deepen the irony. One is particularly graphic, indeed terrifying; a tiger stands at the

[21] See the *OED* (*nought*).

top of a huge pillar and is about to kill a young child, who has a crown of gold on his head, and "in his left hande a globe figuering the whole worlde, and was called *microcosmos*, about which was written *Globus conuersus est*" (15). Medicus and the apothecary discuss the meaning; Medicus interprets it heraldically as "the crest" of the gentleman's "armes" (15), while Crispine interprets it macrocosmically, thinking that it "signified the conditions of a cruell tyraunt or some bloodie conquerour" (15). Neither reading suffices, and the emblem resists any final definition, although it seems to symbolize humanity (whether microcosmically or macrocosmically considered) under siege and its imminent destruction in a world where bestiality (and the evil it signifies) is rampant and everything is turned upside down. Elsewhere in the garden is a fair "Diall" or clock, its motto, "*tempora labuntur*" (20). The doctor has a ready explanation: "By little and little tyme doth slip awaie" (19). But real time, not just clock time, is passing away as both self and world fall apart and the end appears imminent.

Because *The Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence* is a joco-serious work that mixes so many different genres and fields of discourse, no one point of view or answer wholly dominates. We can place the interlocutors, identify the languages, and map major issues; the Latin, in particular, is a voice of authority and a vehicle for both professional knowledge and sententious wisdom—sometimes classical, sometimes scriptural, sometimes simply proverbial—that can be read straight, ironically, or both. But there is no mundane resolution, despite the apocalyptic crisis: Civis dies from the plague as does his foil, the rich Italian merchant. Embracing a thoroughly Protestant view of humankind, who inhabits a fallen world and is incapable of self-redemption, Bullein himself believes that the ultimate answer for body and soul alike is a supra-mundane one: Satan and man (not God) are the authors of sin; without God, though, "Wee can dooe nothyng that is good" (125). Yet Bullein's *Dialogue* is also a call for reform in this world, it seeks to ameliorate present pain and sorrow, it offers the best available cures for the plague-ridden body, and it is irresistably attracted to the rogues of the world, in whose number Bullein might well count some part of himself. The *Dialogue*, then, is neither a mere jumble nor a resolved hierarchy or words, tongues, and worlds. The mix of English and Latin, like the mix of characters, genres, and concerns, lets Bullein thicken and energize his colloquy and create a polysemous series of dialogues that signals languages and worlds at a critical moment, plague-time, and invites a correspondingly polysemous response from its readers.

University of Hawaii, Manoa

Johannes Murmellius's Approach to the artes liberales *and Advice to Students in his* Didascalici libri duo *(1510)*

JAMES V. MEHL

Johannes Murmellius was one of the most famous and influential "schoolteacher humanists" of the Lower Rhineland and Westphalia during the early sixteenth century.[1] In addition to his contributions as a humanist teacher and headmaster at Latin Schools in Münster, Alkmaar, Zwolle, and Deventer, Murmellius had no less than forty-nine of his works published between ca. 1502 and his untimely death in 1517. His books included collections of Neo-Latin poetry, new editions of classical and early Christian authors, and a variety of practical textbooks intended for humanistic instruction.[2] Murmellius's most significant prose writing was his *Scoparius*, published about the time of his death in 1517.[3] During the last meeting of this association in

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[1] Murmellius's importance in the development of German and Netherlandish humanism has been generally recognized; see, for example, Lewis W. Spitz, "The Course of German Humanism," in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*, ed. Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1975), 371–436, here 397, and Josef IJsewijn, "Humanism in the Low Countries," in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. Albert Rabil, Jr., 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1988), 2:156–215, here 163, 171.

[2] The most current bibliography of Murmellius' printed works is in M. A. Nauwelaerts, "Johannes Murmellius Roermond 1480—Deventer 1517," in *Historische Opstellen over Roermond en Omgeving* (Roermond, 1951), 201–34, here 228–33, although specific later editions are not indicated. Some of the reprinted editions may be found in the older biography by Dietrich Reichling, *Johannes Murmellius: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (1880; repr., Nieuwkoop, 1963), 131–65. There are also modern critical editions of some of his major writings in Aloys Bömer, ed., *Ausgewälte Werke des Münsterischen Humanisten Johannes Murmellius*, 5 vols. (Münster, 1892–95), and in Joseph Freundgen, ed. and trans., *Des Johannes Murmellius pädagogische Schriften* (Paderborn, 1894).

[3] In Bömer, ed., *Ausgewälte Werke*, vol. 5; Freundgen, ed. and trans., *Murmellius pädagogische Schriften*, 119ff. Concerning the circumstances of his death, see M. E. Kronenberg, "Heeft Lis-

Toronto, I provided a summary and an analysis of that text, arguing that the *Scoparius* represented the culmination of Murmellius's efforts as a humanist reformer.[4]

While the *Scoparius* was his most important publication in defense of the New Learning, there was clearly an evolution in Murmellius's approach to humanistic study, or what he generally referred to as the curriculum of the *artes liberales*. To illustrate this development in his thought, I would now like to focus on one of his earlier pedagogical texts, the *Didascalici libri duo* (1510).[5] This work has been only briefly mentioned by his biographers and other scholars.[6] The two books of the *Didascalici* take up two very different themes: the first part explores the definition and division of the liberal and mechanical arts, while the second part offers some points of advice for students.[7] These inquiries represent both the theoretical and practical concerns of the author at the mid-point in his brief career. They reflect the daily preoccupations of an active Latin School teacher and headmaster in Münster, as well as the tensions which existed in a humanist reformer who still had some appreciation for the ideals of traditional scholastic education.

Murmellius's *Didascalici libri duo* [or *Two Books of Instruction*] was published as a textbook for students in late November, 1510, about two years after he had become headmaster at the chapter school of St. Ludger's in Münster. A brief comment ("Scripsi abhinc triennium. . ."), which begins the dedication of the *Didascalici*, suggests that the text had basically been written three years before (in 1507), while Murmellius was still an assistant at the cathedral school of St. Paul's in Münster. The dedication further indicates continuing cordial relations with old teachers and friends in Cologne, where he had received his university degrees. He dedicated the work to a former teacher, Arnold Tongern, whom he recognized as being "inter primarios huius saeculi theologos."[8] This dedication may have been prompted by Tongern's receipt of a doctorate in theology the previous year. Another friend, Ortwin Gratius, wrote a short poem in praise of Murmellius for the title page.[9] Gratius was an arts professor at the university, but also worked

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trius schuld aan de dood van Murmellius?" *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* 9 (1930): 177–203.

[4] James V. Mehl, "Johannes Murmellius's *Scoparius* (1517–18): Another German Defense of Humanistic Study," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, ed. Alexander Dalzell, Charles Fantazzi, and Richard Schoeck (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), 471–80. That essay includes additional biobibliographical information on Murmellius.

[5] *Didascalici libri duo* (Coloniae: Quentell, 1510). For this study I have used the copy in the Universitätsbibliothek Münster: Coll. Erh. 418.

[6] Nauwelaerts, 209; Reichling, 91.

[7] This dual purpose is stated clearly in the book's full title: *Didascalici libri duo. Cunctis litterarum et sapientiae studiosis utilissimi. In quorum altero agitur de artibus tum liberalibus, tum mechanicis. Altero ad ingenuorum aritum studia parenesis continetur.*

[8] *Didascalici*, fol. a1v.

[9] This poem is reprinted in Reichling, 92 n. 1.

part-time as an editor at the Quentell press, where he most likely supervised the printing of this text. These friendly relations would change in a few years, after Murmellius gave public support to Reuchlin's cause in 1514. The hostilities engendered by that controversy may explain Murmellius's more aggressive attacks against "the defenders of barbarism and enemies of humanism" in his *Scoparius* of 1517.

Murmellius brought together his two interests in the "libellos duos" of his *Didascalici* by shaping the entire work as an exhortation to a young student, "Philoponos." At the beginning of Book 2, the reader is informed of the meaning intended for this fictional character. The name is a combination of two Greek words, "philo" and "ponos," meaning "lover of hard work": thereby "Philoponus enim amans laboris interpretatur."[10] In the preface to the first book, the author urges Philoponos to study earnestly the liberal arts. Murmellius does this by relating a personal story about how his own father, Theodoricus (Dirk), had prompted him as a boy to pursue such studies. Shortly before his death, Theodoricus had told him to renounce worldly things and to aspire only to God. He should also remember his *patria*, his mother, and those things necessary for a pious life. He was told to study diligently, at an early age, those subjects called the *artes liberales*, since they relieve the cares of both body and soul. Such study would prepare him for a life of correct living ("recte vivendi vitam") and lead to a pleasant old age. Upon hearing his dying father's words, Murmellius relates, he wept and "ex illa hora bonarum artium fui solito studiosior."[11]

But the author complains that his initial educational experience was less than satisfactory. Murmellius is referring here to his earliest years at the Latin School in his home town of Roermond, which had not yet adopted a humanistic curriculum.[12] (Curiously, his attendance at the the famous school of St. Lebuin's in Deventer, where he had received humanistic instruction from Alexander Hegius, is not related in the preface.) In 1496, he attended the University of Cologne, "where," Murmellius relates, "although I was not yet a qualified student, I nevertheless made some progress in peripatetic [i.e., scholastic] studies under the most learned men."[13] Among his learned scholastic professors at the *bursa Laurentiana*, which was one of the two largest colleges at the university, were Arnold Tongern and Gerhard de Harderwick, the regent master under whom he had received his licentiate of arts in 1500.[14] So just as Murmellius had been devoted to his studies, as his father had directed him, the "school-

[10] *Didascalici*, fol. c1v.

[11] Ibid., fol. a2.

[12] Nauwelaerts, 202.

[13] *Didascalici*, fol. a2: "ubi sub eruditissimis viris licet nondum idoneus auditor, nonnihil tamen in peripatetica profeci disciplina. "

[14] Hermann Keussen, et al., eds. *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 7 vols. (Bonn-Düsseldorf, 1892–1981), 2:392. Murmellius returned to Cologne in 1504 to receive his M.A.

teacher humanist" now acted as a father to admonish Philoponos to undertake a similar program of study.

Murmellius instructs his student to listen carefully to the following explanations of the liberal arts and his encouragements for their study. These discussions are taken up in some twenty chapters in Book 1, which comprises about two-thirds of the text, followed by seventeen chapters in Book 2 of the handbook. To lend authority and persuasion to his positions, the author quoted extensively from a number of classical authors (especially Quintilian and Cicero), as well as from early Christian and Renaissance writers. He was especially fond of Boethius, the sixth-century Christian philosopher, and other encyclopedic compilers of that time who had distilled, defined, and transmitted much of the previous learning to the Middle Ages.[15] But Murmellius interpreted those transitional authors more as a means for discovering and appropriating the earlier classical and patristic learning for a new humanistic curriculum.

In the first book, he moves from a consideration of the arts in general to explications of the seven liberal arts and related topics, concluding with a review of the illiberal or mechanical arts. With this encyclopedic approach, he provides the student with a careful division, definition, and consideration of all the arts.[16] He begins with a theoretical and historical overview of the role of the arts (1:2–4).[17] He lists the various definitions of "ars" by Cleanthes, Cicero, Quintilian, and Diomedes, who agree that an art is knowledge which is useful and necessary for human life. But Murmellius separates the arts into two kinds: that knowledge which is broad ("latius") and that which is more narrow ("pressius"). Aristotle, he states, had defined an art in the latter sense as an "habitus cum vera ratione factivus," a mental or psychological disposition that will lead to "arete" or virtue. St. Augustine agrees, since an art is defined by tradition as the virtue of living correctly and well. Murmellius next explains several general divisions of the arts. He favors Quintilian's separation of the arts as theoretical ("hoc ist contemplativa vel speculativa"), practical ("hoc est activa vel administrativa"), and productive.[18] Plato made a similar division. Since all of the arts have goodness ("bonum") as their end, true goodness is the knowledge of "honestum,"

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[15] Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 277. On the appeal of Boethius to Renaissance humanists, see Anthony Grafton, "Epilogue: Boethius in the Renaissance," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), 410–15.

[16] In his organization and methodological approach to the first book of the *Didascalici*, Murmellius anticipates his later effort to provide students with a more structured categorization of knowledge according to philosophy (sapientia) in his *De philosophiae diffinitionibus ac divisionibus tabulae* (Deventer: Paffraet, 1515).

[17] In order to facilitate the documentation, I will first cite the book, followed by the chapter number(s) in the *Didascalici libri duo*.

[18] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, bk. 2:18; in the Loeb ed., 1:344–49.

"utile," and "jucundum." Murmellius accepts the coexistence of these three—virtue, usefulness, and enjoyment—in his definition of the arts in the broadest sense.

And there are other possible divisions for the arts (1:4). A letter by Seneca is quoted to explain the ancient distinction between the liberal and servile arts ("artes liberales et serviles"): "Hence you see why the liberal arts are so called; it is because they are studies worthy of a free-born man. But there is only one really liberal study, that which gives a man his liberty. It is the study of wisdom, and that is lofty, brave, and magnanimous."[19] The liberal arts are to be studied by free men, as they had been by the citizens of ancient Greece and Rome, whereas the servile arts are manual arts to be practiced by slaves. The Italian humanists Pier Paolo Vergerio and Georgio Valla have agreed with that separation, with Valla identifying and explaining the servile or mechanical arts.[20] Another possible division of the arts may be found in the second book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, where he distinguishes between the "artes speculativae et activae." The speculative arts are those that have as their end "the contemplation of truth" ("contemplatio veritatis"), while the purpose of the active arts is "action or work" ("actio sive opus").[21] The subdivisions of these arts are explained, including, under the "artes activae," Aristotle's important moral arts of ethics, economics, and politics.

Murmellius is critical of the division of the arts that are called the "seven liberal arts" (1:5). He wonders why metaphysics, which is said to be the "prima philosophia" and is "scientiarum omnium aliarum tanque domina et regina" is not among those arts.[22] So too physics and what Aristotle has called the "artes morales" are not included in that curriculum. Neither are the four arts which were taught to boys in ancient Greece: "litteras, gymnasticam, musicam, et figurandi peritiam." (Of course, music was included in the quadrivium.) He goes on to explain (1:6) that those arts which are "now" called liberal are seven in number, with three of them—grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric—concerned with language ("sermonem") and the other four—arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy—with quantitative knowledge ("quantitatem").[23] He affirms grammar (1:7) as the "scientia recte lo-

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[19] *Didascalici*, fol. a3: "Quare liberalia studia dicta sunt vides, quia homine libero digna sunt. Ceterum unum studium vere liberale est quod liberum facit. Hoc est sapientiae, sublime forte, magnanimum." In Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, no. 88:2; in the Loeb ed., 2:348–49.

[20] *Didascalici*, fol. a3. Valla's *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus* (Venice, 1501), bk. 31, chap. 2, fol. S5, is cited here: "Ars mechanica est, quae suo nos aliquo captat emolumento, quo in genere phrygiones, fullones, pistores, figuli, marmorarii, naviculari, fabri ferrarii, fabri argentarii, fabri tignarii, ceterique opifices in hoc genere, vulgo notiores, quae ut pluribus explicare necesse sit." The liberal arts are grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and dialectic.

[21] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, bk. a. 1; in W. D. Ross, ed., *The Works of Aristotle*, 12 vols. (1928–52; repr., Oxford, 1972), 8:993b.

[22] *Didascalici*, fol. a3v.

[23] The liberal arts were defined as seven by the Latin encyclopedists of the fifth and sixth

quendi scribendique ratio, origo et fundamentum liberalium artium." He explains its division into four parts, according to Varro: "lectione, enarratione, emendatione, judicio." The order of grammar instruction in ancient times is reported by Diomedes, proceeding from the study of letters, to syllables, diction, and oration in both prose and metrical forms. Oration is further governed by four principles: "orthographia, prosodia, etymologia, et syntaxis."[24] There is a passage from Quintilian that stresses the study of literature as a foundation for oratory.[25] And he also mentions the importance of grammar for the study of Greek literature.

These humanistic concerns are put to the test as Murmellius attempts to explain the relevance of dialectic in several long chapters devoted to that art (1:8–10). The author relies heavily on information from Boethius, Martianus Capella, and even his old teacher Alexander Hegius in this section. Murmellius's difficulty was that dialectic had come to be used as a method of logical argument and formal disputation within the medieval university. He had earlier recognized the need for training in formal logic to prepare students for the speculative use of dialectic in the late medieval university, especially in the scholastic curricula of theology, law, and medicine.[26] This was in contrast to his reading of certain ancient authors, such as Quintilian and Cicero, who saw dialectic as a more informal training to support rhetorical persuasion, a tradition that the Renaissance humanists had revived. At the same time, he retains some sympathy for the scholastic training he had received under Tongern and his other masters at Cologne, where he had been trained in the *via Alberti*. Among the "more recent and approved" philosophers, he identifies Albertus Magnus, adding parenthetically, whom "I say is no less learned than the great Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others like them."[27] Those scholastics had approached dialectic as a philosophical method to demonstrate "principaliter versari circa conceptiones animi intellectusque quas intentiones vocant."[28] But after reading Augustine and Jerome he is aware of the dangers of misusing that art for sophistry. Murmellius turns to Boethius for a solution: logic may be used not only formally for speculative reasoning, but it may also be applied informally in

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centuries, especially in the writings of Boethius, Martianus Capella, and Cassiodorus. On the seven liberal arts, see David L. Wagner, ed., *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983), and Josef Koch, ed., *Artes Liberales: Von der Antiken Bildung zur Wissenschaft des Mittelalters* (Leiden-Köln, 1959). For specific authors, see Margaret Gibson ed., *Boethius*, and William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson, and E. L. Burge, eds., *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols. (New York, 1971).

[24] *Didascalici*, fol. a4v.

[25] Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, bk. 1:4.5; in the Loeb ed., 1:64–65.

[26] In his *Enchiridion scholasticorum*; in Bömer, ed., *Ausgewählte Werke*, 2:59.

[27] *Didascalici*, fol. A6v: "Albertum dico non minus doctrina quam cognomento magnum Thomam Aquinatem Joannem Scotum et ad genus reliquos. . . ."

[28] Ibid.

a number of situations including ordinary conversation and business affairs. Thus Murmellius was able to reconcile his debt to his scholastic friends and mentors, at the same time keeping the door open for a humanistic application of that traditional art.

He next treats rhetoric as a completely humanistic subject (1:11). Rhetoric is the most useful art because it is the knowledge of proper speaking. He lists and explains Quintilian's five points of speech: "inventione, dispositione, elocutione, memoria, pronunciatione sive actione."[29] Among the greatest rhetoricians are Quintilian and Cicero, while Augustine has recognized the power of that art for eloquent speech.

The remaining arts of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy are treated more briefly (1:13–16). Murmellius relies primarily on Boethius, Martianus Capella, and Isidore of Seville for his comments here, while Augustine's *De musica* is also cited for that art. These four arts deal with quantitative knowledge and are very useful. Murmellius interprets them all as having a common origin in Pythagoras and his followers, a tradition that emphasizes harmonic patterns and relationships. Boethius and Isidore have even argued that musical rhythms and harmonies contribute to the good health of both body and soul.[30] On the other hand, knowledge of astrology, which is related to the art of astronomy, may be either beneficial or dangerous. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's book against astrology is mentioned specifically.[31]

Additional chapters are devoted to the art of poetry (1:17) and the nine muses (1:18), further demonstrating Murmellius's humanistic orientation. He recalls that Alexander Hegius had written that poetry is a liberal art. He quotes from Quintilian to show the ancient origins of poetry and its relationship to eloquent speech: "How much poetry has risen to the heights of glory, thanks to the efforts of poets so far apart as Homer and Virgil, and oratory ("eloquentia") owes its position to the genius of Demosthenes and Cicero."[32] The divine origins of poetry can be seen in several places in Plato. In addition to the great number of outstanding poets from ancient Greece and Rome, Murmellius identified Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Mapheus Vegius, Baptista Mantuanus, Philippus Beroaldus, and other more recent poets who are also deserving of praise. The nine classical muses are important because they give to the poet the skills necessary to practice that art: "cupiditas discendi, delectatio, diligentia, capacitas, memoria, inventio,

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[29] *Inst. Orat.*, bk. 3:3.1–3.

[30] On the Platonic-Pythagorean tradition, see Wagner, ed., *The Seven Liberal Arts*, 12–14. See also the articles on the quadrivium by John Caldwell, David Pingree, and Allison White in Gibson, ed., *Boethius*, 135–205.

[31] The reference is to Pico's *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* (1496). On the interpretation of this text, see William G. Craven, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Symbol of His Age* (Geneva, 1981), chap. 7.

[32] *Didascalici*, fol. b4v; *Inst. Orat.*, bk. 12:11, in the Loeb ed., 4:510–11.

judicium, electio et pronunciatio."[33] Murmellius discusses the views of ancient and Christian writers concerning the number of muses: most speak of nine, but others only of three. He finally cites a passage from Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, where Varro's explanation of the "pagan superstition" of the nine muses is related.[34] Murmellius concludes that, while there had originally been three muses (meditation, memory, and gossip), Pierus of Macedonia was the father of what are now called the nine muses.

The author then returns to a subject previously introduced—the division of mechanical or servile arts (1:19–20)—but only to dispose of them quickly since they are illiberal and therefore undeserving of study by free men. Whereas the liberal arts are concerned with things of the mind and human actions, the illiberal arts deal with manual labor, tools, and machines. He recounts Hegius' historical-philological explanation of those arts, which are admired for their utility. And an example is given from Aulus Gellius: the fourth-century Greek philosopher, Archytas of Tarentum, who was known for his mechanical skills, had constructed a wooden bird with such ingenuity that it flew![35] As with the liberal arts, Murmellius is concerned about the number, division, and definition of these mechanical arts. He quotes at length from works by Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola and the French humanist Josse Clichtove, who attribute the division of seven mechanical arts to the medieval philosopher, Hugh of St. Victor.[36] In a twelfth-century treatise, the *Didascalicon*, Hugh had identified those seven as "lanificium, armatura, navigatio, agricultura, venatio, medicina, theatrica," explaining them with their subdivisions.[37] But Murmellius is critical of those divisions and speaks disapprovingly of Hugh and other "philosophastris" in that tradition.

Now that the proper scope of his curriculum has been determined, Philoponos is urged to pursue the study of the liberal arts with hard work and diligence. Murmellius encourages the young boy by offering several examples of imitation and some specific points of advice for achieving academic success. Reminding Philophonos of the meaning of his name, he tells him the story of Hercules. As a youth, Hercules had to choose between two roads, one of pleasure ("voluptatis"), the other of virtue ("virtutis"). While the first road was by far the easier, Hercules took the road leading to a virtuous life, even though it entailed great effort, dangers, and sweat. Thus

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[33] *Didascalici*, fol. b5.

[34] *De doctrina Christiana*, bk. 2:17.27; in D. W. Robertson, Jr., trans., *On Christian Doctrine* (Indianapolis-New York, 1958), 53.

[35] *Didascalici*, fol. b5v; Aulus Gellius, *Noctium Atticarum*, bk. 10:12. 9–10, in the Loeb ed. of *The Attic Nights*, 244–45.

[36] On Hugh of St. Victor's treatment of the arts in the *Didascalicon*, see Allison White, "Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium," in Gibson, ed., *Boethius*, 162–205, here 179.

[37] *Didascalici*, fol. a6. These seven mechanical arts are listed in Hugh of St. Victor's *Eruditionis didascalici libri VII*, bk. 2, chap. 21, in PL 176, col. 760. For comparison, see Georgio Valla's list of the mechanical arts in note 20 above.

Philoponos is admonished to imitate the labors of Hercules as a means of attaining wisdom and immortality.[38] The author reinforces this message by reprinting poems on the subject of hard work by Horace, Cato, and Baptista Mantuanus, along with a poem from his own hand encouraging the study of wisdom (2:1–2). In another chapter (2:3) the boy is told to be like a palm tree which is able to support the heavy burden of its branches through a measured labor. Other metaphors include an ant (2:14) and a bee (2:15). Philoponos should imitate the industry of the ant as a way of overcoming sloth, a lesson that Solomon, in his wisdom, had conveyed in a proverb.[39] And he is to copy the bee which flies quickly from flower to flower by tasting the various kinds of knowledge. Murmellius cautions, however, that his studies must be approached in a certain order: first grammar, followed by dialectic, mathematics, further studies in dialectic, concluding with the arts of rhetoric and poetry.

The purpose of all this study—which was basically the humanistic curriculum taught by Murmellius in his Latin Schools—was the attainment of wisdom and the practice of virtue (2:4). Again, poems and short literary selections by Hermann von dem Busche, Ludovicus Bigius, Ovid, and other authors are included to inspire Philoponos to the lofty heights of "sapientia" and "virtus." Murmellius devotes additional chapters to offering specific points of advice in order to achieve these purposes. Some of these are in the form of commonplaces typical of other handbooks for students of that period.[40] Most importantly, a healthy mental state is essential when studying the liberal arts (2:5). A passage is taken from Quintilian to emphasize the deleterious consequences of not maintaining a positive mental condition: an evil mind ("mala mens") releases passions that prohibit the study of literature and the pursuit of a virtuous life.[41] The vices prompted by excesses of the stomach, the pen, and wine need to be controlled (2:6). The enjoyment of pleasures, such as overindulgence in eating and drinking, are to be avoided through the cultivation of prudence and moderation (2:7). And there are other serious threats to academic success: flee idleness and sleepiness (2:8), do not waste time (2:10), do not allow interruptions to delay your study (2:16), and avoid illicit love affairs through modest and chaste behavior (2:9). There are ancient philosophers, Philoponos is told, who have overcome these earthly desires and who have obtained great wisdom (2:11): "Pythagoras, Plato, Democritus, Anaxagoras, Carneades, Cleanthes, and others too numerous to mention." They are truly models to imitate, in spite of the

[38] *Didascalici*, fol. c1v.

[39] Proverbs 6:6–8; in the *Didascalici*, fol. d2v.

[40] There are a number of similarities, for example, in the themes here and in the commonplaces in Hermann von dem Busche's *Dictata utilissima* (Coloniae: Eucarius Cervicornus, 1517), which was written for his students at the Latin School in Wesel.

[41] *Didascalici*, fol. c4; the citation is in the *Inst. Orat.*, bk. 12:1.7, in the Loeb ed., 4:358–59.

fact that they were ignorant of the true religion ("veram religionem").

For in the end, the boy is instructed, the final purpose of a Christian student is the achievement of heaven: "Nobis autem christianis per studia virtutum scientiarumque via in caelum patet."[42] The humanist author confirms this spiritual message in the last chapter of the text (2:17), "All study is to be turned to the worship of God."[43] Murmellius invoked the authority of the twelfth-century mystic, St. Bernard, the poet Ludovicus Bigius, and other Christian authors on avoiding earthly fame, splendor, and distinctions. The highest wisdom is to be found in sacred books.

Undoubtedly, this ending would have pleased the theologian, Arnold Tongern, to whom the book was dedicated. But, as my earlier analysis suggests, this text should not be interpreted as an apologia for traditional scholastic learning. Murmellius was, in fact, regarded as a significant humanist reformer in his own time. His early instruction under Alexander Hegius (and possibly Busche and other humanist teachers at Cologne), as well as his experiences as a teacher and headmaster at Latin Schools where humanistic curricula were taught, indicate his commitment to humanistic learning. That commitment can be further measured by a review of the forty-nine books he had published. However, Murmellius's enthusiasm for the humanities changed and shifted over the years of his brief life. His scholastic training at Cologne, his personal friendships with Tongern and other traditionalists, and a continuing appreciation for the highest ideals of scholastic philosophy and theology are also revealed in his writings, including the *Didascalici libri duo* of 1510. In spite of these interests, Murmellius's approach to the liberal arts and his advice to students in that text reflect his broad understanding and basic orientation as a Christian humanist and educational reformer. His treatments of the arts of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and, at least to some extent, dialectic are in keeping with the educational ideals of the Renaissance *studia humanitatis*. His commitment to humanism would become firmer and more public as he became involved in the events of the Reuchlin affair after 1514. His strongest statements in support of the *humaniora* may be seen in his last major prose writing, his *Scoparius* of 1517. My analysis and interpretation of the *Didascalici*, hopefully, will not only clarify Murmellius's approach to the liberal arts in the development of his own thought as a humanist, but also exemplify the kinds of intellectual tension that existed among German humanists on the eve of the Reformation.

Missouri Western State College

[42] *Didascalici*, fol. d2.

[43] Ibid., fol. d3: "Studia omnia ad dei cultum convertenda."

Polyanthea nova *von Joseph Lange: ein Exempel der neulateinischen Florilegia*

MIECZYSLAW MEJOR

Florilegium (Blütenlese) als Wort wohl erst neuzeitlich, im Mittelalter meist *flores*, *excerpta* o. ä., bezeichnet eine nach nichtliterarischen Prinzipien geordnete Zusammenstellung ausgewählter, nicht zusammenhängender Textstücke meist verschiedener Autoren, zuweilen eines einzigen, im originalen Wortlaut."

So lautet die allgemeine Definition des Florilegiums im *Lexicon des Mittelalters*[1]; eingehendere Beschreibung dieser Form der mittelalterlichen Literatur gibt auch Karsten Friis-Jensen an.[2] Wir erfahren, daß Florilegium eine Sammlung von Auszügen aus den Werken verschiedener Autoren ist. Mit Hinsicht auf den Inhalt kann man Sammlungen mit literarischem, moralistisch-philosophischem oder theologischem Charakter unterscheiden. Solche Sammlungen entstanden hauptsächlich für didaktische Zwecke, oft mit deutlicher moralistischer Absicht, da sie als Hilfsbücher im Theologieunterricht, im Grammatikunterricht, oder auch als handgerechte Sammlung von Exzerpten aus der christlichen und profanantiken Literatur dienen sollten.

In der angeführten Definition wird festgestellt, daß das Florilegium eine Sammlung von Exzerpten (Auszügen) ist. Das Florilegium ist zweifellos eine literarische Form mit sehr alter, noch antiker Provenienz. Ihre Entstehung und Aussonderung als eine gewisse, besondere Gattung hängt eng mit der antiken Praxis der Arbeit der Philologen oder Juristen zusammen, wie auch des Schülers; sie beruht auf dem Auswählen aus den Werken und dem Notieren der wichtigsten Abschnitte des gelesenen (bearbeiteten) Textes.[3] La-

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[1] *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, 3.3.566.

[2] *Kulturhistoriskt Lexicon för nordisk medeltid från vikingatid till reformationstid. . . . Supplementum*, (Malmö, 1977), 166–70.

[3] Plato in *Leges* (811) bemerkt, welche Rolle in der griechischen Erziehung die Anthologien aus verschiedener Autoren spielten.

teinisch heißt das "excerpere librum," d. h. sich einen Auszug machen aus einem Buch. Für das Endergebnis des Exzerpierens gab es viele Bezeichnungen, wie: *anthologica, anthologumena, adbreviatio, breviarium, summarium, supercisio, epitome.*[4] Diese Praxis gewann besondere Bedeutung in der Zeit der Spätantike und im Mittelalter, als man auf diese Weise Auszüge und Exzerpte aus verschiedenen, bereits schwer zugänglichen Werken gewann. Diese Erscheinung war auch ziemlich breit bekannt in der patristischen Literatur in Form der sog. Katene, Auszüge aus Schriften der Kirchenväter. Eine besondere Kategorie bilden die spätmittelalterlichen Zitatenlexica, *Distinctiones*, u. a., die Stoff—und Exempelsammlungen für den Bedarf der Priester waren.[5]

Das Renaissance-Florilegium, als schriftstellerische, für die lateinische Literatur des 16. und 17. Jhs. sehr charakteristische Form, wurde noch nicht ausreichend untersucht, im Gegensatz zu den mittelalterlichen Florilegien, oder anderen, verwandten Formen in der antiken Literatur.[6] Eine Arbeit, die wohl am umfangreichsten diese Art der Literatur besprach, ist *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces* von Jean Marie Lechner.[7] Der Autor untersucht die Geschichte des Begriffs 'loci communes' und stützt sich dabei auf eine umfangreiche Literatur des 16. und 17. Jhs. Das Florilegium bildet jedoch als literarische Gattung nicht den Gegenstand seines Interesses.

Ziel des vorliegenden Kommuniqués ist lediglich die Ergänzung der Angaben über die Sammlungen der *loci communes*, die von Jean M. Lechner angegeben worden sind, sowie die Hervorhebung einiger Probleme, die mit der Untersuchung der Renaissance-Florilegien zusammenhängen.

Bestimmen wir einleitend die Bedeutung des Begriffs *florilegium*, denn in dem Dickicht der synonymisch fungierenden Bezeichnungen (z.B. *anthologia, florilegium, polyanthea, loci communes, silva, theatrum, ferrago rerum* u. a.) fällt es schwer zu unterscheiden, ob es nur um Titel individueller Werke geht, oder ob es Bezeichnungen sind, die eine besondere Gattungsbezeichnung signalisieren. Weiter befasse ich mich mit der Vorführung eines typischen Beispiels des Renaissance-Florilegiums, verweise auf dessen Gattungseigenschaften und erwäge ich genologische Fragen.

Das Wort *florilegium* taucht im neuzeitlichen Latein wahrscheinlich erst

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[4] Cf. z. B. H. Bott, *De epitomis antiquis* (Marburg, 1920).

[5] Cf. *Lexicon des Mittelalters; Reallexicon der Deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 2. Aufl., Bd. 4, sub verbo: *Zitat* (hier reichliche Bibliographie).

[6] Cf. H. Chadwick in *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, 7.1131–60; H. H. Rochais in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 5.979–80; J. R. Strayer in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 5.109–10; E. Mühlenberg in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 11.215–21 (hier weitere Bibliographie).

[7] *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces. An Historical Investigation of the General and Universal Ideas Used in All Argumentation and Persuasion with Special Emphasis on the Educational and Literary Tradition of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1962), 164–75: The books of commonplaces. Zuletzt der interessante Beitrag von Ann Moss "The Printed Commonplace Book" in *Acta of the Seventh International Congress of IANLS*, dort weitere Bibliographie. (Binghamton, 1991), 509–18.

Anfang des 16. Jhs. auf. Es ist mir bisher nicht gelungen, einen früheren Gebrauch dieses Wortes festzustellen.

Im November 1503 veröffentlichte Aldus Manutius eine Sammlung griechischer Epigramme, die zum ersten Mal in Florenz im Jahre 1494 als 'Ανθολογία διαφορων 'επιγραμμάτων (Hain 1145, GW 2048) im Druck erschien. In der Ausgabe von Manutius lautete der Titel in lateinischer Fassung: *Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum. . . .*[8] So ist also das Substantiv *florilegium* eine lateinische Entsprechung des griechischen Wortes ἡ ἀνθολογία. *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* von Henricus Stephanus (1572) erklärt das Substantiv ἡ ἀνθολογία erstens als *florum collectio* (d.h. Blumenlese, flower-gathering), dann als *florilegium*, eine Gattung der Literatur. Im Altertum bediente sich des Wortes ἡ ἀνθολογία ein einziges Mal der Schriftsteller aus dem 2. Jh. p.Chr.n. Lukianus (*Piscator* 6), aber nicht in der Bedeutung, in der das Wort heute in den Sprachen fungiert, sondern in der wörtlichen Bedeutung: das Blumensammeln.[9]

Die griechische Sprache kennt dagegen ein ähnliches Wort, ein Substantiv mit ähnlicher Etymologie τὸ ἀνθολόγιον, das bei den spätgriechischen Autoren auftaucht und besser der heutigen Bedeutung des Wortes Anthologie entspricht; es bezeichnet nämlich eine Sammlung von Exzerpten, *collection of extracts*.[10]

So ist also das lateinische *florilegium* in wörtlicher Bedeutung eine Entsprechung des griechischen ἡ ἀνθολογία (Blumenlese), und entspricht in übertragender Bedeutung eher dem griechischen τὸ 'ανθολόγιον. In der spätbyzantinischen Zeit nahm aber auch das Substantiv ἡ ἀνθολογία eine übertragene Bedeutung an, identisch mit το ἀνθολόγιον, der Anthologie.

Trotzdem existiert das Wort *florilegium* nicht in den populären Wörterbüchern des 16. und 17. Jhs., und auch nicht in dem Wörterbuch von Calepinus, noch in dem monumentalen *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* von Stephanus (1536). Man kann es erst in den Wörterbüchern aus dem 18. und 19. Jh. auffinden, z.B. im *Thesaurus linguarum Latinae et Germanicae* . . . von Joh. Phil. de Carrach (Wien 1777), oder im *Ausführlichen lateinisch-deutschen* . . . *Lexicon* . . . von Imm. Joh. Scheller (Leipzig, 1804). In dem letzteren wurde erst anläßlich der dritten wesentlich erweiterten Ausgabe von 1804 nicht nur die wörtliche, mit der Etymologie übereinstimmende Bedeutung: eine Blumenlese, Blumensammlung angegeben, sondern auch die übertragene Bedeutung "tropisch Blumensammlung, i.e., eine Sammlung der besten oder doch

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[8] Cf. ein anderes frühes Beispiel: *Florilegium ex diversis opusculis atque tractatibus fratrum, patrum et magistrorum nostrorum*, Mainz, 1520.

[9] Cf. Fr. Passow, *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*, 5. Aufl., (Leipzig, 1841, sub verbo: "'ανθολογίαι hiessen verschiedene Sammlungen kleineren griechischen Gedichte (bes. Epigramme) von mehreren Verfassern, die ein Herausgeber gleich wie zu einem Blumenkranze verband . . ."; cf. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, comp. by H. G. Liddel and R. Scott (Oxford, 1983), 140: flower-gathering.

[10] Cf. Liddel-Scott.

guten Stellen von allerhand Schriftstellern, als Dichtern etc.," wobei aber dessen nichtklassische Abstammung vermerkt wird.[11]

Das nicht-klassische, nicht-ciceronianische Wort fand endgültig einen Platz für sich in den Wörterbüchern des korrekten Lateins wohl infolge seiner Aufnahme in die Kultursprache des damaligen Europas. *Florilegium*, ein Wort, das zwar schon im 16. Jh. bekannt war, machte Weltkarierre erst im 17. Jh., als es in den Nationalsprachen auftaucht: im Italienischen (florilegio), im Englischen (florilegy), im Französischen (florilege). *Florilegium* bezeichnet eine Art von Anthologie, eine Sammlung verschiedenartiger Zitate, Auszüge.[12]

Zur Popularisierung dieses Wortes trugen zweifellos die im 17. Jh. zahlreichen (über 20) Ausgaben eines Werkes bei, das von Joseph Lange in Druck gegeben wurde. Joseph Lange aus Kaysersberg, Professor für Mathematik und griechische Sprache in der fürstlichen Akademie in Freiburg / Br., trug sich in das Gedächtnis der Nachkommen ein als Verfasser eines monumentalen Werkes aus der Gattung Florilegium, das in verschiedenen Fassungen unter veränderlichen Titeln als *Florilegium magnum seu Polyanthea, Anthologia sive Florilegium, Loci communes sive Florilegium* erschien.[13]

Seine übrigen, ziemlich zahlreichen Arbeiten, Editionen antiker Autoren brachten ihm keine Popularität. Eine bescheidene Notiz über ihn finden wir nur in den Ergänzungen zu Jöchers *Gelehrten-Lexicon*.[14]

Einzelheiten über die Enstehung des Florilegiums erfahren wir aus dem Vorwort zur ersten Ausgabe im Jahr 1598. Eine Anregung zum Verfassen des umfangreichen Werkes gab Philipp Glaser, Professor der griechischen Sprache und der Geschichte in Straßburg,[15] der sich selbst mit dem Schreiben eines monumentalen *Syngramma historiarum* befaßte und Lange zum Schaffen eines Werkes für den allgemeinen Nutzen anhielt. Man verspürte nämlich das Bedürfnis, ein solches Werk zu schaffen, das auf komplexe Weise die notwendigen oratorischen Argumente, *loci communes* zusammenbringen sollte.

Lange selbst erwähnt in einem Brief an den Leser anläßlich der Ausgabe des *Florilegiums* im Jahre 1598,[16] daß er sich aus seinen Schuljahren daran erinnert, wie sehr Sammlungen erwünscht waren, die Beispiele, Sentenzen,

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[11] *Ausführliches und möglichst vollständiges lateinisch-deutsches Lexicon oder Wörterbuch . . . Dritte von neuem verbesserte und sehr vermehrte Auflage* (Leipzig, 1804), 2:1921–22: *Florilegium*.

[12] Cf. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, prep. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford, 1989), 5.1083; *Dictionaire alphabetique de la langue Francaise*, par P. Robert (Paris, 1980), 3.47 (bestätigt erst 1704).

[13] Cf. Appendix.

[14] K. W. Rottermund, *Fortsetzung und Ergänzung zu Chr. Gottl. Jöchers allg. Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Hildesheim, 1961), 3:1232–33. Vgl. auch *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI Jahrhunderts*, Abt.1, Bd.11: G 2197, M 1178, L 99, 298.

[15] Cf. Jöcher, 2:1017–18.

[16] *Lectori benevolo*, ed. 1598, 1613, 1621 etc.

Apophthegmata enthielten, die bei der Erwerbung der Grundlagen der eloquentia unentbehrlich waren. Man las also Sentenzen von Cicero, Seneca, Aristoteles, von Rednern und Philosophen, wie auch *flores* und *versus gnomici* von Dichtern, die von verschiedenen Autoren in Sammlungen zusammengestellt wurden.

Das Werk von Lange existierte in zwei Fassungen, einer früheren, wesentlich erweiterten u.d.T. *Polyanthea*, in folio. Die zweite Redaktion erschien dann unter veränderten Titeln, der ständig vervollkommneten Form des Werkes entsprechend. Ursprünglich war es eine Sammlung von Gemeinplätzen geordnet nach Stichworten ('tituli') z.B. 'abstinentia, amicitia, avaritia ... zelus, zodiacus,' die im Rahmen des *titulus* in Gruppen zusammengestellt wurden, nach dem Schema: Etymologie des Wortes, Stellen aus der Bibel, Sentenzen der Kirchenväter, Philosophen, Apophthegmata, similitudines, Exempla. In den Ausgaben der ersten Fassung war am Ende des Buches noch eine Beilage angebracht, die einige Stichwörter zusätzlich durch Beispiele in Form von Fabeln, Emblemata, und Hieroglyphica ergänzte.[17] In der erweiterten Fassung des *Florilegiums* wurde dieses Material, wesentlich erweitert, im Ganzen im Rahmen der einzelnen tituli angeführt.

So besteht also das Stichwort im Florilegium von Langius aus folgenden Teilen ('florum genera'—wie Lange selbst schrieb): Etymologie des Wortes, hier ist bei einigen Stichwörtern, wie 'anima, fortitudo, humilitas' die sog. 'divisio' beigefügt, die in graphischer Form, auf scholastische Weise, die Distinktion des Begriffes darstellt; weiter folgen entsprechenden Bibelzitate, Sentenzen der Kirchenväter, Sentenzen von Philosophen, Dichtern, Apophthegmata, Adagia, Exempla aus der Bibel bzw. Beispiele aus der Weltgeschichte, Similitudines, Hieroglyphica, Emblemata, Märchen. In der Regel sind jedoch die 'tituli' nicht so ausgebaut, daß sie alle genannten Teile halten. Gegen Ende sind überdies in vielen Stichwörtern Synonyme angegeben, die den Leser auf andere Stellen des *Florilegiums* verweisen, wo ähnliche Themen berührt wereden. Das erlaubt es, Stichwörter mit ähnlicher Bedeutung zu verbinden und ihren Inhalt um neue Zitate und Stellen zu erweitern.

Den Wert der Arbeit von Lange—auch vom Standpunkt des heutigen Lesers—liegt in der redlichen und erschöpfenden Auswahl von 'loci' aus den besten Autoren. Neben Zitaten antiker, griechischer und römischer Schrifsteller führt Langius reichlich auch moderne Schrifsteller an. Das Prinzip der Imitation erfordert nämlich von dem Lehrer auch die Anführung von Beispielen nicht nur aus der antiken, sondern auch aus der zeitgenössischen Literatur, um auf dieses Weise die Lernenden zum Wetteifern ('aemulatio') in der Erzielung des Musterstils anzuregen.

So beruft sich zum Beispiel das Stichwort 'Nobilitas,' neben den klassi-

[17] Der Autor des Beilages war der Franzose Iohann Philius.

schen Äußerungen zu diesem Thema von Cicero, Seneca, Juvenal, Aristoteles u.a., in den Teilen, die die Exempla und Similitudines enthalten auf die, heute auch schon fast klassischen Werke von Barth. Platina *De vera nobilitate,* Poggio *De nobilitate,* Aeneas Piccolomini *Historia Cancredi, De dictis Sigismundi et Friderici,* Antonius Panormita *De rebus gestis Ferdinandi regis,* Ludovicus Rhodiginus *Antiquarum lectionum commentarii,* Ioannes Ludovicus Vives *Introductio ad veram sapientiam,* Polydorus Vergilius *Adagiorum opus,* Theodorus Zwinger *Theatrum vitae humanae* u.a.

In den Teilen, in denen Emblemata und Hieroglyphica angegeben sind, zitiert Langius Emblemata aus der berühmten Sammlung von Alciatus, die Symbolik gibt er nach den *Hieroglyphica* von Ioannes Petrus Valerianus an. Und die poetischen Zitate ergänzen Fragmente aus den Werken von Titus Vespasianus Strozza, Antonius Urceus Codrus, Thomas Morus. Sehr viele Stichwörter enthalten umfangreiche Zitate aus *De remediis utriusque fortunae* von Fr. Petrarca. Apophthegmata und Adagia sind hauptsächlich den Werken von Erasmus entnommen. In bezug auf Zitate von Erasmus weist die venezianische Edition des Florilegiums von 1630 interessante Änderungen auf. Wie die Titelkarte verkündet, ist es eine Ausgabe 'Cum superiorum permissu.' Mit Hinsicht auf die Kirchenzensur wurde also in dieser Ausgabe überall der Name des Erasmus von Rotterdam beseitigt und durch das Kryptonym P.M. (= Piae Memoriae?) ersetzt. Erasmus befand sich nämlich auf der schwarzen Liste der verbotenen Bücher von 1596. Aus Zensurgründen wurde auch in den Inhalt mancher Stichwörter eingeschritten, z.B. im Stichwort 'Coitus' wurden Äußerungen nichtkirchlicher Schriftsteller beseitigt und nur Sentenzen der Kirchenväter stehen gelassen.

Es ist kein Zufall, daß das beschriebene *Florilegium* in Straßburg enstanden ist, einer Stadt, die für die Tätigkeit von Johann Sturm bekannt war, einem berühmten Pädagogen und Gründer einer Schule in modernem, humanistischen Stil. Das Wesen und das Ziel der Wissenschaft ist nach Sturm—ich erlaube mir hier, daran zu erinnern—in der Formel enthalten: 'sapiens atque eloquens pietas.' Diese Losung wurde zum Leitmotiv des Gelehrtenschulwesens im 16. und 17. Jh. Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, mußten auf jeder Lehrebene drei Prinzipien eingehalten werden: 1) die Theorie (*praecepta dicendi*), die den Unterricht der Grammatik, Metrik, Rhetorik und Dialektik umfaßte, 2) Musterbeispiele (*exempla*)—die auswendige Beherrschung von Musterfragmenten aus den Schriften von Cicero, Vergil, Demosthenes, Homer, 3) Übungen in der Nachbildung des Stils (*imitatio*). Die Annahme dieses Prinzips bedeutete in Wirklichkeit die Dominanz der Fächer Rhetorik und Dialektik im Schulunterricht. In der Praxis empfohl Sturm sowohl den Schülern, als auch den Lehrern das Schaffen von sog. Kollektaneenbüchern, d.i. Sammlungen von *loci communes, oratorii.*[18] Des öf-

[18] Cf. Fr. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf der deutschen Schulen und Universitäten. . . .*—Dritte, erw. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1919), 1:362.

teren macht er in seinen Schriften, wie z.B.: *De amissa dicendi ratione, De litterarum ludis recte aperiendis, Classicarum epistularum libri, Scholae Lauingangae* auf das wichtige Mittel der Erzielung poetischer und prosatorischer Fertigkeit aufmerksam, wie es jene Kollektaneenbücher waren.[19] Charakteristisch sind seine Worte in *De amissa dicendi ratione*, wo Sturm darauf aufmerksam macht, jene *loci* nach einem ausgewählten System auszuschreiben, damit sie ohne weiteres aufgefunden werden können, sowie zu vermerken, zu welchem Stil die gegebene Phrase gezählt wird, was von großer Bedeutung in der dritten Phase des Unterrichts war, die auf dem Nachahmen der antiken Schriftsteller beruhte. Er bedauert, daß noch niemand ein solches Lehrbuch herausgegeben hat, obwohl er erwähnt, daß Iulius Camillus bereits über eine hervorragend zusammengestellte Sammlung von *loci* verfügt.[20]

Die Prinzipien der humanistischen Didaktik Sturms wurden bekanntlich sehr schnell im Schulwesen ganz Europas angenommen. Der Erfahrungen von Sturm bediente man sich auch in den Jesuitenschulen. In der *Ratio studiorum* wird z.B. unter den allgemeinen Regeln des Rhetorikunterrichts erwähnt, daß das Material zu den Übungen (*exercitationes*) den *loci rhetorici, tropici*, also Sammlungen vom genannten Typ zu entnehmen ist.[21] So zusammengebrachte Auszüge konnten nicht nur als Sammlungen von Musterstellen zum späteren Nachahmen dienen, als Quelle der *elocutio*, sondern auch als Schatzkammer oratorischer Beweisführungen in Rahmen der *inventio*—einer Lehre von der Findung von Argumenten, aber auch als Quelle der Invention selbst, d.i. der Themen, der Sentenzen. Die späteren Lehrbücher der Rhetorik erarbeiteten Kataloge literarischen Fromen, die zu den *fontes inventionis* gehörten. Z.B. die in Polen im 17. Jh. sehr populäre Rhetorik von Nikolaus Caussinus S.J.[22] zählt zu den Quellen der Invention die Erzählung, das Märchen (*fabula, apologus*), Sinnsprüche (*similitudines*), Sprichwörter (*adagia*), Hieroglyphica, Emblemata, Zeugnisse der Vorahnen (*testimonia veterum*), Sentenzen, Rechtsvorschriften (*leges*), die Heilige Schrift u.dgl.m. Im Rahmen der rhetorischen Übungen, der sog. *progymnasmata* wurden die genannten Formen zur Bearbeitung verschiedener Themen, meist moralischer Fragen, verwertet.

Eine sehr ähnliche Zusammenstellung literarischer Formen enthält das *Florilegium* von Langius. Zweifelsohne wurde es auch in Übereinstimmung

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[19] *De amissa dicendi ratione* (Argent., 1538), 48–50; *De litterarum ludis* . . . (Argent., 1538), 16–18; cf. Fr. Paulsen, 1:292, 363.

[20] Argent. 1538, 48–50. Sturm meint das *Theatrum mundi* von Giulio Camillo, cf. Fr. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1972), Kap. 10, Anm. 20. Die Verfasserin vermutet nur, daß er *Theatrum* kennt. Es ist beachtenswert, daß Sturm über einen *locus* als literarischen Topos, wie als mnemonisches Zeichen spricht.

[21] *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu* (Romae, 1606), 115: *Regulae communes professoris rhetoricae.*

[22] *De eloquentia sacra et humana libri XVI* (Coloniae Agr., 1626), 141, (a. Ausg. Parisiis, 1623, 1634 u. a.).

mit der rhetorischen Theorie verfaßt, die im damaligen Schulwesen praktiziert wurde.

Das Werk von Langius ist wohl das populärste Florilegium im 17. Jh. Z.B. Joannes Amos Commenius schätzte das Werk von Langius hoch und verwertete es in seiner Arbeit ständig. Obwohl er in der *Didactica dissertatio* schrieb, daß die Sammlungen von *loci communes* keine Quelle des Wissens (*rerum cognitio*) bilden und nicht die Lektüre der Autoren selbst ersetzen können, machte er eine Ausnahme für das *Florilegium* von Langius.[23]

Es ist sowohl eine Samlung von *loci communes* für den Gebrauch der Übungen in der Stilistik (*copia verborum*), als auch ein Kompendium von Informationen (*copia rerum*) in Form einer Sammlung von autoritativen Äußerungen (Zitaten). Ein derartiges Florilegium kann man auch zu der Gattungsgruppe vom Typ *silva* zählen.[24]

Anfang des 16. Jhs. erschien in Druck das erste humanistische Florilegium *Polyanthea* von Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius.[25] Wenn man dieses Werk mit dem *Florilegium* des Langius vergleicht, dann kann man die Evolution beobachten, die die Gattung selbst, wie auch die darin verwerteten literarischen Formen durchgemacht haben. Es begann zuerst mit dem einfachen Anführen des Zitats, dessen Funktion der traditionelle Gebrauch auf die Verstärkung der Beweiskraft in der Argumentation einschränkte, und das auch zusätzlich von der klassischen Ausbildung zeugen konnte. Im Laufe der Jahrzehnte wurden im 16. Jh. die moralistischen Tendenzen in der Literatur, besonders in der didaktischen, wieder lebendig. Zu Worte kommen neue Methoden der Einwirkung auf den Empfänger, verbunden mit der Entdeckung neuer Quellen im antiken Altertum. Man sammelt also *dicta, memorabilia, adagia, apophthegmata, emblemata,* das ist diejenige Formen der Literatur, die sich durch eine verdeckte allegorische Bedeutung auszeichnen. Ein derartiges indirektes Sprechen machte einen beachtlichen Bestand verschiedener Äußerungsmittel erforderlich, damit die Verkündung allgemeiner moralischer Wahrheit für den Empfänger anregend wird. Daher das Bedürfnis nach der Herstellung solcher Kompendien. Und die Methode, die eine Systematisierung des reichen Materials ermöglicht, ist die Methode der *loci communes*, der Ordnung des Materials in Übereinstimmung mit der Hierarchie der moralischen Werte. Die Funktion des Florilegiums ist also sowohl die Speicherung der "Stellen," die eine Quelle der *inventio* bilden, als auch die Unterstützung des Gedächtnisses über die Systematisierung des Materials. In diesem Sinne ersetzte das gedruckte Buch die mittelalterliche Kunst des Gedächtnisses, die *ars memorativa*.

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[23] "De sermonis Latini studio ... absolvendo didactica dissertatio," in *Opera omnia* 15.I (Praha, 1986), 103–5.

[24] Cf. St. Skwarczynska, "Kariera literacka form rodzajowych bloku silva" (= Literarische Karriere der Formen vom Typ Silva) in id. *Wokół teatru i literatury* (Warszawa, 1970), 182–202.

[25] *Polyanthea, opus suavissimis floribus exornatum* (Savona, 1503), (a. Ausg.: Venetiis 1507, Basileae 1512, Saonae 1514, Gottingae 1539, Coloniae 1552 u. a.).

Die Untersuchung der Florilegien des 16. und 17. Jhs. kann infolge der Verwicklung dieser Gattung in verschiedenartige Kontexte in vielen Richtungen verlaufen. Man kann sie hinsichtlich der Entwicklung der Gattung untersuchen, die sie repräsentieren. Dann kann man sie über die enge Verbindung mit der rhetorischen Theorie erforschen, indem man die Veränderungen der Anschauungen über die Rolle der Rhetorik und der *loci communes* berücksichtigt. Daher kann man auch in den Florilegien die Entwicklung der literarischen Topoi beobachten und ihre Funktion in der europäischen Literatur verfolgen. Das hängt mit der Möglichkeit der Verbreitung einer bestimmten Topik zusammen, die in den Florilegien enthalten ist. Diesen Gesichtspunkt kann man noch mit der Sicht des Florilegiums als einer Sammlung von Zitaten verbinden, und Bemühungen unternehmen, die sich verändernde Funktion des Zitats, die Emanzipation des Zitats und dessen Funktionieren außerhalb des literarischen Kontextes zu beobachten. Ein besonderes Forschungsproblem stellt sich in Zusammenhang mit den universalistischen Tendenzen des 17. Jhs., dem Bemühem um die Schaffung eines Wissenssystems, dem Zurückführen eines jeden Bereichs auf die Rolle eines Elements des allgemeinen Wissenssystems. Diese Fragen bleiben, wie es scheint, immer noch offen, als Forschungspostulate für die Zukunft.

Uniwersytet Warszawski

Appendix

1598 Loci communes seu potius Florilegium rerum et materiarum selectarum praecipue sententiarum, apopthegmatum similitudinum, exemplorum, hieroglyphicorum ex sacris literis, patribus item (...) collectum (...) opera Josephi Langii (...).
(Argentorati) [post 1.IV. 1598]. 8°.
-Loci communes sive Florilegium (...) collectum (...) studio et opera Josephi Langii (...).
Argentorati, ap. haer. Iosiae Rihelii, 1598. 8°

1600 Polyanthea, hoc est opus suavissimis floribus sententiarum tam Graecarum quam Latinarum exornatum quos (...) collegere Dominicus Nannus Mirabellius, B. Amantius, et F. Fortius [sic!]. Quibus acessere recenti hoc editione CCXXI additiones.
Lugduni, 1600. 8°.

1604 Polyanthea Nova (...) Opus (...) nunc (...) ordine bono digestum, (...) digestum (...) opera J. Langii.
Lugduni, 1604. 2°

1605 Loci communes sive Florilegium rerum et materiarum selectarum

(. . .) collectum. (. . .) Editio altera, priori correctior (. . .).
Argentorati, typis Iosiae Rihelii per Andr. Rietschium, 1605. 8°

1607 Polyanthea nova, hoc est opus suavissimis floribus celebriorum sententiarum tam Graecarum quam Latinarum refertum: quod ex innumeris fere cum sacris tum profanis autoribus, iisque vetustioribus et recentioribus, summa fide olim collegere, ad communem studiosae iuventutis utilitatem, eruditissimi viri, Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius, Bartholomaeus Amantius, et Franciscus Tortius. Nunc vero, sublata omni titulorum et materiarum confusione, ordine bono digestum, et innumeris prope cum sacris tum profanis sententiis, apophthegmatis, similitudinibus, adagiis, exemplis, emblematis, hieroglyphicis et fabulis auctum, locupletatum, exornatum: studio et opera Josephi Langi Caesaremontani, P. L. et in Archiducali Academia Friburgensi Brisgoiae Rhetorices et Graecae Linguae Professoris. Editio altera, priore correctior. Cum gratia et privilegio Caesareae Majestatis.
Francofurti, sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri Bibliop., [post 14.III] 1607. 2°

1613 Loci communes, sive Florilegium rerum et materiarum selectarum praecipue sententiarum, apophthegmatum, similitudinum, exemplorum, hieroglyphicorum ex sacris literis, patribus, scriptortibus probatam et collectum studio et opera Josephi Langii Caesaremontani. Additus est index fabularum, emblematum ac symbolorum. Cum nova gratia et privilegio S. Caesar. Majest. ad annos octo. Argentorati, typis Iosiae Riheli Haeredum, 1613. 8°
- Francofurti, sumpt. Lazari Zetzneri, 1613. 2°
- Lugduni (?)

1617 Polyanthea nova, hoc est opus suavissimis floribus celebriorum sententiarum tam Graecarum quam Latinarum refertum; quod ex innumeris fere cum sacris tum profanis autoribus iisque vetustioribus et recentioribus, summa fide olim collegere, ad communem studiosae juventutis utilitatem, eruditissimi viri, Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius, Bartholomaeus Amantius et Franciscus Tortius. Nunc vero sublata omni titulorum et materiarum confusione, ordine bono digestum et innumeris prope cum sacris tum profanis sententiis, apophthegmatis, similitudinibus, adagiis, exemplis, emblematis, hieroglyphicis et fabulis auctum, locupletatum, exornatum, studio et opera (. . .). Editio altera, priore correctior. Cum gratia et privilegio Caesareae Majestatis.
Francofurti, supmt. Lazari Zetzneri, 1617. 2°

1619 Florilegii magni seu Polyantheae floribus novissimis sparsae libri

XX. Editio aucta, a mendis repurgata Francisci Silvii industria et labore.
Lugduni, apud Annam Thomasiam, [post 30.IX.] 1619. 2°

1621 Argentorati. 8°

1628 Florilegii magni seu Polyantheae floribus novissimis sparsae libri XX. Opus (...) sententiarum vel Graecarum vel Latinarum flosculis refertum (...) Iam olim a Dominico Nano Mirabellio, Bartholomaeo Amantio, Francisco Tortio ex auctoribus cum sacris tum profanis collectum (...) Editio aucta (...) Sylvii Insulani industria et labore....
Francofurti, sumpt. haer. Lazari Zetzneri, 1628. 2°

1630 Polyanthea novissimorum novissima in libros viginti distributa. Opus suavissismis floribus celebrium sententiarum, tam Graecarum, quam Latinarum refertum. Primum a Dominico Nano Mirabellio, Bartholomaeo Amantio et Francisco Tortio ex plurimis authoribus tam sacris quam profanis vetustioribus et recentioribus collectum. Nunc vero titulis plurimis auctum, innumeris etymologiis, definitionibus, dictis memorabilibus, apophthegmatis, similitudinibus, adagiis Graecis, Latinis et Germanicis, exemplis, emblematibus, hieroglyphicis, methologiis rebusque aliis locupletatum, ornatum et illustratum studio et opera Josephi Langii, Caesaremontani, Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctoris et in Archiducali Friburgensium Brisgoiae Academia Matheseos, Graecae linguae et Historiarum Professoris ordinarii. Theologis, concionatoribus, philosophis, poetis apprime utile et necessarium. Indice titulorum omnium totius operis adiuncto. Superiorum permissu et privilegiis.
Venetiis, ap. haer. Ioannis Guerilli, 1630. 2°

1631 Anthologia sive Florilegium rerum et materiarum selectarum praecipue sententiarum, apophthegmatum, similitudinum, exemplorum, hieroglyphicorum ex sacris literis, patribus ... aliisque ... scriptoribus ... collectum. Editio postrema ... correctior et auctior.
Argentorati, typis Wilh. Christ. Glaseri, 1631. 8°

1645 Argentorati, sumpt. haer. Lazari Zetzneri, 1645. 2°

1648 Florilegii magni seu Polyantheae floribus novissimis sparsae libri XXIII (...) Editio novissima ab (...) mendis expurgata et cui praeter additiones et emendationes Franc. Sylvii (...) accesserunt libri tres qui ad litteras K, X et Y pertinent.

Lugduni, sumpt. Petri Ravaud, [post 29.II] 1648. 2°

1662 ?

1669 Florilegii magni seu Poyantheae floribus novissimis sparsae libri XXIII (...).
Lugduni, sumpt. Io. Ant. Huguetan et Guil. Barbier, 1669, 2°
Vols. 1–2

1674 Anthologia sive Florilegium rerum et materiarum selectarum (...) collectum (...) studio et opera (...). Editio novissima, prioribus omnibus longe emendatior et passim auctior.
Argentorati, cum privil. imperiali excud. Iosias Staedel, 1674. 8°

1681 Florilegii magni seu Polyantheae libri XXIII (...) Lugduni, 1681.
Vols. 1–2.

Fortsetzung:

1624 *Janus Gruterus*, Florilegii Magni seu Polyantheae tomus secundus. Formatus concinnatusque ex quinquaginta minimum auctoribus vetustis, Graecis, Latinis ... quorum tamen nullus fere comparet in tomo primo. Ideoque non solum novitate sua omnibus passim ordinibus ecclesiasticis, politicis, scholasticis futurus iucundissimus, sed et summe utilis et necessarius pace, bello tam tyronibus quam veteranis, non modo Apollinis atque Minervae, sed et martis et Bellonae, utpote complexus libros omnes Graecos latinosque hactenus editos de re militari. Accessere et heic quoque nova apophthegmata, emblemata, mythologica, item XXV monostichorum Latinorum millia, totidem redolentia definitiones, sententias, dogmata, similitudines, proverbia, exempla, etc. decerpta pene ad verbum ex literati orbis scriptoribus classicis. Elenchus titulorum totius operis epistolae adiunctus. Argentorati, sumpt. haer. Lazari Zetzneri, 1624. 2°

Remarks on the Latin of Tito Livio Frulovisi

OUTI MERISALO

Just like numerous other humanists in the fifteenth century, Tito Livio Frulovisi, of Ferrara, was almost constantly on the move. Born sometime around 1400,[1] he was a pupil of Guarino, most probably in Venice between 1414 and 1418. After becoming, characteristically, a notary in Padua, we meet him as a schoolmaster and a physician in Venice in 1429.[2] In his Venetian years, from c. 1429 till c. 1436, he produced five comedies in prose (*Corallaria, Claudi Duo, Emporia, Symmachus* and *Oratoria*). The first one was performed by professional actors, and the following ones, due to the huge uproar caused by the author's thinly veiled attacks on important people in Venice (schoolmasters, preachers, politicians), by his pupils.[3] Frulovisi's position in Venice apparently became rather uncomfortable, and he took a trip to Rome and the kingdom of Naples in 1433. His stay in Naples provided the setting for his political dialogue *De re publica*, probably written sometime in the 1430s. Here the author shows considerable caution in commenting on contemporary Italian politics.[4] After the uproar caused by the last Venetian plays (*Symmachus* and *Oratoria*), Frulovisi set out for England.[5] It was Pietro del Monte, papal collector in England (1435–40) who recommended Frulovisi to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. Pietro del Monte was, just like Frulovisi, a former pupil of Guarino, and not the only Italian at the court of the duke: we may also mention Giovanni Signorelli, of Ferrara, the duke's physician.[6] In 1437 Tito Livio Frulovisi was "poet and orator" in

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[1] See C. W. Previté-Orton, *Titi Livii de Frulovisiis opera hactenus inedita* (Cambridge, 1927), ix.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Previté-Orton, x.

[4] Ibid., x–xi.

[5] For the possibilities of criticizing contemporary conditions, offered by the humanist dialogue as a genre, see D. Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue. Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1980), esp. 10ff.

[6] Previté-Orton, xii–xiii.

the service of Humphrey, and had also become naturalized. The plays *Peregrinatio* and *Eugenius* clearly reflect his new status as an Italian outside Italy. In this period Frulovisi also wrote the *Vita Henrici Quinti*, dedicated to Henry VI. In c. 1438 he left England.[7] In 1439 he was in Venice, and in trouble again. Then followed a stay in Milan, which had ended by 1442 when we find Frulovisi in Toulouse.[8] He was still alive in 1456, working as a doctor in Venice.[9] The date of his death is unknown.

The circulation of the works of Frulovisi was rather limited, and, for obvious reasons, the manuscripts are mainly concentrated in English libraries. According to Previté-Orton, the editor of the comedies and the *De re publica*, the plays have been preserved in a single manuscript, St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. 60;[10] as for the *Vita Henrici Quinti*, there are two deluxe copies, one in the author's own *antiqua*, and with the arms of Humphrey, now in the library of the College of Arms, London (MS. 12),[11] and another, the dedication copy of Henry VI, now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 285.[12] The *De re publica* is preserved in yet another Cambridge MS.; the letter to Decembrio is also found in Italy (e.g., Ricc. 827, fols. 83–84).

Frulovisi's importance lies, on the one hand, in his political thought (*De re publica*),[13] on the other, in his contribution to the development of humanist comedy. As Stäuble justly observes, he was one of the first humanist comedy writers whose works were certainly performed in public. At least for some time, he considered writing plays his main activity and his production was by far the largest of the genre.[14] Furthermore, he was one of the pioneers, though only for a short time, of Italian humanism in England, having also physically contributed to the introduction of the *antiqua* in that country (cf. above). The *Vita Henrici Quinti* exercised a profound influence on English historiography.[15]

Frulovisi's language has not been studied so far. The following contains some general remarks which will be elaborated in a critical edition of the

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[7] See R. Weiss, *Humanism in England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957), 41–42, 46; and Previté-Orton, xii. For Humphrey's decisive rôle in the introduction of Italian humanism in England, see. R. Weiss, *The Spread of Italian Humanism* (London 1964), 90ff; id., *Humanism*, 22ff.

[8] Weiss, *Humanism*, 42, 43.

[9] Weiss, *Humanism*, 43–44; Previté-Orton, xiv.

[10] Ibid., xvi.

[11] I would like to thank Mr. R. C. Yorke, librarian of the College of Arms, for permitting me to examine the MS and arranging for a microfilm to be made in June 1991.

[12] I am very much obliged to the staff of Corpus Christi College for their promptness in sending me a microfilm of the MS.

[13] G. Saitta, *Il pensiero italiano nell'Umanesimo e nel Rinascimento 1. Umanesimo*, 2nd ed. (Firenze 1961), 376–81.

[14] A. Stäuble, *La commedia umanistica del Quattrocento* (Firenze 1968), 64–65.

[15] See Weiss, *Humanism*, 42 and n. 5, 43.

Vita Henrici Quinti currently in preparation. The corpus consists of the texts edited by Previté-Orton (the comedies, the *De re publica* and the panegyric to John Stafford, bishop of Bath) and the *Vita Henrici Quinti* transcribed from Corpus Christi College, MS. 30.[16]

1. Vocabulary

In the following, the works are grouped according to genre.

1.1 The Comedies

It is hardly surprising to discover that the comedies of Frulovisi, like fifteenth-century humanist comedies in general, have, linguistically speaking, a distinctly Terentian flavor.[17] Even though Plautine terms do occur, their frequency is considerably lower. Frulovisi did not copy directly from any one author, following in this matter the general practice of fourteenth and early fifteenth-century humanists, e.g., Petrarch and Poggio. Certain passages, however, show a clear affiliation, for instance in the prologue of *Claudi Duo* ("Qui quum Livium accusant, et Plautum accusant, quem hic noster auctorem habet," cf. *Andria* 18–19: "Qui cum hunc accusant, Naevium, Plautum Ennium / Accusant; quos hic noster auctores habet.") The vocabulary is by no means limited to the language of comedy, either. A detailed analysis reveals a syncretist approach characteristic of early humanism. When he needed to, Frulovisi used expressions typical of Cicero (e.g., *studio et industria, Cor.* Ia; *quaeso et obtestor*, ibid., Ib; *interminatus*, ibid., 3a; *iniquum inuidia, Claud.* 17b; *capitalis, Emp.* 35b) Livy (e.g., *in publicum adducant, Cor.* Ib) Quintilian (*diuitiis exundatissimum, Claud.* 18b) late (e.g., *preces effundo, Cor.* 4b, cf. Iudith 6.14 and Arnob. *Nat* 6.8) or medieval Latin (e.g., *notator* for 'clerk', cf. Latham, *RMLWL*). Very rarely he resorted to new formations or new ways of using existing words, as in *et, quod illius uxor cardiacam patiatur, Cor.* 2a, where, by using *cardiaca* as a noun, he extended its adjectival use (as in *cardiaca passio, cardiacam diaforesin* attested in medical and late texts: (Pliny, Celsus, Tertullian, see *TLL* s.v.).

1.2 *De re publica, Vita Henrici Quinti*, Panegyric for J. Stafford

The same lexical syncretism is also characteristic of these works, the major exception being terms typical of the language of comedy, which, for obvious reasons, are almost completely absent.

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[16] The *De orthographia*, attributed by the Cologne incunable to Frulovisi, consists in fact of G. Barzizza's *Orthographia* and excerpts from Guarino's *Ars diphtongandi;* see M. Lehnerdt in *Gnomon* 10 (1934): 157ff.

[17] See A. Cornazano, *Fraudiphila.* Introduzione, testo critico e traduzione a cura di Stefano Pittaluga. Pubblicazioni dell'Instituto di filologia classica e medievale dell'università di Genova, 62 (Genova, 1980), 62:10, for the general characteristics of humanist comedies.

2. Morphology

2.1 The Comedies

The more characteristic features of the language of ancient comedy are present in Frulovisi's plays. These include passive present infinitives in *-ier* (almost without exception) and the use of athematic subjunctive and future forms in -s-, for e.g., *facere (faxim, faxo* etc), as well as present subjunctive forms in *fu-* for *esse* (*fuam* etc.); further, the very frequent use of pluperfect subjunctive forms with *fo-* (*victa ... fores, Cor.* 3a).[18] The use of the negative imperative (*ne time*), generalized in the plays, is also characteristic of the language of comedy.[19] Apart from occasional second-declension genitive plurals in *-um* (e.g., *maleuolum, Cor.* Ia, *iniquum* Claud. 18b), the morphology is essentially that of the so-called classical period.

2.2 The Other Works

No morphological particularities.

3. Syntax

3.1 The Comedies

3.1.1 *Quod* as a conjunction expressing purpose or result.

One of the most conspicuous syntactical particularities of the plays is the use of *quod* as a final/consecutive conjunction, e.g., *Orat hic nos quod hanc admoneamus molesta ne siet, Cor.* 6a; and the quasi-absence of *ut* in this function, until the third play, *Emporia*, which presents a first breakthrough of *ut* finale/consecutivum. *Quod* in the consecutive sense is first met, in ancient texts now available, in the *Declamationes* of Ps.-Quintilian, then in Pomponius (*Dig.* 30.12.3), further in patristic texts (Cyprian, Palladius) and in medieval Latin. *Quod* expressing purpose, however, occurs for the first time from Cyprian onwards,[20] and throughout the Middle Ages. It might be argued that this very consistent, flagrant deviation from the language of ancient comedy possibly brought the earlier plays more within the general linguistic scope of the audience and thus gave Frulovisi's text a more colloquial tone.

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[18] For *fax-*, see LHS 1:424.1.573; for *fu-*, ibid., 1:400.B.1.523; for *fo-*, ibid., 2:211.b.394–95: typical of Plautus, then Lucretius, Catullus and the Augustan poets.

[19] See LHS 2:188.340: popular, in Plautus 73 occurrences, in Terence 13, then Catullus, seldom in prose.

[20] LHS 2:313.e.581.

3.1.2. *Quod/quia* after *verba sentiendi et dicendi.*
This characteristically vulgar, late and medieval Latin construction (with significant precedents in the language of ancient comedy)[21] predominates throughout the plays and could be another instance of "colloquialization" through moving away from the linguistic model of ancient drama. In Frulovisi, *quod* is the generalized particle in this position, e.g., *Scio te quod amet herilis filia, Cor.* 6b (incidentally, a Plautine reminiscence, cf. *Asin* 52, also with *scio quod*), and *nunc mihi uidere sapere, quod animum adiecisti ad nuptias, Cor.* 4a. As the preceding passages show, the mood can be either subjunctive or indicative.

3.2. The Other Works

3.2.1. *De re publica* and the panegyric.

3.2.1.1. *Quod* as above.
The treatise conforms to the use observed in the plays.

3.2.1.2 *Quod/quia* as above.
The construction with the *accusativus cum infinitivo* is the predominant one in this position.

3.2.2. *Vita Henrici Quinti.*

3.2.2.1. *Quod* as in 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2.
Ut is the generalized conjunction in final/consecutive clauses, and the *acc. cum inf.* predominates after *verba sentiendi et dicendi.*

Conclusion

On the basis of this short overview, the following points are to be noted:

1. Frulovisi's Latin, in the plays largely modelled on Terence and in the other works consistent with the *usus* of each genre in later periods, is by no means a servile imitation of any one author. In this, the author follows the practice of most fourteenth and fifteenth-century humanists.
2. As regards the vocabulary, in the plays Terentian elements are very conspicuous, Plautus being less used. These elements are combined

[21] Ibid., 2:313.e.582.

with words first attested in later periods, without neglecting the resources of medieval Latin. This holds, with the obvious exception of typically archaic words, for the other works as well.

3. The morphology shows, in the plays, some conspicuous characteristics of the language of comedy. In the other works, "classical" practice is followed.
4. The syntax of the plays shows some significant and consistent deviations from the language of ancient comedy. It could be argued that these deviations, virtually absent in the other works, were intentionally brought in to give a more colloquial flavor.

In short, Frulovisi mastered several literary genres and varied his language accordingly, with the remarkable fluency of so many early Italian humanists, using the resources of the whole of Latinity.

Helsinki

Platina and Martino's Libro De Arte Coquinaria

MARY ELLA MILHAM

Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valitudine* was the first work on food to be cast in print (about 1470), and was reprinted in Latin twenty times in the next 200 years. About forty percent of its text is a somewhat abridged translation of a collection of mid-fifteenth century Italian recipes by the famous chef Maestro Martino. He would have been using them for the table of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan at Albano in the summer of 1463, where Platina and Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga seem to have been guests.[1] In a letter to a friend, Platina recalled that he had acquired a soiled kitchen copy of this work;[2] its fine humanistic copies, still extant, weren't to be until Platina had established its fame in the Roman Academy.[3]

Platina was an accomplished Latinist, and he was sufficiently versed in Greek to attempt its translation in at least two of his works; but Martino's dialectal Italian offered him rather different problems. He had already translated an Italian historical tract, but the language of food and its preparation is extremely technical; even in the fifteenth century it was drawn from a wide variety of tongues. Thus when Platina turned to the translation of Martino in the last five books of *De honesta voluptate* he was very experienced with language, but he contrasts his attitudes with those of his humanist peers in the introduction to book 9:

> I would have done my work badly if anything which has been carried over by custom into frequent use [in Italian] could not be translated

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[1] David S. Chambers, "Il Platina e Il Cardinale Franceso Gonzaga," in *Bartolomeo Platina, detto Il Platina*, ed. A. Campana and P. Medioli Masotti (Padua, 1986), 13.

[2] *Epistolae et commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini Card. Pap.* (Milan, 1506), fol. 140.

[3] The most accessible is Library of Congress: Med. MS. 153. The presentation copy to Trevisan by Sanvito is in a private collection in Milan.

> into Latin, if it is suitable and suggests analogy. I would be doing myself an injustice if I were to be prevented by a bad, or rather persistent, custom from what I am impelled to do by nature and by legal right . . . / . . . Any period allowed addition to the Latin language, and it was allowed, as Horace said, and always will be allowed to use an established name when a new fact is noted. I know that many will carp at me because I have introduced new names in this writing of mine, but I shall throw them rich morsels, as they say Hercules did the barking Cerberus.

Again, nearly ten years later, Platina defended the coinage of new words in his *Lives of the Popes*, showing his continuing dedication to the practice.[4] I shall try to describe briefly how he used both established and coined words in his translation of Martino.

The use of established Latin words with new meanings is shown in Platina's use of six very general nouns: *ius* (juice, broth), *iusculum* (its diminutive), *minutal* (soup), *patina* (dish), *cibarium* (food), and *esicium* (sausage). In the titles to the recipes Platina also found general nouns in Martino's Italian, the most striking being *menestra*, the modern *minestra* (soup). For the fourteen titles in which *menestra* occurs in Martino, Platina has used five of his six general nouns, thereby showing just how general he considered them. He has, however, made at least one differentiation by translating *menestra* as *minutal* in three recipes for herb soup, his only uses of that Latin word, which may indicate that this specialized meaning was already in use. Platina uses *ius* and *iusculum* as well for soups, although only once to translate *menestra*. In book 6 Martino's *brodo consumato di caponi* has become *ius consumptum*, a classicized re-formation *Consumato*, like the equivalent *consomme* in French, would be derived from a late Latin *consummare* rather than *comsumere*. Three nearby recipes for sauces, however, Platina translates as *iusculum*, parallel to Martino's *brodetto*, which does not seem to have acquired the modern Italian meaning of "fish soup."

But it is in other Latin words that Platina generalizes his originals beyond recognition. *Esicium* is a rare classical word (except in culinary texts) that nearly always means "sausage" or "forcemeat," which is its meaning in book 6 for the recipes for the Italian sausages *mortadella* and *tomacella*. In Platina, though, five usages of *esicium* in book 7 refer to various sorts of pasta. Because most English-speakers use Martino's original Italian *ravioli*, *lasagne*, and *macheroni* in everyday speech, I have returned to Martino for my current translation of Platina, however, he may have used *esicium*, which seems inappropriate to us, because he felt that all of these were similar mixtures of ingredients, although none used meat. Similarly, he used *esicium* for a recipe for noodle soup, where Martino used the ubiquitous *menestra*, yet he changed

[4] Livia Martinoli Santini, "Le traduzione del Greco," in *Un pontificato ed una citta, Sisto IV (1471–1484)*, ed. M. Miglio (Rome, 1986), 85.

an almost identical recipe, where Martino used *macharoni*, to the completely vague *patina* (dish).

The equally vague *cibarium* (food) is used by Platina, probably to offer variety, eight times for *menestra*, twice for *bianco mangiare*, and again for the unknown dish called *zanzarellae*. "Blancmange" appears several times in Martino under the name *bianco mangiare*, but Platina's favorite translation is *cibarium album* (white dish), although he also twice uses the Hellenized *leucophagum*, a literal translation which may be his own invention. All of these Latin translations, misleading or not, fall under Platina's own definition of what Horace would have deemed allowable.

It seems to me that Platina was not very successful in using these general Latin words to translate specific Italian terms. He does not select equivalents and use them consistently, but merely tries to add literary variety to his text by using his general words on whim for a number of specific meanings, which can then only be reconstructed from context. This practice obscures the sense of some of his recipes, especially those which we would call pasta dishes. The humanist audience for whom he was writing, however, may have been indifferent to this confusion, both because they were not necessarily interested in these recipes as practical guides and because, as bilingual Italians, they knew their own cuisine well enough to grasp the sense of Platina's generalizations.

But there is another translation technique of Platina's by which he confuses the modern reader in his striving for literary variety. He has taken Martino's Tuscan *stagmina*, meaning "sifter" or "sieve," and translated it into Latin in six different ways: *setaceum*, *cribrum*, *cribrum setaceum*, *cribrum excretorium*, *excretorium farinaceum*, and *setaceum excretorium*. There are seventy-four uses of *stagmina / stagmena / stagmenia* in the recipes of Martino. In fifty-seven occurrences, *setaceum / setacium* is Platina's chosen Latin translation. This is a non-classical word attested in DuCange,[5] but recorded only in Niermeyer[6] with the meaning "sieve." In another eleven passages, Platina has chosen the classical *cribrum*, but he has also used pairs of words in six occurrences: *cribrum setaceum* (6.5), *cribrum excretorium* (6.44), *excretorium farinaceum* (6.41), *excretorium* and *setaceum excretorium* (7.70, 8.7, 8.57).

These two-word translations are difficult because one would expect noun-adjective combinations from as good a Latinist as Platina. Only *farinaceum*, referring to "flour," is a classical adjective, yet its use here is peculiar because the strained mixture contains both ground meat and liquid. *Cribrum setaceum*, however, seems to be a noun-noun combination. The rest depend upon the form *excretorium*, which I have not found in standard late Latin dictionaries but which is clearly derived from *excernere* and related to the rare classical *excreta*, meaning "bran," the latter refers to the product of a sifting

[5] Charles du F. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (repr., Graz, 1954).

[6] J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976).

process, but could be either a noun or an adjective here. In any case, the result of Platina's striving for literary variety in translating a single word is to suggest that different types of sifters, strainers, or sieves are required in different recipes, often illogically, whereas Martino uses a consistent general noun. As I suggested above, however, Platina's contemporaries may have been so familiar with all of these terms that they saw no difficulties.

That Platina was willing to coin new words in spite of the skepticism of his peers is shown by such words as *leucophagum*, the Hellenization for "blancmange" described above; *origoenum*, for the common herb *origanum*, which is a wine-red color; *lacteolinus* instead of the ordinary name, *lacterinus*, for the milk fish, the better to derive it from *lac*,"milk"; and *aciculus* for the needle fish, which he claims to have coined from a diminutive of *acus*, "needle," rather than the common *acucella*.

Besides these which he acknowledges, there may be more coining of new Latin words in Platina's book 10, where he soon finished with the species of fish to be found in Pliny and turned to what he describes as those found in "shadows and darkness," by which he means found only in Martino and in the popular speech, lacking the cachet of antiquity. Many of the fish which Platina especially enjoyed eating and wanted to share with his readers appear to have no Latin names, so he may have been forced to fit Italian out with Latin endings.

The modern Italian names for certain fish and Platina's Latin versions include It. *luccio* (pike), *lucius*; It. *merluzzo* (hake), *merlucius*; It. *agone* (shad), *agonus*; It. *cefalo* (red mullet), *cephalus*; It. *fragolino* (sea bream), *fravolinus* and *fraolinus*; It. *triglia* (mullet), *trillia*; It. *salpa* (saupe), *salpa*; It. *ombrina*, Corsican *lumbrina* (black umber), *lumbrina*; and It. *temolo* (grayling), *temulus*. Some modern Italian nouns with diminutive forms may not have had these farms in Platina's time, since he gives It. *scardole* (rudd) as *scarda* and It. *sogliola* (sole) as *solea*.

Certain other Italian words offer problems. *Lampredotta* (small lamprey) occurs in all MSS as *lampredotia*. *Salmone* occurs in all MSS as *salmonus*, which may be a popular re-formation of the Latin *salmo*, rather than a borrowing from Italian by Platina. A different problem arises with Martino's *dentale*, which Platina uses in the same form, although his description is certainly of the dangerous *dentex*, the classical name from which the modern Italian *dentice* is derived.

Other common words in Platina besides the nomenclature for fish betray Italian origins. These include It. *frittella* (fritter, or pancake), *frictella*; It. *torta* (tart, or pie), *torta*; It. *frittura* (frying), *frictura*; It. *salsa* (sauce), *salsa;* and It. *scodella* (cupful), *scutula / scutella*. In Martino's obviously Italian vocabulary which Platina drew into Latin, he may not have been the coiner of many new words, but the Italian culinary texts before him were in Italian. There were, however, Latin zoological texts which he may have known, such as *De animalibus* of Albertus Magnus and *De natura rerum* of Thomas of Cantimpre, but he was unlikely to have had access to them. *De omnium animalium naturis*,

however, was written about 1460 by Pier Decembrio Candido for Ludovico Gonzaga. By 1463 it was surely known to Cardinal Gonzaga and therefore to Platina, especially since Mantegna worked on the illustrations for a number of years at the Gonzaga court.[7] Some of Platina's Italianate words for fish, like *cephalus*, *scarda*, and *sarda*, also occur in Decembrio and may have been drawn from him or may even have been in general use.

For the names for fish we have later evidence. Paulus Jovius in 1524, sixty years after Platina's composition of *De honesta voluptate*, published a rather famous Latin work specifically upon fish, *De piscibus*.[8] Jovius knew of Platina, for he gives an account of his life in his *Elogia clarorum virorum*[9] and *De honesta voluptate* had already been printed in ten Latin editions by that time. In that light it is of some interest to look at Jovius's vocabulary.

Like Platina, Jovius retains Pliny's classical names where they apply, but he also uses Platina's *cephalus*, though adding various local Italian equivalents, and *salpus*, with a change of gender. He differs from Platina in the use of the classical *dentex* (also in Decembrio), and *umbrina*, *fragolinus*, and *trigla*, all forms closer to the Italian than Platina's. He also records *scorpena* rather than *scorpion*, *acus* rather than *acicula*, and *lampetra* rather than *lampreda* . He also adds a number of fish not recorded in Platina, like *gobius*, *trachura*, *scombrus*, and *sargus*, the names for which may be either established or newly coined.

Because Jovius knows far more about fish than either Martino or Platina, he discusses many varieties not mentioned by Platina, or at least under different names, groups the *lupus* and the *varollus* together as being types of bass, and discusses the *silurus*, "European catfish," at length. It is not apparent whether he is imitating Platina, or general tradition, in those names which are the same or similar, but it is clear from Jovius that not all of Platina's Latin forms seem to have endured.

The first half of *De honesta voluptate*, which was drawn from Pliny and other classical writers rather than Martino, shows the same pattern of new Latin words, some of which may have been coined by Platina, for their meanings can only be determined from context. He was an erudite and gifted linguist whose work became widely disseminated, but in the vocabulary of food, which lies so close to everyday life, Platina's original contributions may have been less significant than he had hoped.

University of New Brunswick, Canada

[7] Ms. Vat. Urb. lat. 276.

[8] Paulus Jovius, *De piscibus marinis, lacustribus, fluviatilibus, item de testaceis ac salsamentis liber* (Vatican City, 1924).

[9] Paulus Jovius, *Elogia clarorum virorum* (Venice, 1546), fols. 13v–14r.

Style and Meaning in More's Utopia: *Hythloday's Sentences and Diction*

CLARENCE H. MILLER

Though the ideas and the irony of More's Utopia have been frequently and exhaustively analyzed, very few studies pay much attention to the actual continuous language, the style(s) of the work.[1] Particularly important is the language of Hythloday, since he is the primary speaker. Of course, he speaks throughout book two, but he also speaks in a full two-thirds of book one.[2] The narrative frame which leads up to the actual conversation among

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[1] Refining and extending the work of Marie Delcourt (*L'Utopie . . . texte latin* [Paris, 1936], 28–31; 213–16), R. Monsuez ("Le Latin de Thomas More dans 'Utopia,' " *Annales publiés par la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Toulouse*, n.s., vol. 2, fasc. 1 [January, 1966], 35–78 has meticulously measured the Latin of *Utopia* against the standards of diction and syntax from Plautus to Quintilian. In "Aspects of More's Latin Style in *Utopia*," *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967): 93–109, Edward Surtz analyzed the Latin of *Utopia* from a perspective closer to More: the rhetorical principles laid down by Erasmus in *De duplici copia*. He also commented on vocabulary and diction in his edition of *Utopia* in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, (New Haven and London, 1965), 4:579–82. Elizabeth McCutcheon presented a brilliant discussion of the relation between meaning and one feature of style in *Utopia*, understatement or litotes ("Denying the Contrary: More's Use of Litotes in *Utopia*," *Moreana* 31–32 [November, 1971]: 107–23; reprinted in *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More*, ed. Richard S. Sylvester and Germain Marc'hadour [Hamden, Conn., 1977], 263–74). Her analysis, like that of André Prévost (*L'Utopie de Thomas More* [Paris, 1978], 132–44; 241–52), reveals how the ambiguities and oppositions of the work tend to urge or goad the reader into a sort of interior, open-ended dialogue, questioning and requestioning himself about the social, political, economic, and ethical issues raised by Hythloday and the character-More as he presents himself in the work. Finally, McCutcheon's longest and finest stylistic study (*My Dear Peter: The Ars Poetica and Hermeneutics for More's* Utopia [Angers, 1983]) focuses primarily on More's introductory letter to Peter Giles rather than on *Utopia* itself.

[2] We should not forget that the episode at Cardinal Morton's court is narrated entirely by Hythloday, who shapes it for his own purposes. On the question of enclosures and the punishment of thieves he reports no position but his own; the lawyer is a straw man who is

More, Giles, and Hythloday takes up about twenty percent of the book. The character-More speaks only a little over eleven percent, and Peter Giles only about two and a half percent. There is not very much dialogic give-and-take. Hythloday sweeps aside the unassuming Giles briefly and effortlessly. To the more substantial argument of the character-More he simply replies that the indirect contextual way of giving advice is impossible and that if More had experienced Utopia, he would know that the only cure for social ills is the abolition of private property.

I have already tipped the scales somewhat against Hythloday, but others go much further. He has been vilified as an arrogant, narcissistic idealist, as a proponent of militaristic imperialism and brutal colonialism, as the facile admirer of a heartless and faceless society.[3] And yet most readers take fire from his passionate denunciations of injustice and his burning compassion for the poor. Who can forget the sheep that devour men because of enclosure, the misery of the displaced families, the rank injustice of hanging those who had no way to survive except to steal, the devastating and futile wars of the French, the chicanery of regal taxation, the humility, generosity, and openmindedness of the Utopians? Hence it is not surprising that some critics, particularly those whose primary interest is political or economic theory, have seen Hythloday as a direct spokesman for More himself.[4]

The degree of normative authority assigned to him by the author-More is fundamental to interpretation, but extremely problematic. Hence if we examine how he says what he says, how his speech changes strikingly when he speaks on various subjects, and how his speech sometimes resembles that of More himself in *Utopia* and his other Latin works and sometimes differs from it radically, we may be able to get some sense of the closeness and the distance between the author-More and his character Hythloday. This is a

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silenced by Morton. His main point is that rulers will not listen to the advice of councillors, who are nothing more than flatterers, and (through the episode of the jokester and the foolish friar) he is satisfied that he has made his point, though (as attentive readers do not fail to notice) Morton has in fact listened to his unflattering advice and makes a practical proposal based on it.

[3] For a summary of such disparaging views of Hythloday, see George M. Logan, *The Meaning of More's* Utopia (Princeton, 1983), 5–8 (and notes); and Cosimo Quarta, *Tommaso Moro: una Reinterpretazione dell'* Utopia (Bari, 1991), 45–48.

[4] Kautsky was only the first. Most recently Colin Starnes, arguing that in book one More is rejecting Plato's theoretical construct in favor of a practical ideal based on Christian experience, does not hesitate to identify in a univocal way the views of Hythloday (whom he generally calls by his more positive name of Raphael) with those of More; see *The New Republic: A Commentary on Book I of More's* Utopia, *Showing Its Relation to Plato's* Republic (Waterloo, Ontario, 1990), 54, 62, 68. George M. Logan's comprehensive and learned analysis is more subtle and sophisticated about Hythloday's role, but he tends to make More and Hythloday agree, since Hythloday is indeed More's mouthpiece in presenting a "best-commonwealth exercise" based on Plato and Aristotle but radically revising their results. So too, Cosimo Quarta (*Tommaso Moro*) analyzes the Utopian scheme as if Hythloday were a direct and reliable exponent of More's own views.

large order, and I intend to limit myself here to the length and complexity of Hythloday's sentences and to certain universalist features of his diction. I will not give many statistical counts, and for More's other Latin works, which have no concordances, I will have to rely on my own instincts and memory.

In the first book, Hythloday's sentences, apart from two extraordinary exceptions, are not notably different, in length or complexity, from those of the character-More or Giles or Cardinal Morton. Measured in lines of the Yale text, Hythloday's sentences average 2.9 lines; the character-More's, 2.7; Giles (who has only four sentences), 4.2; Cardinal Morton, 3.0. Within this middle range, Hythloday does have somewhat more energy than the character-More since he has more sentences at the top end of the middle scale.[5] Here is a typical sentence of Hythloday from this middle range:

> Nempe quum latro conspiciat non minus imminere discriminis duntaxat furti damnato, quam si praeterea conuincatur homicidij, hac una cogitatione impellitur in caedem eius, quem alioqui fuerat tantum spoliaturus. (74.4–7)[6]

Here there is nothing incompatible with the sentences (or the thinking) of the character-More or More himself in his other Latin writings.

But when Hythloday imagines a session of the French king's council and projects the advice he would give, he launches into a sixty-three-line sentence (464 words)—suspended, unrealistically intricate, almost interminable—and ends by asking More "hanc orationem quibus auribus mi More, putas excipiendam?"(86.22–90.22). With wry understatement More replies in four words: "Profecto non ualde pronis"(90.22). Well satisfied, Hythloday takes a deep breath and soars off into another imaginary council session about raising revenues, this time in a 101-line sentence of 926 words, a syntactical extravaganza so convoluted that he himself almost loses track of it (90.23–96.31).[7] To Hythlodaeus's concluding inquiry, More again replies with good-humored litotes and goes on to point out, in two- or three-line sentences, that "sermo tam insolens" is bound to be ineffective (96.31–98.8). Among editors and commentators, so far as I know, only J. H. Lupton has pointed out these strained, overburdened sentences, and among English

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[5] He has eighteen sentences from six to thirteen lines, whereas More has only three sentences of five lines and one of six lines.

[6] I quote and cite the Latin from *Utopia*, ed. Edward Surtz, S. J., and J. H. Hexter, vol. 4 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven and London, 1965), though I have sometimes made the punctuation and capitalization more intelligible.

[7] Three times he lapses from the required accusative-with-infinitive or subjunctive constructions into independent, indicative sentences (92.26–30, 94.16–96.12, 96.17–29). In the second and third passages, the longest interruptions, he is presenting his own views about kingship and describing the Macarians. By breaking away beyond the syntactic limits of the sentence, he moves up into an abstract, ideal level of discourse, cut away from the context of the hypothetical king and his council.

translators only Robynson attempted to reproduce them.[8] More himself wrote some very long and complicated sentences in his letters to Dorp, Brixius, and Lee,[9] but nothing which so deliberately goes beyond what ordinary Latin syntax can bear. And Hythloday does this precisely when he brings the ideal kingdoms of Achoria and Macaria, his anticipations of Utopia, into jarring and irreconcilable conflict with the military and economic corruption of Europe. The two worlds, ideal and real, collide, and the ordinary syntax accepted by speakers of Latin cannot contain them. Surely More expected his readers to be disconcerted, if not totally flummoxed, by these marathon sentences. It is not so much that Hythloday has lost his grip on reality; he understands French militarism and fiscal chicanery only too well, as the Yale commentary will testify. Rather his only reaction to real corruptions is to grip them in one hand and smash them into ideal solutions in the other. And the syntactic explosion leads us to the ideal world of Utopia. As Richard Sylvester pointed out, "Hythlodaeus' argument ... moves from a firm grasp on a past historical situation [the punishment of thieves discussed at Cardinal Morton's court], to a hypothetical revision of contemporary history [the French council set over against the Achorians], and, finally, to a totally aloof fabrication [the purely imaginary council on raising money and the Macarians, near neighbors of the Utopians]."[10]

And when he describes his ideal commonwealth, his sentences undergo a remarkable change: they are predominantly brief, factual, straightforward, syntactically simple. Usually he is simply describing Utopian things as they are, and they are mostly simple, whether it be the entrance to the lagoon:

> Fauces hinc uadis, inde saxis formidolosae. (110.17–18)

or the doors of the houses:

> NULLA domus est, quae non ut hostium in plateam, ita posticum in hortum habeat. (120.9–10)

or the selection of candidates for ruler:

> Nam a QUAQUE urbis quarta parte, selectus UNUS commendatur senatui. (122.17–18)

or the universal work at farming:

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[8] *The* Utopia *of Sir Thomas More in Latin from the Edition of March 1518, and in English from the First Edition of Ralph Robynson's Translation in 1551* (Oxford, 1895), 82 (notes), 87.

[9] See Daniel Kinney's edition of More's "Letter to Brixius" in *More's Latin Poems,* ed. Clarence H. Miller et al., vol. 3, part 2 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven and London, 1984), 541–694, and his discussion of the styles of the letters to Dorp and Lee in vol. 15 of *The Yale Edition,* xciii–cxviii.

[10] Richard Sylvester, " 'Si Hythlodaeo credimus': Vision and Revision in Thomas More's *Utopia,*" *Soundings* (formerly *The Christian Scholar*) 51 (1968): 272–89 (reprinted in *Essential Articles,* 290–301), at 289.

Ars UNA est omnibus uiris mulieribusque promiscua agricultura, cuius NEMO est expers. (124.20–23)

or the color of their cloaks:

Eius per TOTAM insulam UNUS color est, atque is natiuus. (132.33–4)

or the shifting of people to maintain uniform populations:

Hic modus FACILE seruatur, transcriptis hijs in rariores familias, qui in plenioribus excrescunt. (136.1–2)

or the distribution of goods:

Atque ea quum AEQUABILITER ad OMNES perueniat, fit nimirum ut inops esse NEMO aut mendicus possit. (146.22–24)

or the lack of seeking for offices:

Qui magistratum ULLUM ambierit expes OMNIUM redditur. (192.29–30)

or the exclusion of lawyers:

Porro causidicos, qui causas tractent callide ac leges uafre disputent, PRORSUS OMNES excludunt. (194.12–14)

or the refusal to make treaties:

Foedera quae reliquae inter se gentes toties ineunt, frangunt ac renouant, ipsi NULLA cum gente feriunt. (196.14–16)

or the recruitment of soldiers:

E QUAQUE ciuitate delectus exercetur ex his, qui sponte nomen profitentur. (208.20–22)

or the strict keeping of a truce:

Initas cum hostibus inducias tam sancte obseruant, ut ne lacessiti quidem uiolent. (214.7–8)

or the withholding of honor and office from those who do not believe in the immortality of the soul, divine providence, and future reward and punishment:

Quamobrem sic animato NULLUS communicatur honos, NULLUS magistratus committitur, NULLI publico muneri praeficitur. (222.3–5)

or the custom of not punishing priests guilty of crimes:

Qui mos illis FACILIOR est obseruatu, quod sacerdotes & tam pauci, & tanta cum cura deliguntur. (228.23–25)

In such simple sentences, which I have rather randomly sampled from the second book, everything seems balanced and rectilinear, simple and straightforward, effortless and obviously desirable. And such simple sentences may tend to lull us into unquestioning acceptance of what they say as simple fact. They tell us what the Utopians do, but leave many unanswered questions about how they manage to do it. How are the four candidates for ruler chosen in each quarter of the city? What happens if someone is no good at farming or refuses to do it? Or if someone dyes his cloak? Or objects to being separated from his family and friends in a population shift? How do you know whether someone is seeking an office? The only sure sign is absolute refusal to accept it. In the absence of lawyers, the judge is supposed to protect the interests of the accused. But what if the judge dislikes the defendant and admires the prosecutor? What if he is stupid? How was he chosen? How was the prosecutor chosen? Are there no rules of evidence? What if too few soldiers volunteer to fight? What happens if, during a truce, the enemy ambushes a patrol? What if someone has ambitions to be a magistrate but conceals them? What if he does not believe in the immortality of the soul but conceals his disbelief? How are the priests chosen? By whom?

Hythloday does not answer these questions. He considers them simply irrelevant because the difficulties they embody spring from pride, which has no place in Utopia (138.6–9). The institutions of the Utopians clearly cannot work unless pride is eliminated.[11] And how is pride eliminated? By the institutions, and especially by the abolition of private property. The institutions cannot be introduced unless they have already been introduced. But the ease and lucidity of Hythloday's sentences tend to mask such difficulties. The institution is simply there. No need to ask how it got there or manages to stay there.

Naturally, Hythloday's syntax is not always so curt and pat, even in his description of Utopia, but when his sentences swell and become somewhat involuted and turbulent, it is usually when he is contrasting the ideal life of Utopia to the corruptions of Europe, as when he condemns the European distribution of labor (128.30–130.25), or attitude toward gold (152.29–158.2), or hunting (170.21–28), or gratuitous and fruitless asceticism (176.35–178.9), or futilely complex laws (194.21–33), or abuse of treaties (196.21–198.25), or the Zapoletan (that is, Swiss) mercenaries (206.23–208.1).[12] But these are merely occasional aftershocks of the great quake of his marathon sentences in book one, and he soon reverts to the simplicity of Utopian syntax. Thus, he condemns the iniquity and duplicity of European treaties in

[11] How the other capital sins survive in the absence of pride, and just which of the other capital sins cause the crimes punished by the Utopians are also difficult questions.

[12] I have found only one long and complex sentence devoted to the Utopians alone, describing their refusal to use their reserve troops after a victory (210.29–212.13).

seven sentences averaging forty-eight words apiece,[13] and immediately presents the contrasting view of the Utopians with customary simplicity:

> At illi contra censent, NEMINEM pro inimico habendum, a quo NIHIL iniuriae profectum est, Naturae consortium foederis uice esse, & satius ualentiusque homines inuicem beneuolentia, quam pactis, animo quam uerbis connecti. (198.25–28)

After he has completed his description of simple justice in Utopia, Hythloday eloquently excoriates the flagrant injustices of Europe, and he does so in significantly longer sentences (averaging 3.7 lines), but still not far beyond his middle range in book 1—not marathon sentences and not the simple brevity of his Utopian syntax—extremes which cannot be found anywhere else in More's Latin prose. The length and complexity of Hythloday's sentences lead us to believe that More himself could agree with most of what he says until the approach to Utopia (by way of Achoria and Macaria) dissociates him from More, interrupts the debates about counsel and private property (leaving them unresolved), and frees Hythloday to present the simplicities of Utopia in simple sentences, which are so unlike More's way of thinking and writing elsewhere as to suggest that he meant us to probe them with questions—not only about obvious difficulties such as Utopian warfare, divorce, euthanasia, or colonialism, but throughout. So much of what the Utopians do is admirable, but how do they manage to do it?[14] We are always being brought back to the basic paradox: the institutions cannot be introduced unless they have already been introduced.

Another remarkable feature of Hythloday's style, which is related to the deceptive simplicity of Utopia, is his diction. We are not surprised that he is fond of words like "aequus" (26), "commodus" (46), or "facilis" (24).[15] After all, his main thesis is that equality of goods makes just government easy in Utopia. But another group of frequent words suggests his inability to deal with specific problems in concrete circumstances and reflects the universalist, absolute, all-or-nothing cast of his mind: "omnis" (200), "nihil" (76), "nullus" (68), "totus" (62), "unus" (35), "idem" (33), "ullus" (33), "nemo" (29), "prorsus" (24), "quisque" (19), "nunquam" (19), "quicquam"

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[13] Four of them range from fifty-nine to seventy-three words.

[14] I mention here what I have noted elsewhere (*English Language Notes* 3 [June, 1966]: 308)—a glaring omission in Utopia: the political structure of Utopia has no central executive authority for its fifty-four independent city-states.

[15] I include nominal and adverbial forms in the word count, from which I have excluded not only utterances not spoken by Hythloday but also those which seem ordinary or not related to a universalist cast of mind. I have examined all instances in context, using *A Concordance to the* Utopia *of St. Thomas More and a Frequency Word List*, ed. Ladislaus J. Bolchazy et al. (Hildesheim and New York, 1978), a useful starting point, though it is unlemmatized and provides no alphabetical frequency list. All the words I give are either not used at all by the character-More or used much less persistently by him than they are by Hythloday.

(17), "ubique" (14), "usquam" (13), "solus" (11), "universus" (9), "unquam" (8), "nusquam" (7).[16] Perhaps I can reinforce the impression by repeating the list in English: "all," "nothing," "no," "whole," "one," "the same," "any," "no one," "entirely," "each," "never," "anything," "everywhere," "anywhere," "alone," "taken all together," "ever," "nowhere." In the samples of short sentences given above, I made no attempt to include any of these words, and yet I noticed that they had inevitably appeared (and so I marked them with capital letters). Moreover, as I checked the instances, I found that they often tended to occur together with other words from this absolutist cluster. A few examples must suffice to suggest the effect of such diction:[17]

> Insula ciuitates habet quatuor & quinquaginta, spatiosas OMNES ac magnificas, lingua, moribus, institutis, legibus, PRORSUS IJSDEM; IDEM situs OMNIUM; EADEM UBIQUE, quatenus per locum licet, rerum facies. (112.15–19)

> Vrbium qui UNAM norit, OMNES nouerit, ita sunt inter se (quatenus loci natura non obstat) OMNINO similes. (116.22–23)

> Ab hijs [horreis] QUILIBET paterfamilias quibus ipse suique opus habent, petit, ac sine pecunia, sine OMNI PRORSUS hostimento QUICQUID petierit, aufert. Quare enim negetur QUICQUAM? quum & OMNIUM rerum abunde satis sit nec timor ULLUS subsit, ne QUISQUAM plus quam sit opus, flagitare uelit? Nam cur supervacua petiturus putetur is, qui certum habeat, NIHIL sibi UNQUAM defuturum? (136.29–138.4)

> quod uitij genus [superbia] in Vtopiensium insitiutis NULLUM OMNINO locum habet. (138.8–9)

> Sed quae de suis rebus UNICUIQIAM urbi dederint, NIHIL ab ea repetentes, ab alia cui NIHIL impenderunt, quibus egent accipiunt. Ita TOTA insula uelut UNA familia est. (146.29–148.3)

> Contra hic,[18] ubi OMNIA OMNIUM sunt NEMO dubitat (curetur modo,

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[16] In the light of More's alternate title "Nusquama," the use of "nusquam" is especially interesting. The character-More uses it only once: "immania portenta, nusquam fere non inuenias, at sane ac sapienter institutos ciues haud reperias ubilibet" (52.32–54.1)—on this sentence see McCutcheon, "Denying the Contrary," 264–65. Otherwise "nusquam" is used only by Hythloday in the sense that "nowhere else" except Utopia can some good or other be found—absolute exclusivity in favor of Utopia (106.17, 134.4, 146.17, 178.16 and 22, 182.10, 208.5).

[17] Shortly after Hythloday's second marathon sentence, the character-More says that such a universalizing attitude is unacceptable: it will not do to say "quiduis" (whatever you want) "ubiuis" (wherever you want)—(98.11). Hythloday himself never uses "quiduis" or "ubiuis" (except the latter in direct response to More—[100.16]). In Utopia itself it does not much matter what a particular person wants or where he wants it.

[18] Notice that Hythloday speaks as if he were in Utopia, not Antwerp.

> ut plena sint horrea publica) NIHIL QUICQUAM priuati CUIQUAM defuturum. Neque enim maligna rerum distributio est, neque inops, neque mendicus ibi QUISQUAM, & quum NEMO QUICQUAM habeat, OMNES tamen diuites sunt. (238.6–11)

Such reiterated, universalist diction is one source of what most readers feel to be objectionable about the Utopians: their faceless anonymity and homogeneity. But such diction is not characteristic of More himself, either as a character in *Utopia* or in his other Latin writings.[19] And it should cause us to ask questions similar to those raised by Hythloday's simple sentences: how do you get everyone always to do the same thing everywhere, wholly and completely, without anyone anywhere at all deviating significantly in anything, with no exceptions, with no one ever wishing to contravene the universal system, with all in equal conformity, with never a dissenting voice, with nowhere a refusal to comply? Hythloday's answer is one and the same, always: introduce Utopian institutions, based on the sharing of everything. Only then will everyone be totally and completely committed to the common good (respublica). But only a people raised, educated, and trained under Utopian institutions can make the institutions work. As with Hythloday's simple sentences, we are brought back to the paradox, the dilemma, the "double-bind": nowhere can such institutions be introduced except where they have already been introduced—nowhere.

But Hythloday is not merely narrow-minded, solipsistic, and naive. When he condemns the injustices of Europe, his voice and his sentences are not incompatible with those of More himself. Only as he breaks through to the simplicities of Utopia do his sentences fracture Latin syntax and soar beyond what More's Latin, even at its most muscular, would attempt. And the simple sentences and universalist diction of his description of Utopia do not make him seem merely simple-minded. They also help him to make us think that this has happened, that it could happen (in spite of all our nagging doubts about how it could have happened or how it could happen in the world we know); and, even more, he makes us think that it should happen (in spite of the thought-provoking anomalies in Utopian behavior) because the Utopians really believe in the common good; and Hythloday makes us almost believe in their belief, and so we believe him even while we disbelieve him, just as (because of her virtuoso and contrasting styles) we believe and disbelieve his great compeer, Folly, in Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium*.

St. Louis University

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[19] More repeatedly criticized Dorp for his erroneous and excessive use of such universalist diction. See vol. 15 of *The Yale Edition*, 16.15–25, 38.15–19, 44.18, 48.16–24, 58.9, 62.23–24, 66.20–23.

Clément Marot et Raphael Regius: l'insertion de la glose et du commentaire dans la traduction des Métamorphoses *d'Ovide*[1]

J.-C. MOISAN

Aneau, dans la préface aux *Trois premiers livres de la Metamorphose*,[2] prétend que Marot ne connaissait pas très bien le latin:

> ... À la verité comme ce bon Poëte François feu Clement Marot de sa propre & naturelle invention, vene, & elocution Françoise escrivoit tresheureusement, & tresfacilement: ainsi autant en estrange translation, de langue à luy non assez entendue traduisoit il durement, & mesme les Poëtes Latins qui sont assez scabreux, artificielz, & figurez de schemes qui à pene se peuvent rendre en François.[3]

N'est-ce pas alors hasardeux de vouloir prétendre que Marot a utilisé Regius[4] dans sa traduction d'Ovide et qu'il s'est ainsi imposé deux difficultés: traduire le texte d'Ovide et la glose de Regius? A moins que l'on ne prenne

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[1] Quelques-uns des rapprochements que nous établissons entre Regius et Marot ont déjà été faits, dans une perspective qui n'est pas la nôtre, par Hermann Voll dans une thèse soutenue à Erlangen, en 1954, *Clément Marots Metamorphosenübersetzung. Untersuchung zu Marots Übersetzungstechnik.* Nous remercions Henri Lamarque de l'université de Toulouse qui nous a fait connaître l'existence de cette thèse en septembre 1991.

[2] Nous citons le texte de la préface d'après l'édition parue dans *Études littéraires* 20 (Automne 1987), 119–47.

[3] Op. cit., 135.

[4] Nous citerons Regius et Ovide d'après l'édition suivante: *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseos libri quindecim, cum commentariis Raphaelis Regii,* (Basileae per Joan. Hervagium, 1543). Toutefois, nous avons comparé systématiquement les textes avec une édition antérieure à la traduction de Marot, publiée à Lyon chez Boullé en 1527. Le A ou le B qui suit la page indique la colonne où le texte paraît.

avec un certain grain de sel la parole d'Aneau ou qu'on ne l'accepte pas comme parole d'évangile. Après tout, ses propos sur les vignettes, dans la préface de l'*Imagination* et dans celle de la *Metamorphose*, sont pour le moins de gros mensonges. Et ce qu'il dit de la dette de Marot envers Joannes Campensis[5] dans la traduction des *Psaumes* est fortement atténué par Jeanneret[6] qui écrit à ce sujet ce qui suit: "... On découvre certaines analogies ..., mais elles paraissent relever soit du hasard soit d'un contact rapide et se révèlent insuffisantes à autoriser une conclusion définitive."

Qu'en est-il exactement des *Metamorphoses*? Amielle, dans un livre portant sur *Les Traductions françaises des 'Métamorphoses' d'Ovide*,[7] reprend, en l'entérinant, le jugement d'Aneau. "Nous ne pouvons qu'abonder dans son sens,"[8] écrit-elle. Pourtant, dans le même travail, elle parle d'une "traduction ... scrupuleuse"[9] du premier livre par Clément Marot, affirmant même que "le poète français ne s'écarte guère ... de l'original, dont il rend très exactement le fond, à défaut de la forme."[10]

En fait que reproche au juste Aneau à Marot? Des impropriétés, des obscurités ou confusions, et le manque de *decorum* qui l'ont obligé à "changer aucuns motz voire reformer aucuns vers ou demis, ou entiers, & plusieurs, pource que ilz estoient impropres, & trop esloignez de la sentence du Poëte Ovide, ou trop confus, & d'obscurité enveloppez, ou de parolles mal seantes aux personnes introduictes."[11] Admettons que ces fautes soient réelles dans les exemples que relève Aneau; il faut bien reconnaître toutefois que son échantillon n'est pas très imposant et que, pour un exemple, il a fait un peu vite. Ainsi critiquant la traduction du vers suivant, *Neve operis famam posset delere vetustas*, par *Et puys affin que vieil temps avenir / Ne sceust du faict la memoire tenir*, il affirme: "Qu'est il plus confus & plus obscur par la contrarieté de ces motz *vieil temps avenir*, & de la sentence *ne sceust tenir*, pour ne peust effacer, & abolir, en sorte que de ces vers on n'en sauroit aucun sens extraire."[12] Admettons, avec Amielle,[13] la justesse de la critique pour la traduction de *vetustas* par *vieil temps avenir*. Celle qui porte sur *tenir* serait acceptable si Marot était responsable de ce terme; mais il n'en est rien. La première version de cette traduction (Roffet, 1534) se lisait ainsi: "Et puys affin que vieil

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[5] "Quant aux Pseaumes de David veritablement il les a mieux entenduz, & à son plaisir à la suycte de Campense paraphrasez bien doucement plustost que translatez," op. cit., 135.

[6] *Poésie et tradition biblique au XVIe siècle. Recherches stylistiques sur les paraphrases des psaumes de Marot et Malherbe*, (Paris, Corti, 1969), 55.

[7] *Les Traductions françaises des 'Métamorphoses' d'Ovide* (Paris: Touzot, 1989).

[8] Ibid., 143.

[9] Ibid., 37.

[10] Ibid., 137.

[11] Préface aux *Trois premiers livres*, éd. citée, 131.

[12] Ibid., 133.

[13] Op. cit., 142.

temps advenir / Ne sceust du faict la memoire ternir." Dans l'édition Gryphius (1538) l'on trouve dans le corps du texte: "Mieulx sceut du fait la memoire tenir," ce qui fait sens. Sauf que les errata de cette même édition avertissaient qu'il fallait lire le texte de la première version. Ce que respecteront à la lettre les éditions de Constantin (1544) et les deux premières de Tournes (1546 et 1549). Dolet (1538) par contre donnait la même version que Gryphius sans indiquer toutefois d'errata; ce qui explique sans doute que dans l'édition de 1543, l'on retrouve le vers fautif: "Ne sceust du faict la memoire tenir." Faute qui contaminera toutes les éditions de Rouillé et même l'édition de 1553 de Jean de Tournes. Marot n'est donc en rien responsable de ce "tenir" qui fait tache.

Aneau condamne la traduction de "*Quae pater ut summa vidit Saturnius arce / Ingemit*" (Ovide, 1.163–64) par "*Cecy voyant des hauts cieux Jupiter / Crie, gemit, se prend à despiter . . .*" de la façon suivante:

> Auquel lieu il faict parler, crier, gemir, & despiter ce grand Dieu, comme un homme forcené, ou une femme furieuse . . . sans avoir regardé le seul verbe du Poëte Latin *Ingemit*, qui signifie *Intus gemit*, donnant à entendre un viril gemissement, bas, taisible, & à part soy.[14]

Il faut rappeler que ce même Aneau traduit lui-même *ingemuit* (Ovide, 3.297) par *gemit*, sans aucunement l'atténuer comme il le recommande pour Marot.

La critique d'Aneau suit ainsi la traduction de Marot "vers pour vers." Origine-t-elle pour autant d'une conception de la traduction qui voudrait que celle-ci soit étroitement littérale? Dans la préface de l'*Oraison ou espistre de M. Tulle Ciceron a Octave* (1542), Aneau explique en ces termes les principes qui l'ont guidé dans sa traduction: "J'ay fuy longz environnements (ditz periphrases), braves affectations, escorcheries, et motz enflez, et ay suyvy (sans esloigner la diction Romaine) purite, et propriete de la Francoise."[15] Principes qui, selon Worth,[16] furent bien appliqués dans la traduction de cette épître. Également, dans la dédicace des *Emblemes d'Alciat*,[17] Aneau affirme vouloir "translate[r] vers pour vers respondant." Mais l'on sait que des raisons poétiques et éditoriales justifiaient en partie cette rigueur.[18]

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[14] Préface citée, 134.

[15] Aneau, préface aux *Oraison ou espistre de M. Tulle Ciceron a Octave* (Lyon: Pierre de Tours, 1542), fo. 3r°.

[16] Worth, *Practising Translation in Renaissance France* (Oxford, 1988), 21–23.

[17] Dédicace des *Emblemes d'Alciat* (Lyon: Bonhomme, 1552), 4. Voir aussi, préface à la même oeuvre, 10: "Car tous ilz sont translatez, vers pour vers, et au plus pres de la diction Latine."

[18] Parmi les quatre raisons évoquées pour justifier une traduction aussi serrée, Aneau rappelle la brièveté nécessaire à l'épigramme et la nécessité, dans un livre d'emblèmes, de donner la priorité à l'image. "Secondement à ce me ha induict plus propre convenance, et æqualité en Epigrammes: qui ne veullent estre estenduz à longue periode. Tiercement briefveté requise

Peut-on prétendre alors et de cette critique, et de cette pratique qu'Aneau prônait, pour la traduction des *Metamorphoses,* une traduction étroitement littérale? Rien n'est moins sûr. En effet, quand Aneau reproche à Marot d'avoir écrit *Phebus à la barbe dorée* parmi les exemples "des motz improprement traduictz, & des vers trop esloignez de la vraye sentence de l'auteur," il avance la raison suivante: "... lequel [Apollon] est tousjours descript par les Poëtes, & à longz cheveux, & sans barbe.[19] Parquoy j'ay mis *à Perruque dorée.*" C'est donc au nom de la tradition glossatrice qu'il critique la traduction de Marot et qu'il suggère une autre formulation, car l'on chercherait en vain dans le vers original d'Ovide (2.23–24) un attribut pileux de quelque origine qu'il soit: "... *Purpurea velatus veste sedebat / In solio Phoebus claris lucente smaragdis.*" Aneau, dans ce dernier exemple, s'éloigne donc de la traduction "vers pour vers." L'on rencontre également des exemples d'une traduction plus libre dans le livre 3, dont l'auteur est Aneau. Ainsi, dès le début de ce livre, celui-ci crée-t-il habilement une transition avec le livre 2 en ajoutant la périphrase "... À Europe ravie" dans sa traduction. Comparons:

> Iamque deus posita fallacis imagine tauri
> Se confessus erat, Dictaeaque rura tenebat (3.1–2)

> Du faulx toreau le masque deposé
> Avoit desja Juppiter exposé
> Quel il estoit, *à Europe ravie,*
> Et ja tenoit les terres de Candie. (3.1–4)

Dans un autre passage, quelques vers plus bas, Aneau amplifiera la pensée d'Ovide en mettant en relief la vanité de la recherche de Cadmus; de plus, par la répétition de ce nom propre en position d'épanalepse, il crée un effet de rythme et, par le rappel de l'interdit paternel, il explique la raison de la fuite de Cadmus.

> Orbe pererrato (quis enim deprendere posset
> Furta Jovis?) profugus, patriamque, iramque [parentis
> Vitat Agenorides. (3.6–8)

> APRES avoir le monde universel
> En vain couru: sans novelle en entendre:

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en Emblemes. Car qui pourroit, ou vouldroit mettre grandes ambages de longues parolles en petitz signetz, tableaux, images, verrieres et broderies? Lesquelles parolles occuperoient plus d'espace, que la figure mesme." Voir Glyn P. Norton, *Ideology and Language of Translation,* (Genève: Droz, 1984) (THR n° CCI), 115ss.

[19] Préface citée, 133. "Isto enim modo dicere licebit ... Apollinem semper inberbem" (Cicero, *De nat. Deorum,* 1. 83). Voir aussi Regius, 28 A.

(Car, qui pourroit les faictz secretz surprendre
De Juppiter?) L'ors Cadmus fugitif,
Cadmus le filz Agenor, et crainctif,
De l'interdict paternel trop severe,
Fuyt son pays, et l'ire de son pere. (3.10–16)

Aneau donc amplifie le texte d'Ovide en s'inspirant d'une ou des gloses qui encadraient le texte latin dans de nombreuses éditions.[20] Car si l'on peut accepter, en le nuançant, le jugement suivant de Moss[21] "Aneau, like Marot and Habert in his complete version, works with the fables as Ovid wrote them, and he is scrupulously concerned with the accuracy of his translation. The meaning of the tales is conveyed by the language Ovid uses, and this makes synopses and paraphrases totally inadequate," par contre, peut-on souscrire totalement à l'opinion d'Amielle[22] quand elle affirme que dans cette édition des *Metamorphoses* (1556), l'exégèse séculaire a "été rejetée dans les marges?"[23] Car, même s'il est vrai que les "auteurs désirent avant tout s'approprier les vertus littéraires d'Ovide,"[24] il n'en demeure pas moins que ces marges peuvent envahir le texte et la glose ou l'esprit de la glose entrer dans la traduction.

Nous croyons que Marot n'y a pas manqué, lui qui affirmait vouloir traduire le texte d'Ovide, entre autres motifs, pour le profit des "Painctres" et des "Poëtes vulgaires," mais aussi pour instruire celui qui "lit en maint passage les noms d'Apollo, Daphne, Pyramus, et Tisbee, [et] qui a l'hystoire aussi loing de l'esprit, que les noms pres de la bouche: ce que pas ainsi n'iroit, si en facile vulgaire estoit mise ceste belle Metamorphose."[25] D'où cette volonté de "transmuer celluy, qui les aultres transmue,"[26] de telle sorte que la nouvelle version "becomes a vehicle for textual transformation and elaboration,"[27] non seulement pour le plaisir évident de manier un matériau très riche,[28] mais aussi pour le devoir de rendre accessible ce texte.

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[20] Voir Regius, 62, "*Orbe pererrato*: pervagato . . . In soluta nanque oratione diceretur, postquam per totum terrarum orbem erravit. *Quis enim deprendere posset*: parenthesis, causam continens cur Cadmus in patriam non redierit, neque enim Europam sororem a Jove raptam invenire potuit, cum Jovis furta non possint ab homine deprehendi. *Vitat Agenorides*: Cadmus Agenoris filius."

[21] *Poetry and Fable*, 85–86.

[22] Op. cit., 197.

[23] Bien sûr Marot ne traduit pas les *Métamorphoses* comme on l'a fait au Moyen âge; est-ce à dire pour autant qu'il évacue l'exégèse séculaire? Comment alors expliquer la traduction de "Phebus" par le "Soleil," sinon comme la pratique de l'exégèse physique?

[24] Ibid.

[25] (Lyon: Gryphius, 1538), fol. 2 v°.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Norton, op. cit., 148.

[28] Clément Marot, préface, (Gryphius, 1538), fol. 2r°: "Entre lesquelles celle de la Metamorphose d'Ovide me sembla la plus belle, tant pour la grande doulceur du stille, que pour

Et c'est alors que la glose peut devenir et devient en fait un instrument indispensable à l'élaboration de ce texte explicatif. Ann Moss[29] a signalé la quantité impressionnante d'éditions glosées des *Métamorphoses* au XVIe siècle et a démontré l'importance particulière de la glose de Regius qui parcourt, pour ainsi dire, tout le siècle. Que Marot s'en soit inspiré pour traduire ou enrichir certains passages de sa traduction nous semble non seulement probable, mais certain.

D'ailleurs, la glose se manifeste dès le début de la traduction.

> In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
> Corpora: Dii, coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illas)
> Aspirate meis ... (1.1–3)

> Ardent desir d'escrire un hault Ouvrage
> M'a vivement incité le courage
> A reciter maintes choses formées,
> En autres corps tous nouveaux transformées.
> Dieux souverains, qui tout faire savez,
> Puis qu'en ce poinct changées les avez,
> Donnez faveur à mon commencement (1.1–7)

Dès le premier vers, Marot dépasse nettement l'idée même de proposition, telle qu'elle se manifeste chez Ovide, aussi bien que chez Virgile ou Homère d'ailleurs; en effet avant de donner le sommaire de son oeuvre, ce qui est le propre de la *propositio*,[30] il proclame la grandeur des *Métamorphoses* en affirmant qu'il veut "*escrire un hault Ouvrage*," résumant en cette périphrase les idées de sa dédicace au roi, elles-mêmes déjà incluses dans la préface ou le commentaire de Regius, tant sur la douceur du style que sur la qualité de l'ordonnance qui unifie ce qui est divers: d'où la séduction opérée sur les Grecs qui ont traduit les *Métamorphoses*.[31] Sans compter que cette amplifica-

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le plus grand nombre des propos tumbans de l'ung en l'autre par lyaisons si artificielles, qu'il semble que tout ne soit qu'un."

[29] Ann Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France* (London, 1982), 23–53 et 63–80.

[30] Voir Regius, note 31 et Fabri, *Le grand et vrai art de pleine Rhétorique*, éd. Héron (Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 136: "L'effect de toute exorde est de acquerir benivolence ou congratuler, de les faire attentifz a ouyr et de leur monstrer et enseigner ce que l'en veult dire. ..." Voir Quintilien, *Institution oratoire*, 10:1.48.

[31] (Lyon: Gryphius, 1538), fol. 2r° et 2v°. Voir Regius, *Ad Illustrissimum Mantuae Principem* ..., b6r°: "Nec injuria Graeci quamvis se omnibus aliis nationibus disciplinas tradidisse, ac nullius ipsi auxilio prorsus indigere videri velint, hoc tamen opus propter maximam rerum cognitu pulcherrimarum copiam e nostra lingua in suam omni studio interpretandum vertendumque curarunt. ..." Voir aussi la glose de *perpetuum* à 1.4: "... continuum, sic ut nulla transmutatio praetermittatur, alteraque alteri concinne, apteque connectatur. Id quod facile a Diis impetrarat poeta. Ita namque fabulam fabulae annectit, ut una ex alia nasci videatur" (2A).

tion qui se continue au vers suivant met en évidence l'isotopie "fureur poétique," inspiration divine, par l'utilisation des termes "ardent," "viveme nt," "incité," "courage" qui n'est pas sans rapport avec la glose de Regius qui explique que ce type d'entrée en matière est une habitude des poètes épiques: "Consueverunt heroici poetae in principiis statim operum suorum proponere, primum quibus de rebus sint in toto opere tractaturi: deinde invocare: tertio loco narrare."[32] D'autant que, dans certaines éditions, le commentaire de Lavinius, qui renvoie à Platon et au *Timée,* est placé en parallèle à celui de Regius.

C'est donc sous le signe du "poétique" que commence le texte de Marot. Et même si les commentaires que nous découvrirons au long de sa traduction peuvent prendre la forme du commentaire physique, mythologique, parfois philosophique, ou encore de l'explication littérale, c'est cette perspective littéraire qui nous intéresse ici.

L'explication, de quelque nature qu'elle soit, réécrit le texte et ainsi peut faire disparaître l'opacité de l'image. Le traducteur, plus interprète que poète, soulève le voile. Il est intéressant de noter que Regius, de temps à autre, le signale au fil de son commentaire: "In soluta ... oratione diceretur,"[33] écrit-il. Marot n'a pas toujours pu éviter le piège. Ainsi traduira-t-il *totus axis* (1.255) par *tout le hault Firmament* (1.500), suivant en cela l'exemple de Regius (17B): "*Totus axis* : totum caelum. Synecdoche est, axis enim quae pars est caeli, pro toto ponitur caelo." Synecdoque qui s'est perdue en même temps que l'image s'est simplifiée, au profit de l'explication physique. Il arrive aussi que cette volonté de clarifier le texte pousse à une traduction nettement allégorique qui détruit l'image même que l'on veut garder (dans l'exemple qui suit *cornua*) par la description qui est donnée.

Ovide: Nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe (1.11)

Marot: La lune aussi ne se renouvelloit,
Et ramener ses cornes ne souloit
Par chascun mois. (1.25–27)

Regius: *Nova Phoebe*: Nova Luna. Singulis enim quibusque mensibus Luna renovari videtur. Ut autem Phoebus pro Sole, ita Phoebe pro Luna ponitur. (3A)

Egalement Marot fait disparaître, presque toujours, toute antonomase préférant le nom à l'*appellatio*,[34] toujours sans doute dans le désir sincère de rendre le texte d'Ovide accessible. Ainsi *Japeto* (1.82) deviendra *Prometheus*

[32] Regius, 1A.

[33] Regius, 62A.

[34] Voir Regius: "*Saturnia*: Juno Saturni filia, est enim antonomasia. Appellatio nanque pro nomine posita est" (Op. cit., 33B). À ce sujet, voir Hermann Voll, op. cit., 99ff.

(1.159); *Atlandiades* (1.682), *Mercurius* (1.1365); *Saturnia* (1.722) *Junon* (1.1431), suivant en cela la glose de Regius qui explique chaque *appellatio* de la même manière.[35]

La métonymie aussi subit parfois le même sort: la très belle image d'Ovide *linigera turba* (1.747) est ainsi sacrifiée pour une périphrase d'une compréhension plus immédiate, mais par contre plus prosaïque: *du peuple en Egipte* (1.1482) qu'explique bien la glose de Regius: "*Nunc dea*: nunc inquit Io pro Dea Iside colitur ab Aegyptiis lineas vestes gestantibus" (34A). De même le vers "*Perfusam multo natorum sanguine Terram*" (1.157) sera-t-il traduit "*La terre fut mouillée . . . / De moult de sang des Geants, enfans d'elle*" dans l'esprit du texte de Regius (12B): "*Natorum sanguine* : nam gigantes Terrae filii fuisse dicuntur."

Parfois Marot essaie de concilier force de l'image et glose. Il traduit ainsi "*Ortygiam Deam*" (1.694) par "*Diane la Déesse / De l'isle Ortyge*" (1.1374–1375) dans l'ordre même du commentaire de Regius (32B): "*Ortygiam Deam*: hoc est Dianam. Ortygia nanque insula est." De même conciliera-t-il texte d'origine et commentaire dans le vers suivant: *Puis Neptunus, sur la mer president* (1.651), équivalent d'Ovide *rector pelagi* (1.331) et de Regius (20B): "*Rector pelagi*: Neptunus maris Deus." Et lorsque les images se multiplient en un réseau complexe et dense, la glose, tout en précisant leur nature, essaie non seulement de retenir certaines d'entre elles, mais s'efforce de sauver la poéticité par l'ajout d'épithètes, de déterminatifs, d'une comparaison.

Ovide: Excipit hos, volucrisque suae Saturnia pennis
Collocat, et gemmis caudam stellantibus implet
(1.722–723)

Marot: Adonc Juno prend ces yeulx et les fiche
Dessus la plume au Paon son oyseau riche
Et luy remplit toute la queuë d'yeux
Clers et luisans comme estoilles des Cieux.
(1.1431–1434)

Regius: *Excipit*: ex capite Argi capit.
Collocat: apponit.
Suae vo. pen.: Periphrasis est pavonis. Nam pavones sub tutela Junonis esse dicuntur.
Stellantibus: more stellarum fulgentibus. (33B)

Ce procédé en somme est une forme d'amplification qui se manifeste diversement dans la traduction de Marot. Assez souvent, l'explication vient

[35] Marot, 7B; 32A; 33B.

compléter ou enrichir le texte d'Ovide sans que nécessairement la densité poétique soit sacrifiée. Un simple ajout renforce alors l'idée comme dans la traduction de "*nisi pondus iners*" (1.8) par "*ce n'estoit qu'une pesanteur vile / Sans aucun art*" (1.17), ajout bien sûr que l'on retrouve dans Regius: "*Nisi pondus iners*: pigrum et immobile, omnique arte carens" (2B). Il arrive même que l'addition apporte une précision comme dans la traduction de "*totidemque plagae tellure premuntur*" (1.48) où Marot dit nommément qu'il s'agit de "*cinq*" régions (1.96) suivant en cela la glose de Regius (5B) : "Nam terra ... quinque zonis continetur atque distinguitur."

Parfois l'amplification joue le rôle d'un petit dictionnaire mythologique précisant les origines d'une nymphe (Amphitrite); rappelant un fait particulier (Saturne, destruction des Géants); expliquant un attribut (chêne consacré à Jupiter), etc.

Ovide	Marot	Regius
... Amphitrite (1.14)	La grand' fille immortelle De l'Ocean, Amphitrite la belle (1.29–30)	Nam Amphitrite Oceani fuisse filia ab Hesiodo dicitur. (3A)
Postquam, Saturno tenebrose in [Tartara misso (1.113)	Puis quand Saturne, hors du [beau regne mis, Fut au profond des Tenebres [transmis (1.221–222)	Patrem deinde ... regno expulit ad inferosque relegavit. (10A)
... et ex una pendebat origine [bellum (1.186)	... celle guerre pourtant Ne dependoit que d'une seule suite, Et d'une ligne en fin par moy [destruite (1.362–364)	Juppiter ... eosque tandem in Phlegraeis campis superavit, et ad inferos detrusit. (14A)
Et quae decideramt patula Jovis [arbore glandes (1.106)	Avec le Gland qui leur tomboit à [gré Du large Chesne à Juppiter sacré. (1.207–208)	*Et quae deciderant*: Glandibus quoque inquit quae ex quercubus, arboribus Jovi dicatis (9A). Ilex autem arbor est glandifera Jovi consecrata (9B).

Ce genre de texte explicatif s'étend parfois sur plusieurs vers où s'entrelacent traduction du texte original et gloses, intimement liés.

Ovide: ... congestaque eodem
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum. (1.8–9)

Marot: Là où gisoient les semences encloses
Desquelles sont produites toutes choses
Qui lors estoient ensemble mal couplées,
Et l'une en l'autre en grand discord troublées. (1.19–22)

Regius: *Congestaque eodem*: hoc est semina et primordia rerum male con junctarum, inter se dissidentia in eundem locum conducta et congregata (2B)
Sed Ovidius Hesiodum sequitur, qui in Theogonia chaos describit: ex eoque omnia fluxisse asserit. (2B)

Enfin cet ajout peut être le fait d'une simple précision qui, par sa simplicité même, témoigne de l'importance de la glose. C'est ainsi que Marot rend le passage suivant: "... *Candore notabilis ipso*" (1.169) par "*Aisée à voir, pour sa blancheur tant belle*" (1.332); Regius commentait le passage d'Ovide de la façon suivante: "... Notatu et visu facilis ob suum candorem" (13B). Ailleurs le "*quamvis aversus*" de I,629 est rendu par "*Quoy que sa face ailleurs tournée avoit*" (1.1246), fidèle à la glose de Regius: "... Quamvis in aliam partem vultum aversum haberet."[36] Et au vers I,408 Marot ajoute une concessive dont on retrouve l'idée dans la glose.[37]

Worth, lorsqu'elle étudie l'utilisation de la *geminatio* par Dolet pour traduire un simple mot, affirme que ce procédé est largement utilisé par les traducteurs du XVIe siècle.[38] Il est vrai que cette figure, outre le fait qu'elle rend la pensée "plus forte ou plus claire,"[39] peut aider les poètes traducteurs à amplifier le vers, sans compter qu'elle crée un effet de rythme évident. Voilà sans doute de bonnes raisons qui ont sûrement incité Marot à l'utiliser. Il en est peut-être une autre toutefois. Regius, comme beaucoup de glossateurs, joue de cette figure pour expliquer l'oeuvre qu'il commente dans le but évident de rendre plus compréhensible le texte commenté. Marot avait donc sous les yeux, dans la marge du texte d'Ovide, un modèle dont il pouvait utiliser le répertoire synonymique en l'adaptant au français.

Parfois Marot va puiser chacun des éléments de la *geminatio* et dans le texte d'Ovide, et dans l'explication de Regius; l'exemple de 1.384–85, *rupitque silentia voce* devenu en 1.754–55, *parlant premierement / Rompt la silence*, est significatif lorsque l'on se rapporte à la glose: "*Rupit silentia*: locuta est" (22A).

Il lui arrivera même de jouer avec bonheur sur un autre type de répétition dans un long texte où cette fois c'est la figure de la polyptote qui est mise en évidence par le jeu verbal sur les verbes "ficher" et "être" et qui

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[36] Marot, 30B.

[37] Voir Ovide, 1. 209–10 et Regius, 15B, le commentaire de *quod tamen admissum*.

[38] Op. cit., "[Dolet] also goes beyond the model of his source texts, sometimes introducing the figure himself to translate a single word in Latin" (140–41). "This function of *geminatio* is generally widespread among sixteenth-century translators. . . ." (141).

[39] Quintilien, *Institution oratoire*, 9:3. 46, éd. Cousin, Belles Lettres, dont nous utilisons la traduction: "... Cum auget aut manifestat sententiam"; voir aussi Worth, ibid., 140: "In classical Latin, *geminatio*, the use of a pair of words to express a single idea, was a stylistic device often used either for emphasis or for rhythmic effect."

Ovide	Marot	Regius
pressa . . . / Sydera (1.70–71)	pressées et tachées (1.139–140)	*Pressa sydera*: compressa ac coercita (7A).
Neu regio foret ulla suis [animalibus ora] (1.72)	Vuide ne fut d'animaux, à [chescune Propres et duicts . . . (1.142–143)	*suis animalibus*: propriis, ac ipsi convenientibus (7A).
in effigiem . . . deorum (1.83)	Au propre image et semblable [effigie Des Dieux . . . (1.161–162)	. . . in similitudinem et imaginem (8A).
Illa . . . Pulchra verecundo suffundens ora [rubore (1.483–484)	Entremesloit parmi sa face blonde Une rougeur honteuse et [vereconde (1.953–954)	*Verecundo rubore*: pudico et a verecundia proveniente (25A).

engendre de fait un équilibre rythmique par la place qu'occupent les éléments de la figure. Et ce qui rend ce texte encore plus pertinent pour notre propos, c'est que Marot, tout en étant le principal responsable de la figure et du rythme qui en découle, paraphrase Ovide en suivant très étroitement le commentaire paraphrastique de Regius.

Ovide: Figat tuus omnia, Phoebe,
Te meus arcus. ait quantoque animalia cedunt
Cuncta Deo, tanto minor est tua gloria nostra.
(1.463–65)

Marot: Fiche ton Arc ce qu'il pourra ficher,
O Dieu Phebus, le mien te fichera:
Ainsi ton bruit du mien est et sera
Moindre d'autant que bestes en tout lieu
Plus foibles sont, et plus basses qu'un Dieu.]
(1.912–16)

Regius: Licet inquit tuus arcus omnia animalia figat, meum tamen tu effugere non poteris. Sicque gloria tua tanto minor est quam nostra, quanto animalia, quae tu feris Deo sunt inferiora.
(25A)

La glose n'est pas toujours aussi provocatrice: elle n'est parfois qu'un instrument utile dans une traduction qui, sans nier quelque interprétation, voire quelque originalité, se veut plus fidèle au texte original. Les *cent yeux* de 1.1428 sont inspirés de l'explication de Regius qui commentait le *tot lumina* (1.720) d'Ovide par *centum oculis* (33B). Et la traduction de I,746 *et*

timide verba intermissa retemptat en *Et avec crainte essayait à redire* est un calque en vulgaire français de la glose de Regius, "hoc est cum timore iterum loqui conatur" (34A). De même *stabantque sine ignibus arae* (1.374) sera traduit *par les autelz estoient / Sans sacrifice* (1.734–35) en tout point semblable à l'explication du glossateur," *altaria sine sacrificiis erant* (21B).

Marot ira même jusqu'à puiser dans Regius une explication étymologique de la voie lactée qu'il introduit au coeur de sa traduction. Il écrit en effet, en traduction de 1.169 *Lactea nomen habet*, le vers suivant *Semblable à laict, dont Lactée on l'appelle* (1.331), inspiré évidemment de Regius, "hoc est a lacte, unde et latini lacteum appellarunt" (13B).

Enfin, incité toujours et sans aucun doute par ce même Regius, il se mettra au goût du jour en transformant en *eau benie* (1.729) les *libatos ... liquores* (1.371) du texte d'Ovide. Regius (21B) ne présentait-il pas ce geste comme équivalent à un geste chrétien dans son explication? "*Id quod nos quoque facimus*," écrivait-il!

Faut-il insister davantage? Peut-on toujours prétendre que la glose est frileusement réfugiée dans la seule marge du texte ou que la traduction, quand elle est créatrice, provocatrice, en un mot plus libre, n'est que le résultat de la fantaisie d'un Marot ignorant le latin? Pourquoi ne pas y voir plutôt le résultat d'un travail important de *re-création*, où le nouveau texte produit (collage industrieux entre texte et intertexte) porte jusqu'à un certain point un sens nouveau ou du moins un sens modifié, fruit d'une lecture du texte ancien, lui-même éclairé par de multiples lectures, dont le traducteur se sert comme s'il s'agissait de textes interdépendants et où il est permis de puiser pour éclairer ou agrémenter le texte principal. Car cette comparaison avec la glose de Regius n'éclaire pas tous les passages où Marot explique, commente, amplifie et renforce le texte d'Ovide. Bien sûr il a été impossible, dans ces trente minutes, de faire tous les rapprochements qui existent entre les deux textes. Mais la question se pose de savoir si Marot pour sa traduction a travaillé avec un seul texte glosé, celui de Regius, ou s'il en a consulté plusieurs.

Quoi qu'il en soit enfin, peut-on admettre le jugement d'Aneau quand il prétend que Marot "traduisoit durement,"[40] lui qui avait déclaré, dans la même préface que la *Metamorphose* avait "en apres heureusement [été] commencée en beaux vers François, par le bon, & naif Poëte Royal Clement Marot"?[41] Bien sûr n'importe quel *Quintil* sourcilleux pourrait découvrir, dans la traduction de Marot, des contresens ou des faux sens. Mais ce que démontre la comparaison systématique des textes d'Ovide et de Marot, au moins pour le premier livre, c'est que le plus souvent Marot amplifie le

[40] Ed. citée, 135.
[41] Ibid., 129.

texte original en le transposant en français. Et cette amplification porte surtout sur l'éclaircissement du texte que l'auteur veut rendre ainsi plus accessible à ceux qui, comme il l'écrivait, ne connaissaient que le nom des héros et non leur histoire.

Université Laval, Québec

The Printed Dedication: Its Functions and some Danish Statistics from the Nordic Neo-Latin Database[*]

LARS BOJE MORTENSEN

Introduction

When a sixteenth-century reader opened a typical book his eye would meet—not author, title, and list of contents as nowadays—but rather author, title, and dedication. The habit of prefacing books by a dedicatory letter was very widespread in Neo-Latin as well as vernacular literature. Today we tend to leaf quickly through these pieces so loaded with flattery, and that might even have been the case with readers of the time. Still, the dedication was an omni-present feature, and it was the part of the book where authors often stretched their ability in Latin composition to the utmost. The dedications cannot, therefore, be dismissed, if we want information on the institutional and conventional framework of Neo-Latin literature, or, in a broader term, of the social relations created by the authors and their books. By way of Danish examples and statistics from the second half of the sixteenth century I will seek to answer the following questions: what are the key functions of the dedication? Which dedicatees attract most books and why? Does any relationship hold between the form and subject matter of a book and its dedicatee? Most of my paper will be concerned with trying to answer the first question, because it is the most complex. The two others have fairly simple solutions, at least with reference to the Danish sources I have used. By glancing at the few existing studies on contemporary German and English material[1] I have the impression that the same

[*] I am grateful to Charlotte Appel and Harald Ilsøe for various references.

[1] H. S. Bennett, *English Books & Readers, I: 1475 to 1557*; II: *1558 to 1603* (Cambridge, 1962 & 1965). F. B. Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London, 1962). K. Schottenloher, *Die Widmungsvorrede im Buch des 16. Jahrhunderts*,

mechanisms apply there, but that of course needs further detailed study.

The attempt to make a patron famous through a book by pretending that he made the book famous was, of course, no invention of the Renaissance. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century authors had inherited illustrious models from antiquity, and—more important—a living tradition from medieval literature. The transition from manuscript books to printed books does not seem to have changed things much. However, one could make the point—perhaps rather sophistically—that the personal gift of a book from author to patron made better sense in a world of manuscript books. When a medieval author handed a copy of his work to the dedicatee, that copy would have enjoyed the most superb craftsmanship and its text would be the authoritative version. The patron possessed what was supposedly the exemplar for any other copy of the text. A sixteenth-century dedicatee, on the other hand, would own just one more copy, and it was only left to him to give it a luxurious binding—if he wanted something out of the ordinary. A manuscript book as a material object and its text were inextricably intertwined because no two copies were alike. But if a printed dedication lost in uniqueness—and this was gradually compensated for by autograph dedications on the front page—it gained in effect: the name of the dedicatee would immediately be publicized widely.

The Sources

Before I attempt to single out what I think are three major functions of the printed dedication, I shall say a word or two about my choice of sources. I have picked out the period of 50 years from 1551 to 1600 (both dates included) of Danish literature in Latin. This is not done because any important events in publishing history call for that precise delimitation, but is due to the existence of two bibliographical tools that are both complete up to the year 1600, i.e., the second volume of the Danish Bibliography by Lauritz Nielsen and the Nordic Neo-Latin Database (still in progress), which, for the Danish material, builds heavily on Nielsen's work.[2] Nielsen includes all books by Danish authors and all books printed in Denmark. In one way the database covers less ground inasmuch as only Latin works by Danes (or works with Danish Latin in them) are taken into account, but in other ways it covers more. Material from the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein—satellite states of the Danish kingdom—is included, and also books about Denmark or dedicated to Danes printed abroad (for these items completeness cannot be claimed). The database, moreover, has a separate entry

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Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 3 vols. 76/77 (Münster, 1953). The latter two are merely collections of material, they furnish no conclusions in themselves.

[2] L. Nielsen, *Dansk bibliografi 1551–1600* (Copenhagen, 1931–33); *The Nordic Neo-Latin Database*, ed. M. Skafte-Jensen, M. Alenius, K. Skovgaard-Petersen, L. B. Mortensen, P. Zeeberg, etc. (Institut for klassisk filologi, Københavns Universitet, 1987–).

for the dedicatee of each work, which makes it a very useful browsing tool for this kind of research.

The period 1551–1600 does happen to include the first massive output of Danish Neo-Latin literature, and of humanist scholarship and science in general. Among important people active in the period one can mention the theologian Niels Hemmingsen; the poets Hans Frandsen, Hans Jørgensen Sadolin, Erasmus Lætus (Rasmus Glad), and Peder Hegelund; the historians Anders Sørensen Vedel, and Niels Krag; the linguist Jacob Madsen Århus; and the astronomer Tycho Brahe.

Up until the absolutist coup d'état in 1660 the Danish government consisted of the king and the privy council (rigsrådet). That institution comprised about twenty persons, all of high nobility.[3] It was a strong self-supplying body restraining most of the kings' centralizing policies. Three kings reigned in the period between 1551 and 1600. Christian III shaped the Danish Lutheran Reformation in 1536, and took an active part in theological disputes. At his death in 1559, he was succeeded by his son Frederik II. The many flattering Latin poems from his long reign (1559–1588) are not entirely off the mark when they praise his age as one of prosperity. He was not in any sense a learned man like his father—he probably suffered from dyslexia—but he was well disposed towards learned activities. It was left to his son, Christian IV (1588–1648), to plunge Denmark into poverty and insignificance. However, this happened only after he was left to his own devices in 1596; in the years before that—which are my main concern here—a regency was established with the king's chancellor Niels Kaas as one of the dominant figures. He was a man with scholarly inclinations who, among other things, took a great interest in history.

Three Functions

So much for sources and their historical framework. Turning to the dedications, it needs to be said that whatever individual motives people had for writing them, there was always a strong pull exercised by pure tradition: most books had dedications, and at least some of them must have been composed more or less automatically. This way of thinking is actually applied in a dedication to Christian III by the Danish translator of a popular book of fables, *Reineke Fuchs* (1555):

> Noble prince and graceful lord, I notice daily that all writers, translators or commentators—no matter how small the book or how insignificant the subject—stick to the common use of dedicating and offering that same book to their lord and king, their prince or their good friend and acquaintance, in order to leave it to his protection and

[3] Cf. G. Ilsøe, "Det danske rigsråd 1570–88," in K. J. V. Jespersen, ed. *Rigsråd, adel og administration 1570–1648*, (Odense, 1980), 9–33.

> recommendation etc. In a similar manner, graceful lord and king, I have like a monkey (who instantly imitates others) adopted this common use of writing, composing and entering in this book a preface for your royal majesty....[4]

A more curious example is found in a book from 1570 on a war fought in Ditmarsken written by the historian, genealogist, astrologer, nobleman, governor, and megalomaniac, Henrik Rantzau. He wrote the work pseudonymously and dedicated it to himself—in the usual flattering manner, of course.[5]

Apart from the sheer force of literary usage, I think three main functions of the dedication can be discerned: 1. The book as a gift from author to patron. 2. The authority lent by the patron's name. 3. The fee or other reward bestowed on the author.

1. The book was a gift from author to patron—that is, so to speak, the face value of most dedications. The author renders his humble intellectual services, sometimes explicitly in return for the goodwill already shown him by the patron, sometimes with hints about future rewards. In modern, Western, highly regulated societies we cannot help thinking that a gift of this kind is clumsy, in bad taste, or an outright case of bribery. We tend to forget that sixteenth-century Europeans lived in what anthropologists call a society of gift exchange. To give things away was a major mode of communication and an established indication of the hard facts of social hierarchy. Roughly speaking the social value of "being able to buy" in the modern Western world had its sixteenth-century equivalent in "being able to give." In other words, books were just one more of those practical commodities to be offered by craftsmen to the gentry in the hope of a lavish gift in return.

But it is not always simple to construe the fiction of dedications. It seemed to have been an unwritten law among sixteenth-century writers not to present themselves as originators of their publications. "I have always wanted to write this book . . ." was a statement against the rules, although it was probably often the case. The safest pretext was the dedicatee—if he could somehow be shown to have conceived the idea, and better still, to have forced it upon the reluctant author, all was well. However, that was not always feasible, especially when royalty was involved. Here it was better

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[4] N. Møller, ed., *En Ræffue Bog: Herman Weigeres Oversættelse af Reinke de Vos*, (Copenhagen, 1915), 7: "Høigborne Første och Naadigste Herre, Jeg see daglige at alle som naagit bescriffue vertere eller udsette i huor liden at Bogen er, Eller hvor Ringe Materien kand være, da holde de alle Almindelige denne brug, at de samme bog deres Herre och Kong, Lands Første, Eller deres bekende ven och forwante tilscriffue och skencke, och i hans Beschermelse offuerantworde och befale etc. Udi ligemaade haffuer ieg och Naadigste Herre och Kong som en Abe (der naagit aff andre Seer strax uil effter gørre) Och saa tagit mig faare effter denne Almindelige brug at ville Scriffue, stille och sette i denne bog en Fortale, Eders K. M. . . ."

[5] Henrik Rantzau (published under the pseudonym Christianus Cilicius Cimber), *Belli Dithmarsici descriptio* (Basel, 1570).

to use the "friends have demanded that I publish" approach.[6] A last resort was simply to avoid the question of initiative and treat the book as a *fait accompli* which was laid at the feet of the patron. In these cases, it seems, the dedication feigns that the gift comes as a surprise for the recipient.

Whether in normal conditions the book was physically handed over by the author (or his messenger) to the patron is not quite clear. I have found sources for a few books that clearly say they were, but the rest we really do not know about.[7] I should like to believe that most books were delivered to the patron before they were circulated among friends or booksellers, not least because a fee was almost always expected (as will be argued subsequently).

2. The second function, that of the authority lent by the patron's name, also forms part—in some dedications at least—of the face value. One instance is the above quoted Danish version of *Reineke Fuchs* where the translator mentions the patron's protection and recommendation of the book. A formula often found in Latin dedications is that something is published *sub nomine cuiusdam*, also an indication of the protection wielded by a powerful name. But even if it is not mentioned directly, it is my claim that the patron's role as authority was crucial to all parties involved, not least to the readers.[8] They would expect to be told who, in some sense, vouched for the publication.

Examples of printed material wanting a dedication support this notion. In my Latin material from the database two significant groups fall under this heading. They are minor university imprints, and sermons and prayers issued for specific public holidays.[9] I think it was felt that these were automatically vouched for by the university and by the established church, and therefore did not need a specific name as guarantee. A quick glance through Nielsen's bibliography at the material composed in Danish confirms this picture. Official publications like the Danish Bible and royal recesses did not have a dedicatee. Such texts could not and should not be addressed—in

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[6] E.g., Anders Sørensen Vedel's translation of Saxo Grammaticus's *History of Denmark* (*Den danske Krønike*, Copenhagen, 1575) and his edition of Adam of Bremen's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Copenhagen, 1579).

[7] Cf. Peder Hegelund's diary (*Peder Hegelunds almanakoptegnelser 1565–1613*, I–II, ed. B. Kaae [Ribe, 1976]: 1588, 24/7 (I:195) "obtuli Alberto Friis Adagia Biblica"; 1587, 18/8 (I:187) "Paa freddagen—Octaua, afferdiget ieg mit bud Christen Ebbesøn til Biørnsholm cum Epithalamio" (the wedding took place two days later); 1579, 7/2 (I:132) "Discessi Ripis Coldingum oblaturus Dramata mea Susannam, Calumniam"; also Niels Krag's dedication to Holger Rosenkrantz, cf. notes 11 & 15 below. In the lists of royal literary expenses published by C. S. Petersen, *Afhandlinger til dansk bog- og bibliotekshistorie* (Copenhagen, 1949) 41ff. From the lists it is clear that many German books were delivered to the king, and that he paid the messengers.

[8] Cf. Bennett, II:32.

[9] Mainly the numerous *theses* by Niels Hemmingsen and sermons by Poul Madsen, Peder Winstrup, and Jacob Fabricius.

a dedicatory fiction—to one single person. They were issued by the government and the established church, themselves supplying the best possible warranty. At the other end of the spectrum we have several types of minor popular material, such as almanacs, prayer-books, news, ballads and so on. Most of this literature could hardly impress possible dedicatees of the nobility or higher bourgeoisie, indeed some of it would be of such poor quality or of such frivolous nature that a dedication might have been an insult. All this was suited directly to the market, not to an indirect reward through gift exchange.[10]

But if it is true that the dedicatee lent authority to a book, the precondition must be a general feeling existing among readers that the dedicatee had at least given permission to be addressed in the introduction. However, that does not exclude abuse of the public's credulity, and I would like to warn against rash conclusions about a patron's lively interest in literature and learning on the sole basis of a few dedications. I know one example where a nobleman, the learned Holger Rosenkrantz, was very upset about a dedicatory letter,[11] and there must have been scores of noblemen who really did not care about books and dedications. I do think, however, that the typical case involved some kind of agreement between author and dedicatee.

Therefore the Rostock professor, David Chytraeus, probably acted in accordance with custom when he wrote a letter to the Danish chancellor, Niels Kaas, asking permission to dedicate part of his chronicle, *Saxonia*, to him.[12] In Tycho Brahe's letters there is a description of a similar procedure concerning Tycho's dedication of *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* to the emperor, Rudolph II.[13] Many more instances must have looked like this, but the sources let us down probably because most deals were never put into writing. I think it is important to keep in mind that the actual conversation between patron and author can never be decoded from the

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[10] The English material wanting dedications is very similar: Williams, xi.

[11] The book was Niels Krag's Latin translation of Nicolaus Damascenus's *De moribus gentium* (Genève, 1593). The source for his reaction is the correspondence between Holger and his father; see P. Zeeberg, "Adel og lærdom hos Tycho Brahe," in *Latin og nationalsprog i Norden*. Renæssancestudier 5, ed. M. Alenius, B. Bergh, I. Boserup, K. Friis-Jensen and M. Skafte-Jensen (Copenhagen, 1991), 21–31 for references and interpretation.

[12] The dedication to Niels Kaas is mentioned by Chytraeus in a letter to Kaas, dated August 8, 1588 (609 in *Epistolae*, Hanau 1614). Notice the Latin used here for 'to dedicate', *libro nomen praescribere*: "Quod si testimonium referendae gratiae meum, quod summum a me proficisci posse, pro mea simplicitate arbitror, vobis etiam non improbatum iri scirem, uni ex libris Chronici Saxoniae a me instituti, cuius specimen seu partem primam vos vidisse existimo, [the *Saxonia* had already been published in another version without dedications: Wittenberg, 1585] nomen vestrum prescriberem." (Cf. D. Klatt, *David Chytraeus als Geschichtslehrer und Geschichtsschreiber* [Rostock, 1908], 181ff.).

[13] Letter to his sister Sophie: T. Brahe *Opera Omnia*, ed. I. L. E. Dreyer (Copenhagen, 1928) 14:179.

highly conventional dedicatory letter. What appears to have been the patron's ardent wish may very well have been an irritated nod.

3. In a world where fixed author's fees were probably unheard of, and where even fixed book prices were the rare exception, the only comparatively safe income an author could have from his book was by dedicating it to somebody high up the social ladder. The reason I mention this important function of the dedication only now is that it does not form part of its face value. It was understood. If the hope of a return gift is mentioned, it is only by way of denial, cf. this passage from Jonas Venusinus's Danish translation of Thomas a Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* (Copenhagen, 1599):

> When I decided to publish this book on the imitation of Christ, which I translated eight years ago, I had made up my mind not to dedicate it to anyone, primarily because it is not my own, and I did not want to seem desirous for a gift; but...[14]

That money *was* paid with explicit reference to dedications is easy to extract from the registers of the treasury and from published summaries of outgoing royal mail.[15] The rewards range from six dalers for minor Latin poems to 200 dalers. A major work of Latin scholarship like Andreas Velleius's *editio princeps* of Adam of Bremen fetched its author 100 dalers. For comparison I mention at random: in 1561 a Terence for school use cost ½ a daler; in 1569 a royal grant for students was established, and for studies abroad the chosen few would receive 100 dalers a year for a period of five years; in 1597 Peder Hegelund sold horses for about 40 dalers apiece; and about the same time a farm-hand was supposed to be able to live on 6 dalers a year, including meals.[16] If these examples tell us anything, it must be that fees for dedications—that is successful ones to the king—were not negligible, but, on the other hand, did not suffice for a good living in themselves. Well-

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[14] "Men der ieg nu actede at lade denne Bog om Christi Effterfølgelse udgaa, som jeg otte Aar forleden haffuer fordansket, var jeg stadig i denne Mening icke at dedicere den nogen, heldst fordi den er icke min egen, oc paa det ieg icke skulde siunis der met at traa effter nogen foræring: haffuer jeg dog omsier etc."

[15] Cf. *Kancelliets brevebøger 1593–96 & 1596–1602*, ed. L. Laursen, (Copenhagen, 1910 & 1913): 29/7 1594, 22/10 1594, 20/6 1596, 16/10 1596, 10/6 1598. A. Petersen, "Literairhistoriske notitser uddragne af Rentemesterregnskaberne fra Aarerne 1571 til 1589," *Danske Samlinger* 1 (1865–66): 91–99; C. S. Petersen, 41ff. Registers from noble families may also yield something. The author of the above-mentioned book dedicated to Holger Rosenkrantz was rewarded instantly by Holger's father (P. Zeeberg, 21).

[16] Terentius: H. F. Rørdam, "Uddrag af den kgl. Rentemesters Regnskaber 1551–61," *Ny Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 5 (1869–71): 409–18. Royal grant: B. Kaae, *Familieliv på "Liljebjerget" i Ribe omkring 1600* (Esbjerg, 1983), 67 n. 6. Horses: Hegelund 1:299. Farm hands: E. Ladewig Petersen *Fra Standssamfund til rangssamfund 1500–1700*. Dansk Socialhistorie (Copenhagen, 1980), 3:257.

known authors had a steady income—such as an ecclesiastical prebend or a university post—as their firm basis.

In addition to cash rewards, a dedication sometimes attracted grants for studies, and even promotions. In one instance the king asks the bishop of Scania to offer a living in that province for an author and would-be parish priest.[17] Finally, dedications also worked long term by establishing the position of authors in the minds of the ruling élite.

Statistics

It was, as a matter of fact, the ruling élite who attracted most dedications. This is clearly borne out by the statistics I want to present. I should point out that I have disregarded all books (or parts of books with separate dedications) of less than twenty pages. If included, they would distort the picture because small printed items are much more subject to accidents of transmission than larger ones. Also they represent less effort on the part of the author, and it would be wrong to count a one-page poem in the same way as a 300-page book. In cases of more than one dedicatee, I have simply counted one item for each. The distinction between languages concerns the main text, i.e., books listed as Danish may have their dedication in Latin.

	Latin	Danish	German	Sum
Frederick II	27	10	2	39
Christian IV	23	11	1	35
Niels Kaas	23	3	0	26
Johan Friis	9	6	0	15
Christoffer Valkendorf	3	10	0	13
Henrik Rantzau	8	1	1	10
Christian III	6	4	0	10
Herluf Trolle	3	5	0	8
Hans Skovgaard	6	2	0	8
Arlid Huitfeld	6	1	0	7

[17] Grants: Rørdam; Scanian position: *Kancelliets brevbøger* 29/10 1599.

Hak Ulfstand	1	6	0	7
The clergy of Danmark	4	3	0	7
Jørgen Rosenkrantz	5	1	0	6
Sten Brahe	0	6	0	6
Sophia (Frederik II's Queen)	1	3	1	5
The Chapter of Lund	4	1	0	5
Johan Adolf (duke of Schlesvig)	3	0	0	3
Børge Trolle	2	2	0	4
Adolf (duke of Schlesvig)	3	0	0	3
Axel Juul	2	1	0	3
Peder Oxe	2	1	0	3
Hans Frandsen	3	0	0	3
Hans the Elder (duke of Schlesvig)	3	0	0	3
Peder Munk	2	1	0	3
The citizens of Malmø	0	3	0	3
Claus Urne	0	3	0	3
Anne Parsberg	0	3	0	3
Eline Gøye	0	3	0	3
Axel Glydenstierne	0	3	0	3

The topmost eleven dedicatees are all royal persons or powerful members of the privy council. Frederik II, Christian IV and Niels Kaas are in a league of their own—the latter no doubt because he was the leading figure of the regency during Christian IV's years as a minor. The relatively low score by Christian III can easily be understood: the first fifteen years of his reign are not counted, and, equally important, many fewer books were produced in the middle of the century than at the end.

The fact that by far the most popular targets for dedications were powerful, rather than learned men, at once indicates the answer to my third question: in general there is no reason for assuming any specific relationship between form or subject matter of books and their dedicatees. Authors offered their works to powerful people in order to get protection, gifts and promotions, not because they particularly wanted these people to read their works or approve of the subjects they cultivated. The mass of books dedicated to a word-blind king (Frederik II) is ample proof.

This rule, however, refers in particular to members of the royal family. They were supposedly able to read all languages and understand all branches of learning. When we move into the lines of the privy councillors, some meaningful tendencies show up. Learned noblemen with power, like Henrik Rantzau and Arild Huitfeld—prolific authors themselves—attract many more Latin than vernacular works, whereas unlearned people such as the warrior Hak Ulfstand and Tycho Brahe's more practically minded brother, Sten, are favored by Danish language authors. (Tycho himself is not among those listed; only one Latin work is dedicated to him. He was not in government). A similar case can be made for differences of sex. Queen Sophia, Anne Parsberg, and Eline Gøye, the only women to appear at the top of the list, are clearly offered books by vernacular authors.[18] Perhaps they were supposed to read them.

Let me finish by pointing out two kinds of Latin texts that did tend to aim at certain dedicatees. They cannot be gleaned from the statistics because they are not identified formally, but according to their contents.

Some books of a pedagogical nature, written specifically for students or for beginners in a field, are dedicated to young men of student age. Perhaps it seemed unfitting to address a book of this kind to an experienced man (though it *was* sometimes done). In any case the author probably expected to pick up his fee from the *pater familias*—it was just another way of cultivating ties with certain noble or rich bourgeois families.[19] I have already mentioned the young Holger Rosenkrantz's dissatisfaction with a dedication from Niels Krag; from the same source we know that Holger's father had already paid Krag a fee for the dedication. I presume that other texts with young noble dedicatees would have followed a similar route.

The second group comprises texts dealing with Danish national history.

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[18] Cf. the observations on the choice of Latin or vernacular by M. Skafte Jensen, "The Language of eternity: The role of Latin in 16th-Century Danish culture" in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, ed. A. Dalzell, Ch. Fantazzi and R. Schoeck. Medieval & Renaisaance Texts & Studies, vol. 86 (Binghamton N.Y., 1991), 41–61.

[19] Clearcut examples are: A. S. Vedel's translation of N. Hemmingsen's *Via Vitae* into Latin (Leipzig, 1574); J. Dybvad's *Propositiones mathematicae* (Copenhagen, 1577); A. S. Vedel's edition of J. A. Sinning's *Oratio de studiis philosophicis* (Ribe, 1591, repr. Copenhagen 1991 for the eighth Neo-Latin Congress, ed. E. Jacobsen); C. J. Bang's *Epitome moralis scientiae* (Wittenberg, 1599).

During the entire period, the Danish government took an active interest in plans for writing a national history in Latin. This development culminated with the appointment of the first royal historiographer, Niels Krag, in 1595. But even before that, all relevant source material was regarded as government property. That is why all texts published in Denmark on Danish history are dedicated to the king or to a high government official, preferably the king's chancellor. This goes for separate treatises as well as editions of medieval sources. Even a foreign text dealing partly with Danish history—the above-mentioned *Saxonia* by David Chytraeus—was in part dedicated to Niels Kaas. Such a warranty greatly enhanced the value of the work.

Dedications were the order of the day. Like so many other social conventions they have certain strange characteristics when viewed from a different culture. A text with a dedication pretended to be a voluntary gift from author to patron; on the other hand, the patron's permission was probably taken for granted by the readers. Furthermore, the dedicatees were praised for their patronage of the arts and their interest in learned studies, but the most popular dedicatees were probably never expected to read as much as one page of scholarly Latin works. Kings and members of the high nobility often did support intellectual activity, but not necessarily because they knew anything about it, or because they preferred it to other types of craftsmanship. They did so because they liked to have their names widely publicized in prestigious works, and—maybe even more important—because they liked to demonstrate their superior social position by outdoing the gift of a commoner.

Copenhagen

The Christ Child, the Boys of Saint Paul's School, and Dame Christian Colet: A Little-Known Side of Erasmus

CLARE M. MURPHY

The greatest happiness of Colet's years at Oxford, according to Samuel Knight in *The Life of Dr. John Colet*, was that he there met Erasmus.[1] Their meeting and the friendship that ensued were equally pleasing to Erasmus, who was later to praise his friend for having devoted his life to serving others rather than himself. This devotion was shown in two ways: first, by his preaching and holy instruction, Colet brought Christ into the hearts of his fellow citizens; and second, Colet had, with the fortune he inherited at the death of his father, founded and built a school where youngsters could, from their earliest years, absorb Christian principles together with an excellent literary education.[2]

Erasmus himself describes the construction of this school built at St. Paul's Churchyard and dedicated to the child Jesus and his Blessed Mother.[3] The building was divided into four sections or partitions. The first was for the beginning class, boys who might be called catechumens. Students were admitted on the basis of character and intelligence, but no boy was accepted who could not already read and write. The second partition held the boys who were instructed by the Surmaster, and the third, students taught by the higher masters. The fourth was the chapel. The first three partitions, or the three classrooms, were separated by curtains which could

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[1] Samuel Knight, *The Life of Dr. John Colet* (London: J. Downing, 1724), 31.

[2] R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, trans.; Wallace K. Ferguson, annot., *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Letters 142–297 (1501–1514) in the *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1975), 2:226. Hereafter referred to as *CWE*.

[3] J. H. Lupton, ed., *Erasmi Concio de Puero Jesu: A Sermon on the Child Jesus by Desiderius Erasmus* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), x.

be opened and closed as needed. In the section for the oldest boys, above the preceptor's chair, was found, Erasmus says, a remarkable work of art representing the child Jesus seated as a teacher, in front of which the whole little world of the school sang a hymn of praise both upon arriving and upon leaving. Above the statue was a depiction of the Father saying: "Listen to Him," words which Colet had had inscribed at the request of Erasmus.[4]

St. Paul's School was completed in 1510; the first printing of *Concio de Puero Jesu*, a sermon written by Erasmus to be spoken by a child to the children, was 1 September 1511, at Ghent.[5] Both the occasion for the sermon's delivery and its date are unknown. Speculation suggests some public ceremony, like visiting time, or perhaps even the opening of the school itself.[6] There is a single anonymous English translation of the *Concio*, published sometime between 1525 and 1540.[7] It was reprinted in 1901, edited by J. H. Lupton, who notes that in two passages the translator used "Now, Sir" to render the Latin emphatic *jam vero*. This use of "Sir" leads Lupton to conclude that Colet himself was there, or at least the high master or a surveyor of the Mercers' Company, who were governors of the school.[8] The boy speaker no doubt stood under the image of the child Jesus. Since Erasmus tells us that the three classrooms could be made into one by pulling the curtains, and that each section had spaces for sixteen boys, arranged on an incline,[9] it seems likely that all curtains were opened and that the audience perhaps numbered around fifty or a few more, depending on how much room there was beyond the student places.

First published at the same time as the *Concio* were five poems by Erasmus, *Carmina Scholaria*, probably intended to be sung by the boys and perhaps also to be hung on the classroom walls.[10] In the first of the *Carmina Scholaria*, "Imago pueri Iesu posita in ludo literario quem nuper instituit Coletus," the teaching Christ child of the school wall speaks to the boys:

> Discite me primum pueri, atque effingite puris
> Moribus, inde pias addite literulas.[11]

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[4] André Godin, *Erasme: Vies de Jean Vitrier et de John Colet* (Angers, France: Editions MOREANA, 1982), 56–59. In Jewish tradition, the rabbi was always *seated*, this position signifying the teaching role, a tradition continued in the academic *chair*. Jesus seated, and therefore in a teaching position, is described frequently in the New Testament, e.g., in the Temple at age twelve (Lk 2:46); at the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:1); at lakeside and then later in a boat (Mt 13:1, Mk 4:1).

[5] *CWE* 2:69.

[6] Knight, 146; Lupton, xii.

[7] Lupton, vii, ix.

[8] Lupton, x.

[9] Godin, 58–59.

[10] J. H. Rieger, "Erasmus, Colet and the Schoolboy Jesus," *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962): 187–94, at 187.

[11] C. Reedijk, ed., *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956), 298, no. 86; Rieger, 190.

Rieger translates these lines as:

> Know Me first, boys, and strive after pure manners;
> Then add to these God-fearing literature.

One of the motifs of both the *Concio* and the *Carmina Scholaria* might be called the *Encomium Moriae* theme—that which looks like wisdom in the eyes of the world is foolishness in ultimate reality as the Christian knows it, and vice versa. The same might be said for the structure of the *Concio*. It is repetitive in the first two sections and the third is a somewhat tedious compendium of moral instruction that seems not to be addressed to children at all. It probably, in fact, was not. The repetitiveness of the first two sections shows an author aware of the short attention span of children; hence, he says only a little on each subject at any one time, reserving more to a later time. And since sermons to children are only as effective as the good example of adults around them, the third and concluding section, after the children have probably lost interest even in the novelty of a boy speaker, reminds the adults present of their moral responsibilities.

A boy speaker, then, standing under an image of the teaching child Jesus, pronounces a sermon written by Erasmus for children, not only to instruct and edify them, but also to make them appreciate the wonder of being—like the person of the image—a child. Some of the ways in which Erasmus speaks of the child Jesus are: as a child himself and therefore particularly favorable to children; as someone whose life is a lesson for children, a lesson taught by the child's own example; and finally, as a child who sits as a teacher to adults in the ways of childlike holiness. An examination of the *Concio* reveals in what ways Erasmus handles many of the events of Jesus' life.[12]

Even before he was born, Jesus related to another unborn child, causing John the Baptist to leap in his mother's womb in salute to Jesus (17). Jesus was born, as all children are, helpless and powerless. As a baby he cried when he suffered, a suffering to be consummated as a grown man on the cross. The reason for all this suffering, beginning as a baby, was to bring us eventually to a state of no suffering at all, but only of great joy (17, 13). Still, this crying baby lying in a crib was praised by angels and worshipped not only by shepherds but also by the mother who had brought him into the world. He was acknowledged by animals and revered by wise astronomers, to whom he was pointed out by a star (10).

Jesus' being born of a virgin teaches us to eschew foulness and lust, and to meditate on a certain angelic life even on earth (25). This theme of chastity is strong in both the *Concio* and the *Carmina Scholaria*. J. H. Rieger has observed that the importance of the *Carmina Scholaria* is not in their somewhat scant literary value, but rather in their place in the history of

[12] As of the end of 1991, the latest Latin edition of the *Concio* is still *LB* 5:599–610. For the English edition of J. H. Lupton, see note 3 above. References from Lupton are given by page number in parenthesis in the body of my text.

ideas, in the way that they delineate Christian humanist thought in Oxford in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Erasmus frequently "insists on the paradox of learning that is no learning," and in these poems "associates purity of life with purity of diction," while conversely linking "foul manners" and "unlearned learning."[13] In "Carmen iambicum," the third of the *Carmina Scholaria*, Erasmus points out that the schoolmaster of the ancients was the virgin goddess (of wisdom) Minerva, and that the Camenan virgins (or the muses) were the rulers of all literary endeavor:[14]

Non inuenusto antiquitas aenigma
  Studii magistam virginem
Finxit Mineruam, ac literarum praesides
  Finxit Camenas virgines. (1–4)

Christ himself becomes the speaker of this poem, reminding the boys that he himself was a virgin, as was his mother and the ministering angels—and as are the flock of schoolboys over whom he now presides. Chastity should be applied to learning and to language, for scholars must exclude from the holy threshhold of learning all that which would pollute learning:[15]

Nunc ipse virgo matre natus virgine
  Praesideo virgineae gregi,
Et sospitator huius et custos scholae.
  Adsunt ministri virgines,
Pueros meos mecum tuentes angeli.
  Mihi grata vbique puritas
Decetque studia literarum puritas,
  Procul ergo sacro a limine
Morum arceant mihi literatores luem,
  Nil huc recipient barbarum.
Procul arceant illiteratas literas,
  Nec regna polluant mea. (5–16)[16]

Jesus' birth away from home and in a strange and lowly place teaches us that we are strangers on earth, here for a short time only. We should therefore despise riches and false honors, hastening to the next world with as little earthly baggage as possible, living in the heavenly courts in our minds, even though our feet touch the earth (25–26). Perhaps inspired by Colossians 2:11, where St. Paul describes the metaphorical circumcisions of Christians as a complete stripping off of their natural selves, Erasmus is prompted by the circumcision of Jesus to return to the chastity theme by

[13] Rieger, 188–89.
[14] Rieger, 189.
[15] Rieger, 189.
[16] Reedijk, 299, no. 88.

finding in this event an instruction in cutting off all carnal affections which keep us from hurrying to him. The flight into Egypt likewise instructs us to flee from any contagion that would separate us from Jesus (26).

The slaughter of the holy innocents shows us that Jesus allowed his birth to be hallowed by the blood of innocent children. Jesus, who was the most invincible of captains, began his battle supported by these little, lightly-armed soldiers (17). On the other hand, this same event shows how the powerful Herod feared the infant Jesus so much that Herod made all Jerusalem tremble. At the presentation in the temple, holy Simeon embraced Jesus, and Anna prophesied about him. Is not this child Jesus someone to be wondered at, for the lowest thing in him is more wonderful than those things that are highest in mortals? Furthermore, all that these children assembled at St. Paul's are, Jesus was (10–11). Perhaps gesticulating to the images above him, the boy speaker reminds his audience that the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Listen to him" (9).

The incident of Jesus lost in the temple calls for particular ingenuity on the part of Erasmus. How does one praise a boy of twelve who goes away for three days without telling his parents, then seems to rebuke his mother when she speaks to him about it? Indeed, this scriptural narrative seems more suitable for the consolation of parents than for the edification of children. Erasmus dwells on *where* Jesus was—in the temple, both learning from the masters and teaching them. He was *not* in fairs or markets, roadways or taverns; he was not dancing or singing. The exemplum in Jesus' sojourn in the temple is that as we grow, we should shift toward God the natural affections which we usually direct towards our parents and our friends. As we grow, so should Jesus grow in us (28–30).

The children should by no means assume, however, that separation from one's parents should induce pride or disobedience! On the contrary, St. Luke continues that Jesus went home with his parents and was subject to them. No persons more honor or obey their parents than those who grow away from them, for what is it to sit in the temple but to rest among holy things and to learn, quietly, away from worldly concerns? But the children must be obedient to their parents and their masters, for the lord of wisdom, even though wiser at age twelve than his parents, was still obedient to them (29–30).

As an adult, Jesus was displeased with his disciples when they tried to keep children away from him and commanded rather that the children should *come* to him. He showed in what loving esteem he held children when he condemned so vehemently those who scandalize them, and he commended children when he said that the guardian angels of children always see the face of God. When Jesus made his triumphant entry into Jerusalem, he was received by a procession of children, whose praise he preferred to that of adults. Furthermore, Jesus not only blessed children, he told adults that in order to enter the kingdom of heaven, they had to become as little children (17–18).

When Nicodemus asked how he might obtain eternal life, continues the boy speaker, Jesus told him to be reborn, that is to become a child again. How much the state of childhood must have pleased him (19)! Being reborn, becoming a child again, is a reversal which illustrates the verse of Revelation (21:5) about making all things new, a reversal which suggests the *Encomium Moriae* theme; for, as the boy speaker points out, Jesus said that what is hidden from the wise is disclosed to children (27). It is indeed easier for children than for adults to become transformed into Jesus by following him (23). Childhood flies quickly; let it therefore serve the child while it can. As he had done in *De Pueris instituendis*, Erasmus—here through his boy speaker—quotes Quintilian: "Optima statim, ac primo discenda," ("the best should be learned at once and first of all"). What, asks the *Concio*, should be learned first if not Christ, the best of all things (33)?

From children, let us move to a mother, the mother of the founder of St. Paul's School. Christian Knyvet was probably born between 1445 and 1450, and had probably married Henry Colet by 1465. Their first child was John Colet, followed by ten more sons and eleven daughters. Of these twenty-two children, only John lived to adulthood, the others all having died by 1503. We know of one son, Thomas, who died in 1479, and of a son, Richard, who was with his parents and John in Rome in 1493. After the death of Henry Colet in 1505, "the good Dame Christian," as she had been called after her husband's knighting, stayed on in their home in Stepney, delighting in entertaining the learned friends of her single surviving son, the priest John, from whom she could not even look forward to grandchildren.[17]

In 1510 she entertained the humanist Henricus Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, and in December of that same year, she was granted letters of fraternity by Christ Church, Canterbury, at that time the monastic chapter of the Cathedral. In 1519, she witnessed the death of John, her only surviving son, while she herself lived on until 1523.[18] She was in her own right a person from highly connected families on both sides, called *nobilis mulier* by Polydore Virgil.[19] "But of much more consequence," writes Lupton,"were the qualities of head and heart which Dame Christian possessed." He continues: "It has often seemed to the writer, now [edition of 1909] that the benefits of Dean Colet's foundation are to be applied, in part, to the education of girls, that some lasting memorial should be raised, in connec-

[17] Knight, 8–9; J. H. Lupton, D. D. , *A Life of John Colet, D. D.* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1909), 13–14; J. B. Trapp, "Dame Christian Colet and Thomas More," *Moreana* 15–16 (November 1967): 103–14, at 103, J. B. Trapp, "Christian KNYVET," *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas Deutscher (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1986), 2:267.

[18] *Contemporaries* 2:267.

[19] Knight, 8 n. 1; Lupton, *Life*, 13; Trapp, *Moreana*, 103–4.

tion with that application, to perpetuate the name of the good Dame Christian."[20]

Her friendship with Cornelius Agrippa and particularly with Erasmus leads one to surmise that probably Dame Christian knew some Latin. Colet's generosity, both in the use of his personal funds for his school and in providing for his own personal servants, seems to have been learned from his mother. In 1512, he wrote to Erasmus from London: "I have been in the country for the last few days, staying with my mother in order to comfort her grief at the death of my servant, who died in her house. She loved him as a son and mourned his death even more than that of her own son."[21] One can imagine the reason why: her oldest son's servant had probably lived longer in the house than any of her own children except John. Of all John's friends, Erasmus seems to have been her favorite. On 20 June 1516, Colet writes to Erasmus: "Farewell from my mother's country house in Stepney. She is still alive, in a happy old age, and often speaks of you cheerfully and with pleasure."[22] Dame Christian was still living in 1521 when Erasmus wrote the letter to Justus Jonas which constitutes the first biography of John Colet. Citing the loss of all her twenty-two children, Erasmus refers to her as a woman of exceptional integrity.[23]

Leaving this elderly lady for a moment, let us move on to a very young lady, who died at the age of three and a half, and yet has her very own entry in the encyclopedia, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*! Born Christmas Day 1528, Ursula Amerbach was the first child of Boniface Amerbach and Martha Fuchs. At Ursula's death, her father received letters and poems of consolation from other friends as well as from Erasmus, and Boniface himself wrote poems expressing his grief.[24] Erasmus writes to him that since Ursula was the oldest child, she was the first to give him the very sweet name of father. And Erasmus knows how attached Boniface is to his family. But what has really happened, Erasmus says, is that Boniface has added a completely white star to the choir of heavenly virgins. Little Ursula now rejoices, exalts, and dances at having been received into eternal delight before ever having been soiled by the evils of this miserable life.[25] Those familiar with Ben Jonson's poem "On My First Daughter" (pub. 1616) will recognize that Jonson draws on some of the same traditions as Erasmus. Jonson writes of his dead little girl: "At sixe moneths end, shee parted hence / With safetie of her innocence." Where Erasmus makes Ursula a

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[20] Lupton, *Life*, 14.

[21] *CWE* 2:223. For Colet's generosity, see Lupton, *Life*, 152.

[22] R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, trans.; James K. McConica, annot., *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Letters 298–445, (1514–1516), *CWE* 3:313. See also Knight, 9.

[23] Godin, 46–47.

[24] Manfred E. Welti, "Ursula AMERBACH," *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, (1985), 1:48.

[25] Godin, 46–47.

star in the choir of heavenly virgins, Jonson says that in order to comfort his wife's tears, the Queen of Heaven, whose name she bears, has placed baby Mary in her virgin train. But for the most elaborately conceived and yet most personal consolation that Erasmus has to offer to Boniface, he draws on no literary tradition, but on life itself.

Writing from Freiburg-im-Breisgau on 6 July 1532, Erasmus remembers a lady who had died in 1523 and whom he had probably not seen since 1516. In England, he tells Boniface, he knew the mother of John Colet, a lady of rare piety. By the same husband she had had eleven sons and as many daughters. This whole chorus, except for her son John, was taken away from her. She also lost her husband, but not until they were elderly. When Erasmus knew her, she was already approaching her ninetieth year, yet her face was so unmarked, her disposition so joyful, that one would have said she had never cried nor given birth. Finally, he writes, she even lost her one remaining son, for she outlived him. What gave this woman such an unshakeable spirit, says Erasmus to Boniface, was not education, but devotion to God. And you, Boniface, who have learning, wisdom, moral firmness in everything else, are you going to let yourself die with your little girl?[26] One point in this letter that needs comment is his reference to Dame Christian as approaching her ninetieth year when he had last seen her. As J. B. Trapp points out, such arithmetic would have had her bearing children until well past sixty. Erasmus has somehow added about twenty-five years to her age.[27] Perhaps he is not the best person to compliment one on how young one looks for one's years.

Erasmus's concern that learning must be coupled with virtue in order to be authentic has already been discussed. Boniface Amerbach was a brilliant lawyer in a brilliant family of Basel. In his family's home he had known the scholars working on his father's edition of St. Jerome. He had studied with Zasius in Freiburg and with Alciati in Avignon.[28] Yet Erasmus, when he wishes to comfort him and to give him a model to follow in handling grief, chooses no brilliant scholar, no famous humanist, but a lady who had lived out her life in dignity and joy because of her rich faith and her personal integrity. In the "Sapphicum" of the *Carmina Scholaria* Erasmus had written:

> Hic rudis, tanquam noua testa, pubes
> Literas Graias, simul et Latinas,
> Et fidem sacram, tenerisque Christum
> Combibet annis.[29] (5–8)

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[26] Marie Delcourt et al., ed., *La Correspondance d'Erasme*, vol. 10, 1532–34 (Bruxelles Univ. Press, 1981), 81.

[27] *Correspondance*, 10:82.

[28] Trapp, *Moreana*, 112 n. 4.

[29] *CWE* 3:286 headnote.

Rieger renders these lines in English as:

> Here rough, raw youth (as a new urn)
> Drinks in Greek letters as well as Latin,
> And the Holy Faith, and Christ Himself,
> In its tender and delicate years.

If the "rough, raw youth" of John Colet's school learned Latin letters and holy faith, it was perhaps so because their founder had, in his "tender and delicate years," observed such learning and such faith in his mother, the good Dame Christian.[30]

Angers, France

[30] Reedijk, 299–300, no. 90; Rieger, 191.

Le Traité du sublime et la pensée esthétique anglaise de Junius à Reynolds

COLETTE NATIVEL

La première mention du traité *Du sublime* en Angleterre est tardive: en 1612, préfaçant sa traduction de l'*Odyssée*, Chapman appelait Longin "a proser congenitally incapable of appreciating poetry." L'*Index rhetoricus* de Farnaby le cite en 1625 à propos de l'*amplificatio*. Ce qui fait peu de choses. De plus, l'ouvrage ne fut traduit en anglais qu'en 1636. Peu après cependant, en 1637, parut à Amsterdam le *De pictura ueterum* de Junius, dédié au roi Charles et largement diffusé en Angleterre où vivait son auteur qui le traduisit par lui en anglais dès 1638.[1] Or Junius cite une quarantaine de fois le *Traité* qui nourrit ses plus importantes démonstrations. Il est, comme l'établit un article de T. J. B. Spencer, le premier réel lecteur de l'Anonyme en Angleterre, la source d'un courant qui s'amplifiera aux siècles suivants.[2] Ce que nous voudrions montrer à partir de l'examen du *Treatise on Ancient Painting* de George Turnbull et des *Discourses on Art* de Reynolds.

Junius n'aborda pas l'ouvrage comme un traité technique ainsi que l'avait fait Farnaby; il y chercha matière à sa réflexion esthétique.

Dès la première page—méditation d'inspiration stoïco-platonicienne sur l'éminente dignité de la création artistique—il renvoie à Longin: "La nature ... a suscité en nos âmes l'invincible désir de tout ce qui est éternellement grand et de plus divin par rapport à nous," et le paraphrase pour montrer que l'art obéit à un dessein divin. L'homme "a été introduit dans le vaste théâtre du monde pour être le spectateur et le chantre de si grandes oeuvres."[3] Il analyse ensuite ce goût inné pour la grandeur. "Est véritablement

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[1] *De pictura libri tres* (Amsterdam: Blaev, 1637); *The Painting of the Ancients* (London: R. Hodgkinsonne, 1638). Nous renvoyons à la 2ème éd. latine (Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1694).

[2] T. J. B. Spencer, "Longinus in English Criticism: Influences before Milton," *RES* 8 (1957): 137–43. Notre introduction suit ses analyses.

[3] In amplissimum hoc theatrum spectatorem praeconemque tantorum operum intro-

grand ce qui revient souvent à la réflexion . . . ce qu'il est difficile, voire impossible d'arracher de son esprit, dont on garde une mémoire constante, forte, indélébile. En un mot, tient pour seule et véritable grandeur celle qui plaît toujours et à tous les hommes."[4] Le sublime naît d'abord de ce sentiment universel qui manifeste la grandeur de l'homme.

Junius y trouve argument au débat sur les rôles de l'*ars* et de la *natura*. Longin distinguait cinq sources du sublime. Deux viennent de la nature—faculté de concevoir des pensées élevées et véhémence dans l'enthousiasme de la passion; les autres, de l'art (*sub.* 8.1). Junius adopte sa position modérée: art et nature se complètent. Si "le sublime vient de la nature et ne s'acquiert pas par l'enseignement," si "le seul art pour l'acquérir est un don naturel,"[5] il peut aussi se cultiver grâce à l'art. Et Junius affirme que "la perfection de l'oeuvre résulte sans doute de leur mutuel concours."[6]

Le sublime est "l'écho d'une grande âme" (*sub.* 9.2). Junius l'écrit avec Longin: "C'est dans les esprits élevés que tombe surtout la grandeur";[7] *a contrario*: "Celui qui toute sa vie consacre ses pensées et ses soins à des choses mesquines et serviles ne peut rien produire d'admirable et digne de la postérité."[8] Comme Longin, il conseille de toujours penser au jugement de celle-ci: "Un esprit qui songe à l'éternité ne peut rien goûter de bas."[9] La bassesse tue le sublime qui exige une totale liberté d'esprit. Ainsi, avec Longin encore, il explique la décadence des arts par l'amour des richesses et du plaisir (*pict.* 2.9.7; *sub.* 44.6–7). D'ordre éthique, la grandeur exige une morale: l'éducation du peintre prendra en compte les ἀδιάφορα que le chapitre sept du *Traité* énumérait.

La μεγαλοφροσύνη repose aussi sur une psychologie et d'abord certaine aptitude de l'imagination à créer des images. Junius ouvre le chapitre qui lui est consacré sur l'expression longinienne—εἰδωλοποιΐα (*pict.* 1.2.1.) et adapte aisément à la peinture la théorie des images rhétoriques de Quintilien (*pict.* 3.4.4.; *inst.* 6.2.29–32) que l'Anonyme expose en termes voisins. "Les représentations imagées (φαντασίαι) aussi . . . produisent la majesté, la magnificence et la véhémence du style. C'est pourquoi certains les appellent créatrices d'images (εἰδωλοποιίαι) . . . Sous l'effet de l'enthousi-

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ductum, *Sub.* 35.2; *pict.* 1.1.1. Nous donnons les traductions de Junius.

[4] *Sub.* 7.3–4; *pict.* 3.1.16: "Illud uere magnum, quod subinde cogitandum . . . nobis occurrit, quod uix, ac ne uix quidem, animo excidere potest, sed constanti, firma, ac indelebili memoria retinetur. Denique praeclaram illam demum granditatem et ueram esse ducito, quae per omnia et omnibus placeat."

[5] *Sub.* 2.1.; *pict.* 3.1.17: "Natura quae magna sunt proueniunt, nec ulla doctrina comparari possunt; et una ars ad illa consequenda, ita a natura comparatum est."

[6] *Sub.* 36.4; *pict.* 3.6.2.: "Mutua . . . horum cohaerentia futura forte est perfectio operum."

[7] *Sub.* 9.3; *pict.* 3.1.17: "In elati spiritus homines maxime cadunt, quae sunt grandia."

[8] *Sub.* 9.3; *pict.* 3.1.17: "Fieri non potest, ut exilia quaedam ac seruilia per omnem uitam cogitantes curantesque admirabile quid atque omni aeuo dignum producant."

[9] *Pict.* 3.1.20: "Neque . . . fieri potest ut humile quid sapiat animus aeternitatem cogitans."

asme et de la passion, tu parais voir ce que tu dis et le mets sous les yeux de l'auditeur" (*sub.* 15.1). La création artistique procède de cette vision—en quoi la φαντασία est proche de l'inspiration—mais aussi de sa mise en oeuvre dans la production d'images peintes ou verbales, chacune s'adressant à l'imagination d'autrui, spectateur ou auditeur. Comparant peinture et poésie, Junius suit de près Longin. Avec lui, il évoque le poète inspiré, comme si, monté sur le char de Phaéton, il avait vu la scène qu'il peint (*pict.* 4.6; *sub.* 15.4) et élabore une doctrine de l'inspiration proche de la sienne dans la mesure où elle suit la tradition platonicienne du *furor poeticus*.

C'est elle qui fait l'artiste de génie, capable de dépasser sa condition mortelle et nourrit son élan créateur. Mais Junius, comme Longin, est conscient des dangers courus par les talents d'exception: "Leurs grands esprits ... peuvent contenir autant de vices que de vertus."[10] Leur ardeur qui brûle tout sur son passage ne connaît pas la mesure.[11] Longin énonçait ce paradoxe qu'il relève: ils sont les plus exposés au péril et les moins exempts de défauts, car les médiocres n'aspirent pas au sommet.[12] "Un frein leur est nécessaire."[13] L'art développera ces vertus et préviendra ces défauts, en quoi l'imitation des modèles joue un rôle majeur.

Le *Sublime* proposait une théorie originale de l'imitation, non pas servile copie, mais imprégnation: "Des grands génies des anciens s'échappent certaines émanations qui pénètrent les âmes de leurs imitateurs."[14] Plus qu'une reproduction, c'est encore une sorte d'inspiration. Le but n'est pas de copier, écrit Junius, la Vénus Anadyomène d'Apelle, "mais d'exprimer dans un tableau d'Achille, le même art qu'Apelle manifesta dans son portrait d'Alexandre."[15] Toujours enfin le peintre songera au jugement qu'aurait porté sur lui le tribunal des maîtres du passé (*sub.* 14.2; *pict.* 3.1.20).

Longin nourrit aussi la réflexion de Junius sur les fins de la poésie et de la peinture, celle-ci étant assimilée à la rhétorique: comme elle, elle vise l'évidence (ἐνάργεια), quand la poésie suscite l'étonnement (ἔκπληξις) (*sub.* 15.2; *pict.* 1.4.6). Pourtant—cette ambiguïté se trouvait dans le *Traité*—le livre trois fait de l'étonnement et de l'extase qu'une oeuvre produit les critères de sa réussite. Ainsi, selon ce rhéteur, "ce n'est pas à la persuasion, mais au ravissement (ἔκστασις) que le sublime pousse l'auditeur, ... l'admiration jointe à l'étonnement l'emporte sur ce qui est fait pour persuader et plaire" (*sub.* 1.4); il confère au discours une force irrésistible qui "subjugue l'audi-

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[10] *Pict.* 1.3.11: "Magnae magnorum artificum mentes, ut uirtutum, ita et uitiorum capacissimae."

[11] *Sub.* 12.3; *pict.* 1.3.11: πολὺ τὸ διάπυρον καὶ θυμικῶς ἐκφλεγόμενον ἔχοντες.

[12] *Sub.* 33.2; *pict.* 1.3.11 sommaire.

[13] *Sub.* 2.2.; *pict.* 1.3.11: "Fraenis tamen hic indigebunt ..."

[14] *Sub.* 13.2; *pict.* 3.1.19: "ab illis priscorum magnis ingeniis in animos imitantium ipsos ... riui quidam feruntur."

[15] *Pict.* 1.3.6: "artem illam quam Apelles in Alexandri imagine repraesentauit, eandem in Achillis pictura exprimere."

teur."[16] Entraînant le discours ou le tableau au-delà de sa fin première, il lui confère une dimension poétique. Il y a persuasion par l'extase.

Ainsi avec Longin, Junius associe, dans une esthétique complexe, les exigences d'une rhétorique de la clarté aux facteurs irrationnels de l'enthousiasme, la ψυχαγωγία, l'extase: la contrainte de l'ἐνάργεια contrôle le *furor*. On pense à l'*Inspiration du poète* de Poussin.[17]

Autre problème dont débattra Boileau avec Perrault: le sublime procède-t-il des mots ou des choses? Junius ne les dissocie pas: il insiste sur les qualités de l'invention picturale, aussi bien que sur le traitement de cette matière. L'invention assimile encore le tableau au discours: si "les inventions des poètes comportent des péripéties trop fabuleuses, . . . dans l'imagination picturale, il y a toujours de la vérité et une possibilité de mise en oeuvre."[18] Parmi ses vertus—vérité (*ueritas*), à-propos (*occasio*), bienséance (*aequitas*)—se trouve la grandeur (*magnificentia*) (*pict.* 3.1.12). Junius en analyse comme Longin les écueils: l'enflure (τὸ οἰδεῖν; *Sub.* 3.3) qu'il blâme, mais avec Quintilien (*inst.* 2.10.5; *pict.* 3.1.15), et son contraire, la puérilité (τὸ μειρακιῶδες) qui aboutit à la froideur (τὸ ψυχρόν)—il parle de "la froide recherche d'une excessive finesse"[19]—ou encore le παρένθυρσος. Il en rappelle la définition du *Traité*—"un abus de pathétique intempestif là où point n'est besoin de pathétique ou démesuré là où il faut de la mesure,"[20] et moque ceux qui "faisant consister le mouvement en un rictus cruel, un corps distordu, des jambes écartées plus qu'il ne convient ne font rien de tranquille, rien de doux, mais paraissent délirer. . . ."[21] Dans une mauvaise invention, tout "semble troublé et sorti bouillonnant de l'imagination plutôt qu'avoir été traité avec gravité et ampleur, ce qui était effrayant devient peu à peu bas méprisable."[22]

Enfin, le *Traité* lui fournit un certain nombre de qualités du style rhétorique applicables à la peinture. Le naturel d'abord: "L'art est parfait quand il semble être la nature";[23] "dans les statues, on recherche la ressemblance à l'homme."[24] Le souci de l'ensemble: on doit éviter les minuties, travailler

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[16] *Sub.* 15.9; *pict.* 1.4.6: "subiicere auditorem."

[17] Cf. M. Fumaroli, *L'inspiration du poète de Poussin* (Paris: Ed. de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989).

[18] *Sub.* 15.8; *pict.* 1.4.6: "Quaeque apud poetas reperiuntur, fabulosiores continent . . . At uero in pictoria phantasia praestantissimum semper actionis possibilitas est, et insita ueritas."

[19] *Pict.* 3.6.4: "frigida nimiae subtilitatis affectatio."

[20] *Sub.* 3.5; *pict.* 3.4.8: "intempestiua . . . et ubi nihil opus est affectibus, affectuum usurpatio: uel cum sine modo adhibentur, ubi moderati requiruntur."

[21] *Pict.* 3.4.8 sommaire: "qui motum in immaniore rictu, corpore distorto, cruribus plus iusto diuaricatis collocantes, dum nihil tranquille, nihil leniter faciunt, furere . . . uidentur."

[22] *Sub.* 3.1; *pict.* 3.1.15: "Turbata et phantasiis exaestuantia potius quam cum grauitate tractata et exaggerata uidentur; [. . .] ex terribili ad uile contemtumque paulatim abscedit."

[23] *Sub.* 22.1; *pict.* 3.4.6: "ars est perfecta, quando natura esse uidetur."

[24] *Sub.* 36.3; *pict.* 3.2.7: "In statuis requiritur quod est simile homini."

sa matière "sans y insérer rien de superficiel, rien de léger, rien de scolaire."[25] Car "c'est au travers non pas d'un ou deux éléments, mais de tout le tissu de l'ouvrage que transparaît l'habileté" d'une judicieuse composition.[26] Et encore: "Un membre est-il retranché d'un autre, chacun n'a en lui-même rien de remarquable; unis les uns aux autres, ils constituent un organisme parfait."[27] La doctrine est stoïcienne.[28]

D'où l'éloge de la négligence. Outre Cicéron—il existe "certaine diligente négligence"[29]—Junius cite cette belle formule de Longin: "Dans les plus augustes oeuvres de l'art exact, comme dans les immenses fortunes, il est nécessaire qu'il y ait quelque chose de négligé."[30] Il faut même "que la négligence apparaisse: la peinture, de cette manière de vice, gagnera une sorte de grâce."[31] Il blâme avec lui l'excès de recherche.[32] La grâce, qui partage les qualités du sublime, naît d'une facilité sans affectation, d'un art excellent, d'un talent supérieur. Elle seule est capable d'étonner le spectateur.

Enfin, est traité ce problème ainsi posé par Longin: préférera-t-on "une grandeur parfois défectueuse à une médiocrité correcte, saine en tout point et sans erreurs?" (*sub.* 33.1). Comme lui, Junius préfère excuser les défaillances des génies et refuse de les examiner d'un "oeil sourcilleux" (*pict.* 3.7.1). Le jugement critique, "ultime fruit d'une longue expérience,"[33] applique les mêmes principes que la création—le chapitre qui lui est consacré les rappelle.

Ainsi, Junius a non seulement donné la première lecture du *Traité* en Angleterre, mais en a encore fait une source majeure de son esthétique en dégageant ses thèses essentielles: notion de génie, complémentarité de l'art et de la nature, fins de la rhétorique et de la poésie, démarche critique.

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[25] *Sub.* 10.7; *pict.* 3.5.11: "aut corticeum quid, aut minus graue, aut scholasticum in medio inserentes."

[26] *Sub.* 1.4; *pict.* 3.7.1. "Peritiam . . . , non ex uno neque ex duobus, sed ex toto contextu uix elucentum cernimus."

[27] *Sub.* 40.1; *pict.* 3.2.3: "Membrorum unum amputatum ab altero per se ipsum nihil quidem retinet laudabile: sed alia cum aliis coniuncta omnia simul totius corporis compagem constituunt."

[28] Cf. A. Michel, *Rhétorique et philosophie chez Cicéron* (Paris: PUF, 1960), 308–9.

[29] *Or.* 78; *pict.* 3.6.4: "Quaedam . . . negligentia est diligens."

[30] *Sub.* 33.2; *pict.* 2.11.7: "Quemadmodum in nimiis diuitiis, necesse est aliquid ferme negligi."

[31] *Pict.* 2.11.7: "Negligentia quaedam appareat, et habebit pictura quandam ex illa uitii similitudine gratiam."

[32] *Sub.* 3.4.; *pict.* 2.11.7: "τὸ κακόζηλον; peruersae affectationis foeditas notabilis."

[33] *Sub.* 6; *pict.* 3.7.9: "Postrema jugis experientiae superfoetatio."

§ § §

En 1740, Turnbull, professeur de philosophie morale à Aberdeen, dans son *Treatise on Ancient Painting*,[34] reconnaît sa dette envers lui, mais juge insuffisante son étude des liens entre les arts et de leur rôle éducatif (25). Il veut montrer leur utilité dans "les progrès du coeur, de l'imagination et du jugement" (21), "l'étroite relation entre [la peinture] et la philosophie" (179). En fait, sa démarche calque celle de Junius à qui il doit et son corpus de citations et son plan—"naissance, progrès et déclin" de la peinture. Mais de notables différences surgissent dans sa lecture de Longin.

Il accentue l'aspect moral du sublime qu'il expose avec la grandeur, une des "parties poétiques de la peinture," la vérité, la beauté, l'unité, et la grâce dans la composition (83). "Echo d'une grande âme," le sublime exige de l'artiste de grandes qualités morales—"a strong and lively sense of virtue, true greatness of mind" (84), le mépris des richesses et des honneurs. Enfin, il a besoin de liberté pour s'exprimer: Longin expliquait la décadence de l'éloquence et des arts libéraux par la perte de la liberté—facteur qu'omet Junius (99). Turnbull suit la doctrine pédagogique du *Traité*: la grandeur d'âme se cultive par l'étude de textes ou de peintures sublimes, et même la contemplation de la nature (133). Il renvoie à ce passage que taisait Junius: "Notre nature nous pousse à admirer non point les petits fleuves . . . mais le Nil ou le Danube ou le Rhin" (*sub.* 35, 4).

S'il exalte la majesté des paysages, le corps humain ne l'émeut pas. Il discute en moraliste l'explication que Rubens donnait de la beauté des antiques dans le *De usu statuarum in pictura* que lui prête Roger de Piles:[35] elle viendrait, selon ce peintre, de l'admirable plastique des anciens Grecs modelée par les exercices de la palestre; selon lui, de leur beauté morale—"It was because no nation ever produced such great men, such eminent virtues, such complete models of moral perfections" (92). Et bien évidemment, il adhère à la critique par Longin de l'immoralité d'Homère (84; *sub.* 9.4).

Il se fonde sur le fait que la peinture est un langage—"He who understands thoroughly the management of a pencil, like one who is absolutely master of a language, if he is able to conceive great thoughts and images in his mind, by which he is himself greatly moved, will not fail to move others" (84)—et sur l'analogie entre la peinture et le discours établie par Longin (*sub.* 17.3) pour s'autoriser des analyses des rhéteurs antiques. Un bon texte est d'ailleurs aussi une bonne peinture par les mots—à preuve la théorie des φαντασίαι (84).

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[34] George Turnbull, *A Treatise on Ancient Painting* (London: J. Mynde, 1740). Nous renvoyons aux pages de cette éd. Cf. V. M. Bevilacqua, "Classical Rhetorical Influences in the Development of Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Criticism," *TAPhA* 104 (1974): 11–28.

[35] Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principe*, préf. de J. Thuillier (Paris: Gallimard, 1984): 82–85 (1ère éd.: Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1707).

Le choix des sujets découle de ces principes. Pour être sublimes, ils seront moraux. "The perfection of the sublime is to be found in truly virtuous and generous sentiments and actions" (84). L'art élèvera l'âme des spectateurs. Mais la grandeur ne dépend pas du seul sujet, elle est aussi affaire de style: "a picture may be rendered great whatever the subject may be, that is, however familiar and common" (84). Jardinage et agriculture ont leur sublime pourvu qu'on y observe quelques règles—celles qu'énonçait Longin et rappelait Junius. La peinture donnera une impression de facilité: on en bannira l'enflure, la puérilité, la fureur, la violence, l'extravagance au nom de la mesure et de la convenance (84). Ainsi, dans le *Sacrifice d'Iphigénie* qu'évoquait Junius, craignant de rendre de façon inconvenante sa peine, Timanthe avait voilé la face d'Agamemnon. Turnbull loue cette trouvaille qui épargnait le spectacle trop cruel d'une excessive douleur—et Poussin qui l'utilisa dans *La mort de Germanicus* (87–88): une peinture n'excitera pas de sentiments trop violents. Pourtant il en explique ainsi le sublime: "nothing could more powerfully move, and affect the mind of beholders" (51). Mais la contradiction est résolue: "The sublime ... consists in exciting noble conceptions, which by leaving more behind them to be contemplated than is expressed, lead the mind into an almost inexhaustible fund of great thinking" (83). Le sublime est suggestion plus qu'expression.

Il propose la même description de la grâce que Junius et, comme lui, l'associe au sublime. Elle unit vérité (*truth*), beauté (*beauty*), aisance (*ease*), liberté (*freedom*), souffle (*spirit*), grandeur (*greatness*), et fuit l'excès de soin comme ce qui est rude et sauvage (*rough and savage*) (89).

Turnbull insiste donc sur deux éléments: l'effet du sublime—"exalter et magnifier l'esprit du spectateur intelligent" en lui "inspirant de grands sentiments et en l'émouvant puissamment"; la matière et l'adaptation de la manière—représenter "de grands sujets avec une grandeur convenable dans sa manière," "montrer des objets sublimes dans une lumière appropriée, c'est-à-dire avec toute leur force et leur ampleur naturelles" (83). Ainsi, privilégiant l'aspect éthique, il néglige les séductions de la peinture. Sa doctrine qui se fonde sur une analyse trop partielle de Longin affadit le sublime: ni extase, ni transport d'admiration devant sa beauté. Refusant par crainte de l'excès toute expression trop violente, elle évoque, plus que celui de Poussin, le sublime moralisé de Greuze.

§ § §

Lié à Burke et au Dr. Johnson, nourri de la pensée antique—sa bibliothèque était remarquablement fournie en ouvrages anciens et modernes dont le *De pictura*—Reynolds avait réfléchi sur son art, à preuve les *Discourses* que, de 1769 à 1790, il adressa aux étudiants de la Royal Academy.[36]

[36] Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. R. R. Wark (New Haven and London: Yale

Sa réflexion sur le grand style qu'il ne pratiquait pas, malgré l'évolution de sa pensée, est constamment associée au nom de Michel Ange sur lequel se clôt son ultime discours. Dans cette manière de testament, il maintient que le sublime est la fin suprême de l'art.

Il distingue le sublime et l'élégant: "The sublime impresses the mind at once with one great idea; it is a single blow: the elegant indeed may be produced by repetition, by an accumulation of many minute circumstances" (4.65). Une comparaison entre Raphael et Michel Ange sur le modèle de celle de Démosthène et Lysias par Longin illustre cette thèse: le sublime est associé au talent (*genius*) et à l'imagination (*imagination*), l'élégant ressort du goût (*taste*) et de la fantaisie (*fancy*) (5.83).

Reynolds pose alors ce problème déjà rencontré du choix entre la saine médiocrité et la grandeur irrégulière. La réponse qu'il appuie sur Longin est nette: "the sublime, being the highest excellence that human composition can attain to, abundantly compensates the absence of every other beauty, and atones for all other deficiencies" (5.84). Cette fermeté s'accentue dans le huitième discours: "a work may justly claim the character of genius, though full of errors, and ... may be faultless, and yet not exhibit the least spark of genius" (11.191). Et dans le dernier: "The sublime in painting, as in poetry, so overpowers and takes such a possession of the whole mind, that no room is felt for attention to minute criticism ... The correct judgement, the purity of taste which characterise Raffaelle, the exquisite grace of Correggio and Parmegiano, all disappear before them." Ainsi s'excusent les "fautes" de Michel Ange (15.276).

Des qualités naturelles sont à l'origine du génie, "étincelle de divinité"—*spark of divinity* (13.244)—l'imagination surtout que l'on "échauffera par la lecture des poètes" (3.50), comme le conseillait Junius. Car "l'art a ses limites, [elle] n'en a pas" (5.79). La grandeur de Michel Ange, Homère de la peinture, repose sur cette faculté (5.84). C'est elle en effet qui permet d'appréhender "la nature générale," de s'élever à la grandeur des idées générales qui font la grande oeuvre (4.58). Le sujet sera donc traité comme un tout (4.58–59; 7.123; 11.192)—idée longinienne, nous l'avons vu.

Mais si un talent rare peut se permettre certaines irrégularités, les plus moyens viseront la correction et celle-ci s'acquiert grâce à l'art. Reynolds y insiste: "If you have great talents, industry will improve them; if you have moderate abilities, industry will supply their deficiency" (2.35); le peintre suivra l'exemple de Raphaël qui disait travailler beaucoup (15.281).

Il souligne donc les exigences rationnelles de la création pour proposer un strict compromis entre les règles et l'enthousiasme—dont il parle peu et avec méfiance: "enthusiastic admiration seldom promotes knowledge" (3.43). Si les règles ne peuvent se substituer aux qualités naturelles—goût et

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Univ. Press, 1988). Nous renvoyons à cette éd. Cf. F. W. Hilles, *The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (New York: Macmillan, 1936).

génie—si l'élève devenu maître n'a plus besoin des plus rebattues (6.97), il réfute aussi l'idée que toutes soient inutiles et emprisonnent les grands talents: "They are fetters only to men of no genius" (1.17).

Le deuxième discours propose donc une pédagogie de l'art: apprentissage des rudiments—dessin, couleur, composition, soit le "langage de l'art"; étude des modèles antiques qui "donne des règles au goût et développe l'imagination"; mise en oeuvre de ses propres qualités d'imagination (2.24–27).

L'imitation des modèles y joue un rôle important. Reynolds suit la ligne longinienne mise en lumière par Junius: "Instead of treading in their footsteps, endeavour only to keep in the same road. Labour to invent on their general principles and ways of thinking. Possess yourself with their spirit. Consider with yourself how a Michael Angelo or a Raffaelle would have treated this subject" (2.30–31). Emulation des maîtres (2.31), l'imitation est encore inspiration: la contemplation des chefs-d'oeuvre "échauffe" l'imagination (12.219).

Reynolds aborde aussi le problème du sujet et du style sublimes. Il ne lie pas la grandeur à un sujet, mais à un style. Il écrit de celui de Salvator Rosa et de Bourdon: "This style of painting possesses the same power of inspiring sentiments of grandeur and sublimity, and is able to communicate them to subjects which appear by no means adapted to receive them" (14.257).

Qualités et défauts du grand style ne sont pas systématiquement étudiés comme chez Junius et Turnbull, mais énumérés au fil des pages. Le septième discours critique la fausse grandeur et l'excès de violence. Il blâme, pour son manque d'à-propos, Rubens qui, dans la galerie du Luxembourg, mêla allégories et personnages historiques (7.128); dans le huitième, Poussin dont l'excessive simplicité confine à l'affectation (8.150). Une peinture réussie ajoutera à la puissance la grâce vers quoi "notre goût a une sorte d'attirance sensuelle, aussi bien que l'amour du sublime," les vertus de vérité, de simplicité et de clarté (8.153). Si donc elle possède certaines qualités de la poésie—le peintre doit avoir l'esprit "poétique" (13.238)—cette exigence de clarté l'en distingue, car chez cette soeur, le sublime naît parfois de l'obscurité (7.119)—c'était la doctrine de Burke.

Sa fin est de donner du plaisir à l'esprit et l'imagination (7.127), de "faire impression sur l'imagination et la sensibilité" (13.241), "d'emplir l'esprit de grandes et sublimes idées" (14.257), son critère de réussite l'émotion qu'elle produit. Ainsi, les paysages du Titien, Claude ou Salvator Rosa "font sur l'esprit une impression plus puissante que des scènes réelles" (13.238). Reynolds adopte encore une position contrastée: s'il souligne les aspects rationnels de la création, il privilégie les composantes émotionnelles du plaisir esthétique tout en maintenant l'exigence de clarté que posait Junius.

Il évolua dans son analyse des moyens pour parvenir à cette émotion. Son huitième discours blâme, avec Falconet, Timanthe d'avoir dissimulé le visage d'Agamemnon (8.163). Le quatrième affirmait déjà: "The Painter has no other means of giving an idea of the dignity of the mind, but by that external appearance which grandeur of thought does generally" (4.60). Mais

le quatorzième, loue le *non-finito* de Gainsborough, car "l'imagination supplée au reste" (14.259). La suggestion l'emporte alors.

Sa réflexion esthétique, par son insistance sur les facteurs rationnels de la création, fait donc de lui un des derniers classiques. Mais la pensée longinienne jointe à son admiration pour Michel Ange la vivifient en lui donnant un élan poétique.

§ § §

Au-delà des évidentes convergences, ces doctrines présentent plusieurs points de rupture. Elles sont rendues possibles par le présupposé que la peinture est langage. Mais Junius et Reynolds insistent davantage sur son intelligibilité, sa clarté—soit ses moyens rhétoriques—Turnbull sur l'effet d'élévation morale produit. L'accent qu'il met sur les composantes stoïciennes de la pensée longinienne lui fait d'autre part oublier la spécificité de la peinture et le plaisir qu'elle suscite.

Les trois auteurs associent également sublime et grâce. Mais dans une perspective différente. Pour Junius, celle-ci procède de la tension de l'élan sublime, pour Turnbull et Reynolds de son expansion.

Autre différence majeure, si Junius, fidèle à Longin, ne dissocie pas le sujet et le style sublimes, ses successeurs les distinguent et privilégient le style. On sait d'ailleurs à quels excès cela conduira Reynolds—le portrait de *Mrs Siddons as a Tragic Muse* en témoigne. Ce choix reflète une évolution dans la hiérarchie des genres: la peinture d'histoire perd peu à peu ses privilèges, comme la raison fait place au sentiment. Bientôt triomphera le paysage.

Paris

De Vitae termino:
An Epistolary Survey by Johan van Beverwijck (1632–1639)

H. J. M. NELLEN

> "... Quam nihil in rebus humanis certum, quam hora illa incerta quae terminum vitae votisque mortalium imponit!"
> (Anna Maria van Schurman to Claude Saumaise, 12 December 1639).[1]

Dead patients do not complain, and if you recover quite unexpectedly from a protracted period of illness you are likely to hear from your doctor that your recovery was entirely due to his medical expertise. In his *Essais* the sixteenth-century skeptic Montaigne explains in a splendid tirade[2] how medical practitioners shamelessly exploit our fear of death and pain. Doctors always got off scot-free, for their cures, attributed for no good reason to the results of the treatment they had prescribed, were always put in the limelight, while the dead were quickly buried under six feet of soil. In the seventeenth century, when tramps, illiterate monks, shoemakers and other quacks passed themselves off as doctors, Montaigne's criticism still found ready ears. This can neatly be demonstrated by reference to the physician Johan van Beverwijck of Dordrecht. Van Beverwijck defended medicine and the medical profession in numerous publications, one of them being the refutation of Montaigne's attack on the usefulness of medicine.[3]

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[1] *Annae Mariae a Schurman Opuscula Hebraea, Graeca, Latina, Gallica, prosaica et metrica* (Lugd. Batavor., ex officina Elseviriorum, 1648), 192.

[2] Montaigne, *Essais* II, 37.

[3] *Joh. Bev. med. Medicinae encomium. Eiusdem Montanus Ελεγχομενος , sive refutatio argumentorum quibus necessitatem medicinae impugnat Mich., seigneur de Montaigne* (Dordrechti, apud Henricum Essaeum, 1633).

Unlike Montaigne, Johan van Beverwijck needs some introduction,[4] for he is little known outside the circles of medical historians. Van Beverwijck lived from 1594 until 1647. He read humanities and medicine at Leiden University, receiving his doctorate from Padua University on 30 May 1616 during a long *peregrinatio*, and on his return he settled in his home town of Dordrecht. There he practiced medicine, organized anatomy classes for the members of the local surgeons' guild and assumed considerable importance on the city council. From 1642 he regularly represented Dordrecht at the States of Holland. Van Beverwijck was without any doubt a curious and complicated person. A typical representative of the provincial intelligentsia, he was on the periphery of scholarly life, but although he did not make any great contributions to science himself, he did fulfill a significant role in the dissemination of new insights and discoveries. He published a number of works in Latin and his native Dutch, which in various editions had great influence about current opinions on methods of treatment, hygiene and nutrition. It would be correct to say that Van Beverwijck's popular scientific work marked the transition to modern medical science. Together with a number of Dordrecht colleagues he was one of the earliest supporters of William Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood. He was also a fervent opponent of uroscopy, whose adherents claimed that a skilled physician was able to identify diseases, injuries and pregnancy on the basis of a patient's urine. Van Beverwijck always preferred practical explanations of little understood pathological phenomena, but at the same time he was not completely able to free himself from astrology, superstition and all kinds of magical remedies now recognized as quackery. He depended for his knowledge primarily on the printed word rather than on indisputable facts established through single-minded research. Above all, Van Beverwijck was a dilettante, who liked to show off his knowledge of the classics, who was an active practitioner of such divergent disciplines as historiography and poetry, and who delighted in his contacts with famous scholars like Saumaise, Heinsius and Grotius.

It is this last-mentioned propensity to which we owe an extremely important publication by Van Beverwijck, which I should now like to discuss in somewhat greater detail. In his youth he had written a homage to medicine,

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[4] On Johan van Beverwijck (1594–1647) see E. D. Baumann, *Johan van Beverwijck in leven en werken geschetst* (Dordrecht, 1910); A. van de Velde, "Bio-bibliographische aanteekeningen over Johan van Beverwijck," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor taal- en letterkunde* (1933): 71–121; (1934): 35–47; A. Stolk, *De medicus van Beverwijck in zijn tijd* (Amsterdam, [1973]); and M. J. van Lieburg, "De dichter-medicus Daniël Jonctys (1611–1654), zijn strijd tegen het bijgeloof en zijn relatie tot Johan van Beverwijck, William Harvey en Daniël Sennert," *Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis der geneeskunde, natuurwetenschappen, wiskunde en techniek* 2 (1979): 137–67. See also *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* I (Leiden, 1911), col. 327–32, and G. A. Lindeboom, *A Classified Bibliography of the History of Dutch Medicine 1900–1974* (The Hague, 1975), 9–10 and 310.

which was printed in Dordrecht in 1633 together with the refutation of Montaigne I have already referred to. In 1632 Van Beverwijck hit upon the idea of writing letters to a number of fellow physicians and scholars from other disciplines, eliciting their views on the value of medical science. The main issue in this epistolary questionnaire in Latin was whether man could prolong a life whose span had been predetermined by God, by applying the insights of medical science.[5]

Van Beverwijck was an assiduous man. In a very short time he dispatched a large number of letters, and if the reply he received did not satisfy him, he promptly wrote off again asking for further information. In spring 1634 the book was published under the title *Epistolica quaestio de vitae termino, fatali an mobili?* and was dedicated to Professor Daniel Heinsius of Leiden University. Although Heinsius had not contributed to the book, he had given permission for a panegyric to be included instead.[6] Van Beverwijck did not regard this book as the final word on the matter, however. He embarked on a second round, approaching another group of scholars for contributions. Two years later, in 1636, he had received enough material for a considerably enlarged edition in two volumes.[7] Another three years after that, in 1639, there appeared a completely new volume,[8] now frequently found bound together with the 1636 edition of the first two volumes, or together with another edition of the first two volumes, which appeared in 1651.[9] This rather complicated printing history of the book shows how successful Johan van Beverwijck's epistolary questionnaire was—so successful, indeed, that he subsequently instigated other such surveys. In 1644, for example, he published a collection of letters answering questions on various medical subjects.[10]

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[5] Cf. Baumann, 61–68.

[6] *Joh. Beverovicii Epistolica quaestio de vitae termino, fatali an mobili? Cum doctorum responsis* (Dordrechti, excudebat Henricus Essaeus, impensis Joannis Maire, 1634), [xxii], 424 pp. in 8^0. According to Van Beverwijck, it was his fellow citizen, the poet and pensionary Jacob Cats, who induced him to publish the tract: "Catzius noster, cui musae Belgicae multum debent . . . , hic typographiam instituit. A cuius operibus exprimendis ne quid cessarent quandoque operae, et me in hanc arenam nescio an vi, an precario pertraxit. Amico flagitanti ne refragarer, ab Oratione de laude med[icinae] . . . et Epist[olica] quaest[ione] de vitae termino medicam telam ordiri volui et earum fatum experiri." Cf. *Petri Cunaei . . . et doctorum virorum ad eumdem epistolae . . .*, ed. P. Burmannus (Leidae, apud Petrum vander Aa, 1725), 364, J. van Beverwijck to P. Cunaeus, 19 October 1633.

[7] *Secunda editio, triplo auctior* (Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Joannis Maire, 1636), [xvi], 488, [10] pp. in 4^0. 1–182 are a reprint of the 1634 edition; from 183 onwards: *Pars altera, antehac nunquam edita.*

[8] *Pars tertia, et ultima, nunc primum edita. Seorsim accedit . . . Annae Mariae a Schurman de eodem argumento epistola, totius disputationis terminus; item eiusdem argumenti alia a Joanne Elichmanno . . . ex mente et monimentis Arabum et Persarum contexta* (Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Joannis Maire, 1639), [xx], 152 pp. in 4^0.

[9] *Tertia editio, auctior et emendatior* (Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Johannis Maire, 1651), [x], 488, [6] pp. in 4^0.

[10] *Joh. Beverovicii Epistolicae quaestiones cum doctorum responsis. Accedit eiusdem, nec non Erasmi, Car-*

De vitae termino deserves closer study, since it is without doubt a remarkable book. Ultimately, Van Beverwijck published 24 contributions, precisely half of which were written by theologians. The contributors came from the Netherlands, France and Italy. The book contains not only the views of the Calvinist-inspired established church, but also religious views forbidden in Holland, such as those of the Remonstrants and Roman Catholics. Of the contributions of such luminaries as Barlaeus, Episcopius, Rivet, Mersenne, Naudé, Liceti and Anna Maria van Schurman, I shall now choose three for a short discussion, in order to give a better idea of the spirit of the book.

Caspar Barlaeus, the Amsterdam scholar, physician, humanist and Remonstrant, who was later to die in tragic fashion, wrote a magnificent letter,[11] in which he took great pains to avoid committing himself. Like so many other contributors, Barlaeus referred to the theological implications of the issue, simply stating that the advocates of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination remained convinced of the immutability of a person's lifespan, whereas their opponents, who adhered to a more moderate doctrine of salvation, postulated the influence of man on the length of his life on earth. In Barlaeus's view, this difference was of no great importance, for everybody clamors for a doctor when their health is at stake. He goes on to express his aversion to the idea that death is irrevocably preordained, but he does not expand this standpoint any further. He closes his letter with a detailed discussion of the thesis that all men should die with the idea that they have done their best to lead a life beyond moral reproach.

In contrast with Barlaeus, whose prime intention had been to produce a literary work of art, the Remonstrant preacher Simon Episcopius intended his contribution to expound his religious convictions. He put forward his views in great detail,[12] but Van Beverwijck was apparently not satisfied. So he wrote a second letter, again demonstrating the unacceptability of the official Calvinist standpoint: the Calvinists made God responsible for the moment of death, left no room for free will and gave a new lease of life to the fatalism of the Stoics. Episcopius saw things quite differently: basing himself on numerous passages in the Scriptures he showed that a person could exercise influence on his lifespan, not only by living healthily and relying on the expert advice of his doctor, but above all by respecting Christian values. In his view God shortened the lives of criminals and gave the pious faithful the strength to prolong their lives considerably beyond the limits originally set on the basis of their physical condition.[13]

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dani, Melanchthonis medicinae encomium (Roterodami, sumptibus A. Leers, 1644).

[11] *Epistolica quaestio* (1636), 146–50, C. Barlaeus to J. van Beverwijck, 14 October 1633, also printed in *Casparis Barlaei . . . Epistolarum liber pars prior* (Amstelodami, apud Joannem Blaeu, 1667), 467–75.

[12] *Epistolica quaestio* (1636), 47–62, S. Episcopius to J. van Beverwijck, 16 March 1633.

[13] Ibid., 70–86, S. Episcopius to J. van Beverwijck, 26 July 1633.

The contribution by André Rivet, who preached in the Hague, forms a sharp contrast with that of Episcopius. Rivet is to be seen as the champion of orthodox Calvinism: it seems there was no theological controversy at that time without Rivet standing in the breach to defend the truth. In this case he wrote to demonstrate that although our lifespan was precisely predetermined by God, this was in no way to be seen as a fatalistic view of life. God's plan of salvation was fixed down to the smallest detail, and this meant that at a lower level medical science had an essential role of its own to play. Physicians assisted in fulfilling God's plan, and although the future was already decided, man was assigned the task of bringing the life God had given to a proper conclusion.[14]

Rivet's views were very close to those of Gisbertus Voetius, Anna Maria van Schurman and other orthodox writers well represented in *De vitae termino*. Nevertheless, Van Beverwijck did not directly subscribe to their point of view. In 1636, when he made an inventory of the discussion in another medical publication, he made it perfectly clear that in his view the Calvinist doctrine of predestination paralyzed medical practice. While admitting that there were so many ins and outs to the problem, he was convinced that God gave man a maximum lifespan and that other factors determined whether or not this maximum was ever reached. Of course, chance—in the form of a fatal fall or a plague epidemic—could cut life short, but to follow the insights of modern medicine presented the greatest chance of attaining the maximum lifespan. Indeed, it was even possible to exceed the maximum initially laid down by God.[15]

Van Beverwijck was not completely happy with the official Calvinist view; he was an open-minded man, who wanted to see a controversial topic discussed from various religious points of view. And yet in all the successive editions of *De vitae termino* there is not a single note of discord to be heard. The letter writers were the first to point to the diversity of opinion, comparing the discussion with a rich and plentiful harvest or a copious meal consisting of many courses. This should not, in fact, surprise us, since we know that Van Beverwijck took his task as editor of the volume very seriously: he ironed out all kinds of problems and meticulously removed stabs at other contributors. It is therefore highly exaggerated to compare these contributions with stones struck against each other and giving off sparks which kindled a fire of scholarship, as one of the contributors did.[16] There was

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[14] Ibid., 207–23, A. Rivet to J. van Beverwijck, 5 February 1634.

[15] J. van Beverwijck, *Schat der gesontheyt* . . . (Dordrecht, voor Mathias Havius gedruckt bij Hendrick van Esch, woonende in 't Hof, 1636), 35–43. Cf. Baumann, 64–66.

[16] Cf. "Aenhangsel van brieven" in J. van Beverwijck, *Alle de wercken* (Amsterdam: Schipper, 1672), 231, R. Moreau to J. van Beverwijck, 14 December 1638: "In de versamelinge van een pael-steen onses levens heeft UE. de verstanden van d'aldergeleerste op geweckt, en gelijck uyt het slaen van de keyen tegens malkander voncken springen, so heeft UE. oock uyt dien strijt der verstanden een lustigh vyer van geleertheyt aen gesteken."

no question of a discussion, nor were the opinions set against each other. If one were to judge by the book alone, one might be forgiven for thinking that the survey on the course of human life had taken place without a hitch and, in spite of its controversial theme, had not caused a single ripple.

Appearances can be deceptive, however, for in reality the history of the genesis, publication and reception of *De vitae termino* was marked by a succession of controversies and conflicts which, while not apparent in the book itself, are clearly to be found in private correspondence of the time. At this point we leave the main stage, as it were, and withdraw to the wings: although it is important to know exactly who took part in Van Beverwijck's survey, it is more interesting to find out from letters which were not published at all—or not published until later—who refused to cooperate in the survey. First and foremost we must mention Hugo Grotius, who received Van Beverwijck's invitation to write a contribution for the second edition early in 1634.[17] Grotius's name does not, however, occur in Van Beverwijck's book. There is no trace of any reply to Van Beverwijck's letter in Grotius's correspondence, although it is quite likely that he initially intended to take part in the survey. In any case he set to work collecting a large number of quotations from philosophers who had aired their opinions on fate. His collection, covering over 70 folios in his *Opera theologica*, was not, however, published until after his death, when it appeared with a letter of recommendation from his widow, Maria van Reigersberch, to Cardinal Mazarin.[18]

The famous Leiden scholar Claude Saumaise was also approached by Van Beverwijck. Although he was engaged on many other publishing projects, in a very short time he produced a treatise so voluminous that Van Beverwijck thought it better to have it published separately. This publication had already been announced in the second edition of 1636,[19] and Saumaise made several relevant remarks indicating that the work had gone to the presses of the Leiden printer Johannes Maire in the same period.[20] It was never published, however. If we may believe Gerardus Joannes Vossius, Saumaise changed his mind and decided that he had no desire to burn

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[17] *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, V (1632–35), ed. B. L. Meulenbroek, (The Hague, 1966), no. 1908, J. van Beverwijck to H. Grotius, 20 January 1634. Cf. ibid., no. 1920, G. J. Vossius to H. Grotius, 22 March [1634].

[18] *Philosophorum sententiae de fato et de eo quod in nostra est potestate. Collectae partim et de Graeco versae per Hugonem Grotium* (Parisiis, apud viduam Joannis Camusat et Petrum le Petit . . . , 1648) in H. Grotius, *Operum theologicorum tomus*, III (Amstelaedami, 1679; repr., Stuttgart, 1972), 377–453. Cf. J. ter Meulen and P. J. J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius* (The Hague, 1950), nos. 523–28.

[19] *Epistolica quaestio* (1636), 433–34: "Quoniam nobilissimi Salmasii responsum in iustum volumen excrevit, seorsim id edere coacti fuimus."

[20] *Claudii Salmasii . . . Epistolarum liber primus*, ed. A. Clément (Lugduni Batavorum, ex typographia A. Wijngaerden, 1656), 103, 151 and 269, letters from C. Saumaise to G. J. Vossius and J. van Beverwijck, 3 August 1634, 26 March 1635 and 5 November 1637.

his fingers on this issue.[21] Mersenne, on the other hand, wrote in a letter that Saumaise had been pressured by André Rivet into withdrawing the publication.[22] And Grotius maintained that Saumaise had taken his decision when he saw that the exchange of views was going to end in a brawl.[23] None of these claims are irrefutably confirmed in Saumaise's own correspondence. He says he had intended to finish off the publication as soon as his weak health and his many commitments permitted. For this reason he had given instructions to the printer not to destroy what had already been set up on any account.[24] No one knows what happened to the treatise. The literature suggests here and there that Saumaise's contribution was published in 1648 under the title *De annis climactericis*,[25] but this assumption is incorrect, since in the same work the author states after over 800 pages of text—which is not subdivided into chapters or even into paragraphs—that he had also written a study on fate hitherto unpublished.[26]

Besides Grotius and Saumaise there was a third scholar who had embarked on a piece for Van Beverwijck's book. From the Amsterdam rabbi and physician Menasseh ben Israel a letter has come down to us which shows clearly that he, too, had been asked to contribute.[27] Menasseh set to work on a tract, but it did not appear in Van Beverwijck's volume. Menasseh defended the thesis that the moment of death was not preordained but was dependent on factors over which man had some control. Not only nutrition and way of life were important in this respect, but also a person's moral attitude and sincere repentance for his sins could make God change his mind. Menasseh realized very well that his view was diametrically opposed to Calvinist doctrine, and he confided to Van Beverwijck his fears that publication of his contribution in Latin, not to speak of Dutch, would

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[21] *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, V, no. 1920, G. J. Vossius to H. Grotius, 22 March [1634]. As Vossius wrote somewhat maliciously, Saumaise also refused to have his contribution included in the book together with those of lesser mortals: "Seorsim legi sua malit quam ut in turba compareant."

[22] *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne*, V (1635), ed. C. de Waard (Paris, 1959), 80–82, M. Mersenne to A. Rivet, 3 March 1635.

[23] *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, V, no. 1926, H. Grotius to J. Dupuy, 26 April 1634: ". . . sed cum videret incalescere certamen, substraxit sua."

[24] *C. Salmasii Epistolarum liber primus*, 151, C. Saumaise to J. van Beverwijck, 26 March 1635.

[25] Cf. *Claude Saumaise et André Rivet, Correspondance echangée entre 1632 et 1648*, ed. P. Leroy and H. Bots (Amsterdam etc., 1987), 53–54.

[26] *C. Salmasii de annis climactericis et antiqua astrologia diatribae* (Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriorum, 1648), 844.

[27] Leiden University Library, BPL 191 AK, fol. 3rv, Menasseh ben Israel to J. van Beverwijck, 25 November 1639, printed in H. Méchoulan, "Le problème du latin chez Menasseh ben Israel et quelques implications religieuses et politiques à propos d'une lettre inédite à Beverovicius," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 14 (1980): 1–6. Cf. *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, ed. Y. Kaplan, H. Méchoulan and R. H. Popkin (Leiden, etc., 1989), 93, 94.

cause bad blood among the regents of Amsterdam and might harm the already precarious position of the Jewish community. Such considerations apparently did not prevent him from publishing his contribution separately: the resulting publication, which he entitled *De termino vitae*, appeared in 1639 and was to become his best known work.[28]

So much for the separate publications that Van Beverwijck's survey sometimes led to. But what about scholars who flatly refused to have anything to do with the project? We know of one, Gerardus Joannes Vossius, who had been Van Beverwijck's teacher in Dordrecht. Despite the close ties that existed between the two men, Vossius chose not to take part: he was only too aware of the hornets' nest he would bring down about his ears. He wrote to Van Beverwijck that he was not afraid of a fair fight, but if he were to commit himself on such delicate questions he would certainly have to be prepared for cunning opponents. Each stone he moved from its place might conceal a snake, and for that reason he preferred to watch how others fared from a safe distance.[29]

Vossius feared confrontation, and it is obvious that Grotius and Saumaise did not take part in the survey for the same reason: if they had written about man's life expectancy in all honesty, they would certainly have had to face hostile reactions. This is proved beyond doubt by the negative reception of the pieces that did appear in *De vitae termino*, especially those by the Remonstrant scholars Barlaeus and Episcopius.

As appears from *Barlaei Epistolae*, which was published much later, Barlaeus was severely criticized for his contribution. He felt called upon to defend his standpoint in a letter to Van Beverwijck.[30] But Van Beverwijck did not publish this defense in *De vitae termino*. He also left out a letter from Episcopius because it revealed that behind the scenes Episcopius's contribution to the first edition had given rise to keen controversy. In his letter Episcopius particularly took issue with the orthodox theologians, who had reviled his contribution and had even tried to get the States of Holland to put a stop to the discussion. Full of indignation, Episcopius asked himself why his opponents had thought such a measure necessary. If they were right, as they maintained, surely this should be evident in *De vitae termino*?[31] The au-

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[28] Menasseh ben Israel, *De termino vitae libri tres, quibus veterum rabbinorum ac recentium doctorum de hac controversia sententia explicatur* . . . (Amstelodami, typis et sumptibus authoris, 1639).

[29] *Gerardi Joan. Vossii et clarorum virorum ad eum epistolae*, ed. Paulus Colomesius (Augustae Vindelicorum, sumptibus L. Kronigeri, 1691), 266–67, no. 231, G. J. Vossius to J. van Beverwijck, June 1634. Cf. C. S. M. Rademaker, *Life and Work of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649)* (Assen, 1981), 273–74, and *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, V, no. 2004, H. Grotius to C. Saumaise, 9 March 1635.

[30] *C. Barlaei Epistolarum liber pars altera* (Amsterdam, 1667), 551–53, C. Barlaeus to J. van Beverwijck, 1 October 1634.

[31] Amsterdam University Library, collection RK III E1, fol. 156, S. Episcopius to J. van Beverwijck, 24 April 1634, printed in *Praestantium ac eruditorum virorum epistolae ecclesiasticae et theologicae* . . . , ed. Chr. Hartsoecker and Ph. a Limborch (Amstelaedami, apud Henricum Wetstenium, 1684), 775–76.

thorities of the day did not intervene, however, nor was there an official reaction from the church. Van Beverwijck was therefore able to prepare the later editions of *De vitae termino* without any let or hindrance.

It is remarkable how long the book continued to exercise people's minds. Leaving aside the contributions published separately, reprints of the contributions to this survey went on appearing for many years, either in the original language or in translation, sometimes as part of the *Opera omnia* of one of the authors.[32] Furthermore, there are many references to *De vitae termino* in private correspondences—understandably so, since Van Beverwijck had given Remonstrant views, banned since 1619, a chance to be heard again and had asked representatives of the Roman Catholic camp for their opinions. The fact that Van Beverwijck was permitted to go about his business unimpeded can only be explained by the tolerance that dictated the climate in the Republic of the United Provinces. Another reason is, of course, that *De vitae termino* was a forum which gave a massive bloc of orthodox Calvinist preachers the opportunity to recommend an opinion to the hesitant reader. Thus, orthodoxy made itself felt, but it did not succeed in silencing dissidence. *De vitae termino* can therefore be seen as an expression of the tolerance of diverse opinions that existed in the Republic.

Seen in this light, Van Beverwijck's book was a very significant publication, even if it must have left the bemused seventeenth-century reader, often confronted with highly learned theological reflections, doubtfully scratching his head. Who was to say who was right? Probably our reader finally closed the book sighing—much as the Leiden professor Petrus Cunaeus did—that it was possible to speculate until kingdom come without ever discovering the truth. According to Cunaeus it would be best if all scholars assumed in innocent simplicity that God's intentions, though obscure, were nevertheless just.[33] This rather pedestrian observation is painfully confirmed by the final contribution in *De vitae termino*, written by the physician and linguist Johan Elichman of Leiden. Elichman had let himself be persuaded to treat the problem of death in the light of Arabic and Persian testimonies. He was very erudite and knew as many as fifteen languages, but he was not able to predict when the grim reaper would come for him: while still working on his contribution he unexpectedly died. Although Elichman's work was unfinished, Van Beverwijck still decided to publish it. At the end he included a

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[32] Cf. F. Liceti, *De quaesitis per epistolas a claris viris responsa Fortunii Liceti* . . . (Bononiae, typis N. Tibaldini, 1640), 22–36; *Twee brieven van . . . Sim. Episcopius over dese vraghe ofte den mensch sijn leven can vercorten ende verlenghen, ofte niet*, (t'Amsterdam, voor Pieter Walschaert, 1636); the original Latin version of Episcopius's letters was, for example, reprinted in *S. Episcopii . . . Opera theologica . . . Editio secunda*, (Londini, ex officina Mosis Pit, 1678), 378–87; see also A. M. van Schurman, *Pael-steen van den tijt onses levens . . . In Latijn . . . geschreven . . . en nu in de Nederlantsche tale overgeset* (Tot Dordrecht, voor J. Gorissz . . . , 1639); the original Latin version was, for example, reprinted in *A. M. a Schurman Opuscula Hebraea* . . . , 1–27.

[33] *Petri Cunaei Epistolae*, 365, P. Cunaeus to J. van Beverwijck, 6 November 1633.

note saying that the writer had got to this point when he was overtaken by death: "Huc usque progressus auctor e vivis excessit." It is as if Van Beverwijck had some special reason for writing these remarkable words in what is a remarkable publication. Perhaps it was his way of saying that since it had pleased God to call one of the participants to him so suddenly it might be better to bring the discussion of such a complex and intractable problem to a close. [34]

Constantij Huygens Institute, The Hague

[34] Cf. *Epistolica quaestio* (1639), 152. On Johan Elichman (Elisman, Heylichman, ca. 1600–18 August 1639), see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* I (Leiden, 1911), col. 801–2, and P. T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century. Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648), Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden* (Leiden etc., 1989), 197.

Petrarch's Liber sine nomine *and the Limits of Language*

FRED J. NICHOLS

Petrarch's *Liber sine nomine* is a work that constantly struggles with silence. This collection of nineteen letters, written in the 1340s and 1350s, concerned with the corruption of the papal court at Avignon, as well as the displacement of the papal court away from Rome, is the work of an author who does not name himself, as its individual parts are addressed to recipients who are not named.[1] The text continually refers to the difficulty of its own creation in the face of a silence which often seems preferable to speaking.

Why are the words of this text so hard to write, or to utter? At the very beginning we are told that the basic problem is the status of truth: "Cum semper odiosa fuerit, nunc capitalis est ueritas" (*Praefatio*, 163). The punishment, then, for speaking the truth is death. So the voice which speaks in this preface explains that by the time these letters are read, their author will be dead. As Juvenal says, if the living can make what remarks they want about the dead in safety, so can a dead man speak about the living with impunity: "Certe si, ut Satirico placet, uiuenti de mortuis loqui tutum est, multo est tutius mortui de uiuis" (*Pr.*, 164). If the sanction for truth is death, this voice speaking to us from beyond the grave has nothing to fear, and his adversaries will have to struggle, not with the dead author, but with truth itself, "non mecum, . . . sed cum Veritate certamen" (*Pr.*, 165).

Avignon is a place where the truth is better left silent. Hence instead of

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[1] The Latin text used here is that provided by Paul Piur in *Petrarchas "Buch ohne Namen" und die päpstliche Kurie: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Frührenaissance* (Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1925). I am greatly indebted to the extensive commentary and notes which accompany the text, which remain fundamental for any intensive exploration of the work. I have also found useful the introduction and notes accompanying the English translation by Norman P. Zacour, *Petrarch's Book Without a Name* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1973).

attempting to speak the truth in Avignon, which has had no effect, the persona is now attempting to write the truth which will seem to come from a place where he cannot be harmed, from the grave. In that sense, this is language which comes from the realm of silence.

In Avignon, truth is dealt with, when it must be dealt with at all, as if it were fiction. The basic truths of the Christian religion are handled as if they were made-up stories: "Future ibi uite spes inanis quedam fabula, et que de inferis narrantur, fabulosa omnia et resurrectio carnis et mundi finis et Cristus ad iuditium rediturus inter nenias habentur. Veritas ibi dementia est ... (letter 18, 228). So truth in this context becomes a sort of madness. Avignon is the realm of the *fabula*. But it is not fiction that is being written in this nameless book: "Non fabulas agam, etsi fabulis sint hec similiora quam uero" (letter 6, 189).

The author several times reflects on the difficulty of writing these words. The eleventh letter begins balanced on the edge of speech or silence: "Vnde nunc ordiar an uero non ordiar, in dubio est, et poeticum illud identidem occursat Eloquar an sileam?" (letter 11, 201). The last words are a citation from the third book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, when Aeneas in the course of recounting his wanderings hesitates to tell the terrible story of Polydorus. But as Aeneas does go on to speak so does Petrarch, "Loquar tamen...." There is so much to say on the subject, and no time to explore all aspects of it. "Et si uacet, minime tutum erit" (letter 11, 202). One blockage of this language is caused by fear: "... solus calamum timor excusat," in this context where truth, as we have seen has become a crime: "Ibi profecto summum crimen est ueritas...." Truth is a crime because it is a weapon: "Non arma capiat, non hostem feriat oportet, lingua liberior pro gladio est, uerax sermo pro uulnere" (letter 11, 202).

At another point, the persona is blocked by different concerns: "Non autem metus, non reuerentia, non amor, non ueritati indicta supplicia, premia mendacio impediunt aperte que sentio, sed occupatio, sed ira, sed dolor animi, sed luctus, hostes ingenii" (letter 6, 189). Here it is a confused mixture of other obligations and grief that make it hard to write these things, even if the fear is put aside.

Why then does the author write? This too is a recurring theme. Just as the difficulties of expression are ever present, so it is necessary to articulate the reasons for surmounting those difficulties. "Dolorem animi tacitus ferre non potui" (letter 2, 169). The force to do it comes from within: "Hec leuandi animi gratia dixisse uolui" (letter 2, 170). To keep silence, to keep all this bottled up inside is too painful. At one point Petrarch writes of the necessity of speaking in terms of physical symptoms: "... egerendum tamen, ne neglectum stomacho obsit" (letter 3, 171). There is an almost physical compulsion to write these words.

Elsewhere the question of speaking and silence is worked out in terms of honor and dishonor. At the end of the long fourth letter, generally taken to be an address to the people of Rome, the author urges them to express

themselves openly: "... et honesta petitio et inhonestum ac turpe silentium est" (letter 4, 184). While Petrarch is here urging others to speak, the idea that silence in these circumstances would be foul and dishonest certainly applies to Petrarch's own situation: "... potiusque delinquitis, si tacetis" (letter 4, 132). And so in the ninth letter, carrying on a sort of dialogue with an interlocutor, when he is asked why he is writing, Petrarch replies, "Scribo, non quia tibi audire expedit, sed quia michi non expedit tacere" (letter 9, 196). The author writes, then, because the truth is inside him and he must let it out. Yet if the impulse to speak causes this text to be generated, the temptation of silence is immense and ever present. That the truth breaks out into words, that the initial silence is overcome in these written words which speak when a speaking voice cannot, does not dispose of the temptation. More than once the persona finds himself at the limits of what his language can express.

The fourteenth letter marks a certain shift in Petrarch's perspective. It is the first of the letters written after he had left Avignon. In the rest of the book the persona will be at a physical distance from the place he hates so much, yet the tone of the work hardly changes at all. Although he is no longer actually there, it seems as if he still is, for he describes the problem of speaking in the present tense: "De ueritate quidem sileo: nam quis usquam uero locus, ubi omnia mendaciis plena sunt.... An mentior an uero de mendaciis uerum loquor?" (letter 14, 211). Avignon, as we have seen, is the place where the truth is regarded as fiction, and in this context lies are the dominant form of language. How may one speak the truth in this context where it seems as if the only meaningful choice is between lying and silence? And it is noteworthy that the persona has the problem although he has distanced himself from the actual place. The western Babylon, Avignon, is where he is whenever he tries to write about it. It is a state of mind, or to be more precise, a state of language, where language can be used to express only what is false.

And always there are limits. As Petrarch goes on about the way in which lying, false language, has taken over even the social function of true language in Avignon, he stops himself, "ne forsan urgente materia stilus eat quo non expedit" (letter 14, 212). Paradoxically, he goes on to say that the subject does not need to be spoken of because everyone knows it. We are left at this point with a certain sense of confusion. The text blocks itself and what follows is one of the individual anecdotes which come more frequently in the later letters, something we will have to reflect upon further.

A clearer reason for not being able to speak is the impossibility of finding language which corresponds exactly to the moral horror which Petrarch is trying to describe. This problem occurs more often in the later letters. In the seventeenth letter he pauses at one point to consider what he has been describing: "Hi etenim tales sunt quales dico; fallor, imo uero quales dicere nequeo" (letter 16, 226). He has no language which corresponds to the condition he is trying to represent in language. This process of catching himself,

of suddenly confronting the inadequacy of the language at his disposition, occurs several times in the eighteenth letter. Here, after the passage we have examined earlier on the way in which Christian truth is treated as fiction in Avignon, Petrarch argues that this condition is inscribed on the very faces of the people there, and it is this non-verbal text he intends to reproduce here. Here is the state of that city, he says, "quem non magis in his literis hodie quam in illorum frontibus hominum quotidie perlegis, quorum uitam nullus stilus, nullum equet ingenium" (letter 18, 228–29). Here again there is a sudden shift. What you read here is what is written in the faces of those who are there, yet no pen, no ability, can equal it. In the process of representing, the language becomes aware that there are limits to what it can represent, and so we do not read the texts which are written on those faces after all.

Later in this eighteenth letter, Petrarch combines the rhetorical figures of occupatio and anaphora to striking effect as he enumerates subjects of which he will not speak. He repeats the word *taceo* at the beginning of one sentence after another as he enumerates the vices prevalent at the papal court. Finally he sums it all up, things "quorum omnium mesta nimis et seuera narratio est" (letter 18, 232). And again, as a substitute for what must remain unsaid, although some of it has in fact already rather effectively been said in the list of things that would not be discussed, what follows is another anecdote, the droll story of the aged cardinal and the likely young prostitute.

But before we contemplate matters as diverting as that, we must reflect upon something else that cannot be written, the name of this text. It has come down to us with the paradoxical title Petrarch intended it to have, *Liber sine nomine*: a book without a name, or a book without a title.[2] It is this absence of a title which is in fact the title of the book. That Latin has no definite or indefinite articles prevents us from knowing whether it is the absence of some specific name that is in question here, or whether the point is the absence of any possible name at all. Could the book have had a more specific name? We don't know.

Nor is this the only name that is missing. What is the name of the author? The text doesn't tell us and even draws our attention to the fact that it isn't telling us. Again the context is that troublesome association between the truth and death: "Ego ipse, qui uobis hec scribo at forte pro ueritate non recusem mori, . . . nunc taceo, neque his ipsis ad uos scriptis meum nomen adicio, stilum ipsum sufficere arbitratus . . ." (letter 4, 181). Here we have another expression of a limit: the author, willing though he is to die for the truth (but he's already told us we won't be reading this until he's

[2] See Piur, 158–59, for a discussion of the title. I follow Zacour (12) in attributing the title to Petrarch himself, a possibility Piur does not exclude but feels cannot be proven. As he shows, the overwhelming majority of early references to the work use the title *Liber sine nomine*.

dead), falls silent, and what he is silent about is his name. Yet we can identify him, he thinks, by the style. In fact we do know that Petrarch is the author of this text, and that had been known, not because of the style, but simply because these letters have been identified as Petrarch's ever since they came to light after his death.[3] The author's refusal to name himself is thus a paradox since he expects us to know who he is anyway, which in fact has happened, although perhaps not for the reason he intended.

The other names that are missing are the names of those the letters are addressed to, as the text reminds us at the beginning and at the end. In the preface Petrarch explains his strategy: "Qua in re et lectori consultum uolui et michi, ut ... illic obscuritate quadam, hic scriptorum latebris ac silentio tutus sim; nec solus ego, sed hi quoque quibus hec scripseram. Quorum nomina sciens uolensque subticui ..." (*Pr.*, 164). Thus the author hides both himself and his readers in the obscurity, in the hiding-places, and even in the silence of this work, a work full of silences, as we have seen by now. He has deliberately concealed the names of his addressees, for the general safety of all concerned. In fact, as Norman Zacour has observed, no contemporary names occur in the book at any point.[4] This silence about the original recipients of these letters has of course provided several generations of scholars with the challenging task of identifying those to whom the letters were supposedly sent, and a general consensus has been reached about the addressees of most but not all of the letters.[5]

So too at the end of the last letter Petrarch addresses a king he does not name: "Ad te michi nunc sermo est, inuictissime regum nostri temporis, quem non nomino, quando et nomen obstat inscriptioni et abunde te nominat ipsa rerum et glorie magnitudo" (letter 19, 237). The book without a name can't contain a name, we are reminded; the fact that the person addressed is, of all the kings of our time, the most invincible and among the most glorious, is sufficient to identify him. In fact this is an address to the Emperor Charles IV,[6] who Petrarch hopes will undertake the task of restoring the papacy to Rome. Here the absence of the name implies a name, and if the unwritten name of the author is to be revealed to us by the literary style, the unwritten name of the great king is revealed to us by the style of his actions.

These letters are devoid of all the markers that normally situate letters in a time and place for us. Petrarch draws our attention to what is absent:

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[3] As Piur has shown (xii), their authenticity was doubted only by Catholic scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who found it hard to believe that Petrarch would have been so disrespectful toward the papal court.

[4] Zacour, 21.

[5] Piur in his commentary to each letter exhaustively examines the evidence for the addressee. Zacour's introductions to the individual letters, generally but not always in agreement with Piur, update the discussion.

[6] Piur, 405–6.

"Huic autem epistole neque manum meam neque anulum neque locum neque tempus apposui. Scis ubi sum, et uocem loquentis agnoscis" (letter 11, 204). So there is neither a signature, nor a seal, nor a mention of the place or date when the text was written. Yet its recipient knows who is writing and where the writer is. Stripped of certain specificities we expect letters to possess, and hampered by very real limits to what their language can say, these texts point beyond themselves, point beyond the limits of their language, into the silence that encompasses them. The absence of date, place, seal, and signature are a sign of and aspect of that silence.

We might at this point consider the intertextual relationship between the *Liber sine nomine* and other texts by Petrarch which it mentions at its beginning as a way of shedding further light on why Petrarch wrote it as he did. And shadowing this discussion is another immense absence, the *carmen tragicum* on the subject of Avignon which Petrarch was quite specifically not writing while he was writing this work. This will lead us into a consideration of the form and the style of the *Liber sine nomine*.

In the preface, Petrarch explains why he separated these letters from the rest of his correspondence, that immense and carefully shaped epistolary work we know as the *Rerum familiarum libri*, or, more succinctly, *Familiares*. These are letters, the author says, written for various reasons at various times, "quas idem in locum ideo conieci ne, ut erant sparse, totum epistolarum corpus aspergerent ac ueri hostibus odiosum facerent . . ." (*Pr.*, 163). The point of gathering the *Liber sine nomine / together separately* letters is to protect the larger collection from being tainted and, according to Petrarch, deformed, to prevent someone from censoring a collection with these letters in it and thereby spoiling the shape of the overall collection. By separating the letters, such a censor "possit facilius partem unam sine totius operis deformitate convellere" (*Pr.*, 164). These letters then correspond to an absence, to a silence, in the *Familiares*, to which they then form a supplement.

The preface also dwells on the fact that Petrarch has already written a rather different kind of work on this subject: "Ea me pridem cogitatio induxit, ut Bucolicum Carmen, poematis genus ambigui, scriberem . . ." (*Pr.*, 163). He has already written a pastoral poem on the subject, a poem which is ambiguous because it is allegorical. If he has already written one work on the subject, why write another? The fact that the two works are so different sheds light on the question.

Petrarch goes on to tell a story which shows that the *Bucolicum carmen* succeeded in one way at the cost of failing in another. What happened was that the book, while Petrarch was present, fell into the hands of some of the men who were its targets: "Equidem liber ille ad quorundam manus maximorum hominum me presente peruenit. Dumque eam partem legerent qua maxime tangebantur, quid ibi sensissem percontatos memini meque de industria transtulisse sermonem" (*Pr.*, 164). The pastoral work had concealed its meaning too well, although there is some irony in the way its author, who on being asked what he meant, found it better to change the subject. What

distinguishes the *Liber sine nomine* is that it has "nullum huiuscemodi uelum" (*Pr.*, 164). It is without the veil of allegory so that its meaning will be clear. What will protect the author now is the fact that no one will see these texts until he is dead. So this work is also a kind of supplement to the *Bucolicum carmen*, not filling a vacancy in that work, as is the case of the *Familiares*, but rather disengaging its subtext, "unveiling" it, to use the rhetoric of the preface.

Yet there is also a relationship—which we might call intertextual if only the other text existed—with the *carmen tragicum* which Petrarch felt he had to write on the same subject, a matter discussed in the sixth letter. There Petrarch begins with an explanation of how significant his subject is: "Nunquam alia tam iusta scribendi simul et indignandi, ne dicam flendi, materia data est" (letter 6, 187). No other subject is so worthy, no other subject stirs up so much emotion. The question is, how is this matter to be treated in a way most befitting the moral horrors that must be depicted?

Petrarch asks, "Putasne tragico carmine deesse subiectum?" (letter 6, 190). Given the sweep and import of his subject matter, such a tragic song needs to be composed: "Michi inaudita portenta, quorum nullus est numerus, michi totius humani generis cantanda, seu potius deflenda calamitas, seruitus, ruina, ludificatio et mors" (letter 6, 190). These terrible things deserve treatment in poetic form, but because they are to be wept over, that poem must be tragic. The result would be a kind of horrific history as well: "Verissima quoque texetur historia, sed flebilis et horrenda" (letter 6, 190). This would be the appropriate treatment for such a subject, and yet Petrarch never wrote it, for the simple reason that these letters replaced it. He wrote to Boccaccio to say that there would be no point in writing the great work on Babylon because he has already put so much of it into his letters to his friends.[7] And in fact this is what he says at the end of the sixth letter. Since you have this text and you know "non modo que scribo, sed que meditor . . . nec tragedia tibi alia nec historia opus est" (letter 6, 191). With this short text ("ex his paucis," as he says), the great tragic poem, the tragic history, is no longer needed. It does not come into being because this text is written, almost inadvertently, it seems, in its place.

At issue here too is the contrast between the brevity of a letter—most of these letters are short—and the immensity of the subject. Elsewhere Petrarch refers to what he is writing here as his "breuis papirus" (letter 6, 188). What is needed, he says several times, is not letters but a book: "Verum ego nimis late materie campum, nec epistole sed libri opus ingressus sum" (letter 14, 213). One can see the overall shape of this work forming itself in these statements. "De quibus omnibus ad te dudum non epistolam, sed librum scribere meditabar . . ." (letter 16, 220), he tells another correspondent. The solution to the problem is clear. If a single letter cannot encompass a subject

[7] *Familiares* 12.10, cited by Piur, 126, and translated by Zacour, 11.

of so much gravity, arrange the letters together into a book. Instead of poetry we have prose, instead of the adornment that poetry provides, we have a veil stripped away. The author who speaks here is a man who intends to write one work but finds himself writing something different instead. Petrarch's *carmen tragicum* on the western Babylon, then, is a work which is only to be found in imaginary libraries, such as those of Borges or Umberto Eco.

The work he did write is in prose, not verse—in a form, therefore, that precludes the formal precision and polish of which verse is capable. And the problem of finding the right style to suit this subject matter is one that the author mentions again and again. To begin with, the new Babylon is a place which is itself deformed. "Nunc me Gallicus orbis habet," Petrarch says, "et occidentalis Babilon, qua nichil informius sol uidet . . ." (letter 5, 185). This new western Babylon is a city of confusion: "Ubi enim, queso, dignius quam in occidentali plaga ciuitas confusionis existeret?" (letter 10, 198). A place of darkness and disorder, it is at times compared to the classical underworld, at times to a prison, and to a labyrinth in particular. Later in the tenth letter, Petrarch notes that while the famous labyrinths of antiquity have been mentioned by writers, "laberinthum Rodani tacuerunt, omnium inextricabilissimum ac pessimum . . ." (letter 10, 200). The labyrinth of the Rhone has not been mentioned until now. It is a subject new to language, although it is the most confusing and the worst of all. How then can one find a style adequate to represent this realm of darkness and confusion in words? What form can express the deformed?

Here again we are at that problematic frontier between language and that which language expresses, between *uerbum* and *res*, to use the technical vocabulary of the time. And Petrarch, with his aim of disclosing the truth in language, is well aware of this problem. "Loquendum igitur est proprie et uera rebus reddenda uocabula" (letter 1, 166), he states as his principle in the first letter. Yet this goal of matching the word to the truth which is prior to it at times seems to elude him. "Et o utinam stilus par materie . . ." (letter 6, 189), he cries out, worrying that his pen—and his style—might not in fact be equal to the material. Indeed, and here we probe at one of the limits of language again, it is questionable whether any style would be adequate to this subject: "In summa scito non modo hunc, sed ne Ciceronianum quidem calamum rebus parem" (letter 8, 193). Not even the pen of Cicero would be equal to the task. We might here recall that Petrarch feels that the style of this text is so characteristic of him that a reader familiar with his style could identify it as his. In purely stylistic terms, then, Petrarch seems not to feel that the style of these letters is very different from the style of his other prose works. If there is something about this subject which eludes any style, his own particular style will do.

We can now see a reason as well why prose, *oratio soluta* in Latin, turns out to be the better medium for disclosing the truth about the western Babylon. To recreate the western Babylon in poetry would be to impose a cer-

tain form upon it. But one of its essential qualities, its style (so to speak) is formlessness. The formal adornment which poetry, and especially high tragic poetry, entails, would shape the subject matter and, in shaping it, make it into something it is not. To accurately represent Babylon in its own contours, or rather in its lack of them, is better done in the looser medium of prose.[8] Although the gravity of the subject, the materialization of the new Babylon in the papal court at Avignon, certainly befits a high tragic song, there is a meanness and a triviality, even a ridiculous banality, about the goings on at the papal court that is not really suited to tragedy after all.

Although this book is a work of prose, and one that is very aware of the particular limitations and qualities of prose, Petrarch—at times quite consciously—uses some of the techniques of poetry, especially that of figurative language. To give just one instance, at the end of the seventeenth letter, Petrarch speaks of the odd position of his friends who are men on integrity in Avignon, "quasi, inquam, in cloaca solis radios. . . ." This striking simile of rays of sunlight in a sewer is one Petrarch himself designates as a more ornate kind of language, for he introduces it by saying, "ut quando in animo est, uel in ameno sermone explicem . . ." (letter 17, 228). The simile has the charm of an art higher than that of unadorned prose.

Although we recall that at the very beginning Petrarch had sharply distinguished between the allegory of his pastoral poems and the lack of any veil in this work, he often expresses himself allegorically in this, his plain prose work. The central idea, that Avignon is the new Babylon, is in fact an allegory. And already in the first letter, which consists of an elaborate comparison of the dying pope to an inept helmsman who has nearly wrecked the ship in the stormy seas it is in, Petrarch develops a sustained allegory.

And at the end of this allegory, the hapless pontiff, the inept pilot who will end up as food for fish, finally becomes "omnibus hoc mare sulcantibus in eternum fabula" (letter 1, 166). It is striking in a work which is at pains to distinguish between truth and *fabula* that, nonetheless, the *fabula*—a word with a complex interlocking range of meanings from story to fiction, with overtones of gossip and fable and even stage drama—still has its utility. Its varied uses throughout the *Liber sine nomine* could be a subject for another paper, so I'll conclude by looking at the last occurrence of the word *fabula* in this text.

The *Liber sine nomine* as it goes along becomes more anecdotal, the anecdotes become more witty, and finally—again the work draws our attention to this—one story becomes quite funny. The eighteenth letter contains the account of the doddering, nearly toothless, old cardinal and the young girl, "misellam uirgunculam an meretriculam" (letter 18, 234), perhaps a virgin

[8] The three Italian sonnets on Avignon (Canzoniere, 136–38), being in the vernacular, pose a different set of questions. Their relationship to the Latin texts here discussed would be the subject of a separate study.

but more likely already a prostitute, whom his procurer has found for him. When the girl is appalled by his physical decrepitude, she vigorously rebuffs him. He rushes into the next room and returns with his red hat on his bald head, saying, "Cardinalis sum,... cardinalis sum, ne timeas, filia!" (letter 18, 235). This story replaces one unwritten, for Petrarch prefaces it, justifies it in fact, by telling us that to write more of the terrible things he has been enumerating would be too sorrowful and too gloomy. "Malo quidem te hodie ad risum quam ad iracundiam prouocare" (letter 18, 233), he says, and goes on instead to tell his funny, if disreputable, story. And he concludes with the words, "Plaude, fabula acta est" (letter 18, 235). This story is also a *fabula*. Instead of lofty poetry we have plain prose, instead of tragedy we have comedy. The genre that most suits Babylon in the end is comic prose.

And how does this work conclude itself, very carefully constructed as it is with a preface and a concluding exhortation to a mighty king to end the evils it has described? The last few sentences lapse into a reflection on what has been written here: "O quid dixi, o quid scripsi, o quid michi uenit in animum?" (letter 19, 238). It is as if the voice which is speaking and writing recoils from the words it has just uttered. He compares himself to Job who has said a thing which he wishes he had not said. But he cannot unsay it: "Dixi tamen et iam non dixisse non possum." But it is, one last time, the love of truth which as driven him to it. And yet everything has still not been said, "cum infinita se nunc offerant et perexigua dicendorum pars exacta sit...." Again we are at a limit of language here. Language cannot encompass all that there is to be said. The *uerba* cannot recreate the *res* in its entirety. So the author stops himself by using the words of Job: "Frenabo impetum et cum eodem Job," and here the words become a quotation of Job's words from scripture, "manum meam ponam super os meum et his ultra non addam." The text silences itself with the physical gesture of putting its hand over his mouth and so reaches the limit of its own language. And the very last word "Amen" moves us on to the final silence the work now ceases to struggle against.

Graduate Center, City University of New York

"Institutio Principis" e ideale principesco in una corte meridionale: Belisario Acquaviva e Antonio Galateo

ISABELLA NUOVO

Tentare di valutare l'estremo ancoraggio di un intellettuale in crisi quale era Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo negli ultimi anni della sua vita al periferico approdo salentino della vivace corte di Nardò e del suo intraprendente e volenteroso artefice, il Duca Belisario Acquaviva, impone di ripercorrere, sia pure rapidamente, le tappe spesso accidentate del concepimento e del consolidamento di un mito, o meglio di un'utopia.[1]

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[1] Per la biografia di Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo cf. "De Ferrariis Antonio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 33 (Roma, 1987), 738–41; Claudio Griggio, "De Ferrariis, Antonio, detto il Galateo," in *Dizionario critico della Letteratura italiana*, vol. 2 (Torino, 1986), 116–22; Donato Moro, *Per l'autentico Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo* (Napoli, 1991); per la collocazione del Galateo nel panorama dell'Umanesimo meridionale cf. Pasquale A. De Lisio, "L'umanesimo problematico di Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo," in *Studi sull'Umanesimo meridionale* (Napoli, 1973), 19–59; Mario Santoro, "La cultura umanistica," in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 4, 1 (Napoli, 1974), 364–68; Francesco Tateo, "L'Umanesimo meridionale," in *Letteratura italiana Laterza*, vol. 3, 16 (Bari, 1981), 54–62; idem, "Diagnosi del potere nell'oratoria di un medico," in *Chierici e feudatari del Mezzogiorno* (Bari, 1984), 3–20; idem, "La raccolta delle 'Epistole' di A. Galateo," in *Acta of the Neo-Latin Congress at Wolfenbüttel*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. 86 (Binghamton, N.Y., 1988), 551–62; idem, "Alle origini dell'umanesimo galateano," in *Nuovi studi in onore di Mario Santoro* (Napoli, 1989), 145–57; per la tradizione manoscritta e a stampa delle opere del Galateo cf. Antonio Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo nella tradizione manoscritta. Catalogo*, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento meridionale. Studi 5 (Napoli, 1990); Paola Andrioli Nemola, *Catalogo delle opere di A. de'Ferrariis (Galateo)* (Lecce, 1982). Su Belisario Acquaviva cf. "Acquaviva d'Aragona Belisario," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 1 (Roma, 1960), 188–90; Tateo, *Chierci e feudatari del Mezzogiorno*, passim; Lucia Miele, "Il 'De instituendis liberis principum' di Belisario Acquaviva," in *Gli Acquaviva d'Aragona Duchi di Atri e Conti di S. Flaviano*, vol. 1 (Teramo, 1985), 175–94; eadem, "Il 'De re militari et singulari certamine' di B. Acquaviva: tra teoria e prassi," *Quaderni dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento meridionale* 3 (1986): 65–98; eadem, "Il commento di Belisario Acquaviva agli 'Oeconomica' pseudoaristotelici" *Quaderni* 7 (1991): 107–37; Domenico Defilippis, "Per Belisario Acquaviva Conte di Conversano e Duca di Nardò," in *Studi di storia pugliese in memoria di Maria Marangelli* (Fasano, 1990), 163–82; idem, "Le fasi redazionali del 'De instituendis liberis principum' di Belisario

Quell'utopia che con tragica determinazione l'umanista salentino si era andato consapevolmente costruendo nella progressiva elaborazione della sua vicenda umana e culturale, e che sorregge vistosamente l'impalcatura di gran parte della sua produzione letteraria. In particolare, dell'*Epistolario*, la paradigmatica raccolta di lettere trasmessaci dall'autografo Vaticano Latino 7584, al quale il Galateo dedicò una cura ininterrotta trascrivendo, selezionando, ampliando, o mutilando quella serie di scritti che, nati spesso occasionalmente e destinati inizialmente ad una circolazione privata, assunsero solo successivamente la progettualità di una vera e propria operazione letteraria, quando il loro autore, probabilmente sollecitato da una diversa finalità, decise di risistemare le lettere in una precisa e meditata scansione non necessariamente cronologica, che conferisse al *corpus* un'emblematica articolazione e suggerisse l'esatta chiave di lettura di un testo altrimenti dislivellato e solo apparentemente disorganizzato.[2]

È per questo che isolare all'interno della raccolta, la quale si può approssimativamente inscrivere in un arco cronologico che va dalla vigilia della discesa di Carlo VIII in Italia all'affissione delle Tavole di Lutero, un circuito epistolare più ristretto, quello rappresentato dal destinatario Acquaviva,[3] non significa arbitrariamente sconvolgere l'organicità del *corpus*, ma piuttosto verificare l'estensibilità di alcune programmatiche idee-forza, che, esplicitamente enunciate in queste missive, vengono poi costantemente rilanciate e corroborate da una fitta trama di riscontri nel corso dell'epistolario.

Ben sette sono le epistole dirette, in tempi diversi, a Belisario Acquaviva e ci confermano che i già collaudati rapporti tra il De Ferrariis e il futuro Duca di Nardò, allacciati e sviluppati all'interno dell'Accademia pontaniana a Napoli con l'evidente intento di coinvolgere il valoroso uomo d'armi sul piano dell'impegno letterario, registrarono un ulteriore incremento subito dopo la caduta del Regno aragonese.

Ritiratisi entrambi nel lontano Salento, incalzati da un inatteso ribaltamento della fortuna, l'umanista e il principe si impegnarono rispettivamente

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Acquaviva, Duca di Nardo," in L'educazione e la formazione nobiliare nell'età dell'Umanesimo (Milano, 1992), 309–30.

[2] Per gli aspetti filologici del MS Vaticano e per la vicenda editoriale delle *Epistole* cf. Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo, *Epistole*, ed. critica a cura di A. Altamura (Lecce, 1959), v–xxxiv; Nemola, *Catalogo delle opere*; e la bibliografia che correda il saggio di Domenico Defilippis, "Le redazioni autografe della 'Callipolis descriptio' di Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo," *Esperienze Letterarie* 13, 2 (1988): 39–59.

[3] Le epistole indirizzate a Belisario Acquaviva sono, seguendo l'ordine di successione del Vat. lat. 7584, rispettato dall'ed. cit. dell'Altamura: la IV. Ad illustrem Aquevivum *Apologeticon* (ed. cit., 32–40); la V. Ad illustrem Aquevivum, *de gloria contemnenda* (ed. cit., 41–46); la VII. Ad Belisarium Aquevivum Marchionem Neritinorum (ed. cit., 69–71); la IX. Ad Belisarium Aquevivum, *de hierosolymitana peregrinatione* (ed. cit., 77–80); la XXXI. Illustri Aquevivo Antonius Galateus (ed. cit., 185–90); la XXXIII. Illustri viro Belisario Aquevivo *Vituperatio litterarum* (ed. cit., 195–214, ed. Nemola, 85–103); la XXXV. Ad Belisarium Aquevivum *de neophytis* (ed. cit., 220–25).

a praticare i loro distinti ruoli in quella nuova realtà che una condizione di esilio forzato aveva opportunamente creato offrendo loro l'occasione per esaltare le proprie innate qualità.[4] E se il nobile Acquaviva approfittava dell'ozio cui era stato costretto dal mutato clima politico per elaborare un articolato progetto pedagogico finalizzato alla formazione dei giovani figli dei principi e per mettere a punto una serie di interventi da operare nel suo feudo per migliorarne e potenziarne gli aspetti urbanistici e quelli culturali, il De Ferrariis si applicava invece ad una capillare revisione della sua produzione letteraria, che proprio in questi anni si veniva arricchendo delle opere più significative, le quali riflettevano la sua diversa disposizione psicologica e il suo rimeditato rapporto col potere, complicato ora da imprevisti elementi di conflittualità.[5] La disperata ironia con la quale il Galateo lucidamente tratteggiava in quella tormentata parabola storica la preoccupante decadenza morale e politica di una società che andava inesorabilmente smarrendo l'autentica lezione umanistica e che dietro l'urgenza di eventi drammatici esorcizzava le sue paure e i suoi fallimenti trincerandosi dietro la maschera della simulazione e della menzogna, si caricava di amaro pessimismo. Anche l'incontenibile registro satirico, o meglio ironico, già altre volte adottato dall'umanista,[6] mette a nudo, ora, proprio nelle epistole all'Acquaviva, non solo la sua naturale disposizione per una scrittura mordacemente aggressiva, ma conferma, nella ostentata dichiarazione di una non comune superiorità morale, anche il compiacimento per la trasgressione di quelle regole con le quali solitamente si promuoveva uno strategico e acriti-

[4] Belisario, caduto in disgrazia presso il Viceré Ramòn de Cardona anche per l'attivismo mostrato nel rigettare, insieme con la nobiltà e il popolo tutto napoletano, il tentativo di introdurre a Napoli l'inquisizione alla maniera spagnola (1510; cf. D'Agostino, *La capitale ambigua*, 147), si ritirò stabilmente nel suo feudo neritino subito dopo: cf. Defilippis, "Per Belisario Acquaviva," e "Le fasi redazionali del 'De instituendis . . . ' " Antonio Galateo, a sua volta, emarginato dalla nuova realtà vicereale, della quale non condivideva sempre le scelte politiche e culturali, preferì anche lui ritornare nel Salento subito dopo la caduta del Regno, dove alternò l'attività di medico a quella di letterato: cf. l'epistola *Callipolis descriptio*, del 1513, ed. cit.

[5] Sono di questi anni, infatti, l'operetta *De educatione*, composta per il figlio del re Federico d'Aragona, il giovane Ferrandino, condotto in Spagna dopo la caduta del Regno e che lì si trovava con il suo precettore Crisostomo Colonna, al quale Galateo indirizzava una lettera d'accompagnamento dell'operetta (cf. Carlo Vecce, "Il 'De educatione' di Antonio Galateo De Ferrariis," *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 36 [1988]: 23–82), l'*Esposizione del 'Pater noster'* destinata a Isabella d'Aragona Sforza, Duchessa di Bari (cf. Antonio Iurilli, "Coordinate cronologiche dell' 'Esposizione del Pater noster' di Antonio Galateo," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 159, fasc. 508 [1982]: 536–50), l'opuscolo corografico *Liber de situ Iapygiae*, dedicato a Giovanni Battista Spinelli, figura di grande rilievo nel nuovo quadro politico vicereale (cf. Domenico Defilippis, "L'edizione basileense e la tradizione manoscritta del 'De situ Iapygiae' di Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo," *Quaderni* 1 [1984]: 25–50; idem, "Di un nuovo codice del 'De situ Iapygiae' " *Quaderni* 6 [1989]: 5–28).

[6] Si veda, ad esempio, il dialogo "Eremita," in *Prosatori latini del Quattrocentro*, a cura di Eugenio Garin (Milano-Napoli, 1952), 1068–1125, dedicato al vescovo di Lecce M. Antonio Tolomeo. Sull'influenza di Luciano nel dialogo umanistico e nel Galateo in particolare cf. Emilio Mattioli, *Luciano e l'Umanesimo* (Napoli, 1980), 140–44; Santoro, "La cultura umanistica," 437 ss.

co consenso. L'evidente mutamento di tono che si registra tra le prime epistole dirette all'Acquaviva, l'*Apologeticon*, il *De gloria contemnenda*, la lettera che accompagnava l'invio del *De dignitate disciplinarum*, e le ultime, soprattutto la *Vituperatio litterarum*, riflette le fasi di un non sempre facile sodalizio che, avviato con entusiasmo a Napoli negli anni in cui il giovane Acquaviva, tutto proiettato verso il successo delle armi, non disdegnava una iniziazione culturale, anzi sollecitava l'amico e maestro di Galatone a fornirgli i giusti strumenti per accostarsi correttamente al mondo letterario,[7] si era venuto poi rafforzando ma anche complicando, e se sul piano della formazione intellettuale poteva dirsi pienamente riuscito al punto che il nobile guerriero si era appropriato del più completo repertorio di autori greci e latini, attenendosi diligentemente, soprattutto per l'apprendimento filosofico, ai consigli didattici affidati al rapporto epistolare con l'umanista, non altrettanto era avventuo sul piano più strettamente politico.

Sin dalla prima epistola diretta all'Acquaviva, l'*Apologeticon*, il Galateo affrontava il tema del delicato rapporto tra intellettuale e potere e programmaticamente costruisce un autoritratto in cui sono abilmente dosati ed elencati gli ingredienti indispensabili per la connotazione del vero sapiente, cioè del filosofo. Con disinibita sincerità il Galateo esordiva enunciando la atipicità del suo canone scrittorio, che nulla concedeva all'artificio retorico, preoccupato, come è noto, delle *res* e non certo dei *verba*; a questa scelta linguistica si allacciava anche la costante rivendicazione dell'autonomia dell'indagine critica e conseguentemente del rifiuto del concetto di imitazione legato all'esclusivo modello ciceroniano.[8]

Nel *De suo scribendi genere*,[9] l'epistola 34 composta quasi certamente nel 1513 e comunque dopo la *Vituperatio litterarum*, alla quale fa riferimento, il Galateo, pur rivolgendosi questa volta a Pietro Summonte, ma per chiarire sicuramente la stravagante invettiva contro le lettere da poco inviata all'Acquaviva, riaffermava il suo radicale riconoscimento della funzione primaria ed essenziale dell'*ingenium*, che ovviamente teorizzava l'importanza della inclinazione naturale e quindi della elaborazione individuale. Si trattava di posizioni rigorose che condensavano in una precisa scelta linguistica e ancor più stilistica una problematica ben più complessa, la quale, attraverso il rifiuto delle regole della tradizione retorica, alimentava la scoperta avversione per i grammatici, i sofisti e gli edonisti della parola: una soluzione tecnica che in termini molto simili aveva espresso Giovan Francesco Pico nella famosa epistola *De imitatione* diretta a Pietro Bembo proprio nel 1512–

[7] "Cum ad te aliquid scribo, illustris Aquevive, aut de natura, aut de moribus, aut de medicina, aut de re domestica, aut de aliqua re, quam ipsa occasio fert (quoniam, sic fortuna iubet, a te absum), videor mihi te alloqui, te amplecti, notas audire et reddere voces" (Galateo, *Apologeticon*, 32).

[8] Cf. Galateo, *Apologeticon*, 32–40.

[9] Galateo, *De suo scribendi genere*, 215–19.

1513, e che trovava il pieno consenso del Galateo.[10] D'altra parte se la polemica Pico-Bembo rimandava a quella Poliziano-Cortese svoltasi qualche decennio prima, e rinnovava antiche argomentazioni, la riproposizione delle tesi di ben noti personaggi, quali appunto il Poliziano, cui inevitabilmente si associava il ricordo di Ermolao Barbaro, riattivava nella concezione estetica del Galateo interessi antichi e moderni che si coniugavano tempestivamente con la preoccupazione filologica per la contaminazioni che sempre più inquinavano la tradizione filosofica nelle moderne interpretazioni d'oltralpe.[11] A sostegno della supremazia dell'eclettismo l'umanista sfruttava anche, da buon medico, la teoria scientifica della diversità delle nature umane, un elemento di cui si approprierà lo stesso Erasmo, il quale, così vicino al Galateo per la naturale inclinazione verso il paradosso, offrirà alcuni anni dopo, nel *Ciceronianus*, un'esemplare indagine metodologica tesa a revisionare le tecniche di interpretazione e gli esiti letterari del ciceronianismo, approdando ad una soluzione la cui convergenza con quella del Galateo appare assai interessante.[12] Il rifiuto del modello epidittico, sul quale insistentemente si soffermava il De Ferrariis nell'epistola a Belisario, alludeva ad un complesso discorso sulla funzione politica del retore, che rappresenterebbe il limite stesso dell'autentica pratica oratoria, la quale, non più

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[10] Cf. *Le epistole "de imitatione" di Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola e di Pietro Bembo*, a cura di G. Santangelo (Firenze, 1954).

[11] Su questi problemi cf. Giancarlo Mazzacurati, *Misure del classicismo rinascimentale*; Remigio Sabbadini, *Storia del ciceronianismo e di altre questioni letterarie nell'età della Rinascenza* (Torino, 1885); Tateo "Venezia e la storia esemplare di Livio in Marcantonio Sabellico," in *I miti della storiografia umanistica* (Roma, 1990), 181–221, 193 ss.; Vincenzo De Caprio, "Il ciceronianismo e Pietro Bembo" e "L'epistola 'De imitatione' in Roma," *Letteratura Italiana. Storia e geografia*, vol. 2, *L'età moderna* (Torino, 1988), 327–472: 427–32; in particolare per i rapporti tra Galateo ed Ermolao Barbaro cf. Tateo, "La raccolta delle 'Epistole' "; idem, "Alle origini dell'umanesimo galateano." Non va dimenticato che un'altra importante polemica aveva visto Giovanni Pico della Mirandola impegnato, in una epistola inviata ad Ermolao Barbaro nota col titolo *De genere dicendi philosophorum*, in una strenua difesa della filosofia nuda e senza orpelli, contro la poesia pagana e la retorica: cf. "Ioannes Picus Mirandulanus Hermolao Barbaro suo s.," in *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, a cura di Garin, 804–23: 806 ss. Per un'analisi della lettera inserita nell'intera produzione del Pico cf. Garin, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Vita e dottrina* (Firenze, 1937), 22, 57, 60; un'attenta lettura è poi offerta in relazione al tema del Sileno ed in rapporto all'analogo argomento sviluppato da Erasmo nei *Sileni di Alcibiade* da Silvana Seidel Menchi, "Alcuni atteggiamenti della cultura italiana di fronte a Erasmo," in *Eresia e Riforma nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Firenze, 1974), 71–133.

[12] "Non potest quispiam mortalium non obsequi ingenio suo: quam ob rem tot sunt differentiae ingeniorum, quot et corporum. Difficile est vitare quae genius noster suadet, difficillimum et servare decorum in ea re ad quam nos natura non provocat. Sit igitur cuique dux sua minerva; quisque suos patimur manes" (*De suo scribendi genere*, 215). Così Galateo, ed Erasmo, nel *Ciceronianus*: "Ingenium ac naturam Ciceronis optare possum nobis, dare non possum. Habent singula mortalium ingenia suum quiddam ac genuinum, quae res tantam habet vim, ut ad hoc aut illud dicendi genus natura compositus frustra nitatur ad diversum. . . . Illud igitur in primis inspiciendum est, ad quod dicendi genus te natura finxerit": Desiderio Erasmo da Rotterdam, *Il Ciceroniano o dello stile migliore*, testo latino critico, trad., prefaz. introd. e note a cura di A. Gambaro (Brescia, 1965), 164.

preoccupata della verità o della eudaimonìa della società, smarriva il procedimento dialettico e, sfruttando la seduzione e l'adulazione della parola, perseguiva esclusivamente il gioco del potere.

Il tono intenzionalmente arrogante dell'epistola, si accentua nella seconda sezione, in cui Galateo introduce un provocatorio confronto tra la propria condizione di medico e letterato e quella di politico di Belisario.[13] Se non ci fossero note le vicende biografiche dell'umanista salentino, sicuramente legato al suo signore da un rapporto di grande cordialità, e se non conoscessimo la sua propensione per l'ironia e per il paradosso, scambieremmo la tensione verbale presente nell'epistola per dissenso ideologico. Invece la spregiudicata opposizione tra due modelli culturali, comportamentali ed etici assolutamente contrastanti, evidenzia con grande efficacia l'alterità della pratica politica, che sola si addice all'Acquaviva, da quella intellettuale, che spetta invece al filosofo Galateo.

Ne consegue che anche il senso dell'epistola successiva, il *de gloria contemnenda*, va colto piuttosto nell'implicito suggerimento all'uomo di potere a saper ridimensionare il valore mondano della gloria, che nella dichiarata impossibilità, da parte del Galateo, a cimentarsi su tematiche letterarie, filosofiche, o scientifiche, già magistralmente indagate da autori quali Aristotele, Platone, Cicerone, Tolomeo, Galeno, Plinio.[14] Ancora una volta il rapporto di scambio appare risolto in quello meno appariscente tra il principe-destinatario, che rimane una presenza funzionalmente passiva, e l'umanista, che torna a presentarsi e ad offrirsi con una inaspettata suasoria lì dove i poli dell'argomentazione appaiono ribaltati e all'irrazionale *libido* della gloria, cui naturalmente tende il potere, si affianca l'altrettanto passionale *gloria litterarum*, cui consapevolmente aspira la vanità dei letterati. La sottile dicotomia sembrerebbe potersi superare solo nel sinergismo tra *sapientia* e *potestas*, decantando in un superiore distacco, che è insieme aristocraticamente intellettualistico e umilmente cristiano, la precarietà tutta terrena di una gloria costruita sul pericoloso consenso della moltitudine.

A queste due prime epistole, databili al periodo napoletano, è affidata dunque una vera e propria *ratio studiorum*, che, individuando con precisione gli autori e i testi indispensabili per una corretta formazione intellettuale, oltre che morale, suggeriva al giovane principe reduce da quei successi militari che gli avevano fatto guadagnare il titolo di Marchese, la opportuna metodologia per l'acquisizione di quell'autonomia critica che sola consentiva un approccio diretto con gli antichi *auctores*, non inquinato dalle devianti mediazioni e dalle ambigue interpretazioni dei moderni commentatori d'oltralpe.[15] D'altra parte è importante non confondere l'ottica con la quale

[13] Galateo, *Apologeticon*, 36–38.

[14] Cf. Galateo, *De gloria contemnenda*, ed. cit., 41–46.

[15] "Si philosophari vis, Illustris Aquevive, dignare consilium accipere: purum, simplicem et solum legas Aristotelem et universum: quoniam, ut dicunt, liber librum aperit; quoniam

vengono affrontati questi problemi. L'umanista infatti mirava a fornire al principe quella formazione morale e intellettuale che lo abilitasse al reggimento politico. Il problema è semmai, nel Galateo, quello di conciliare la sua matrice notoriamente aristotelica con la suggestione di una teoria squisitamente platonizzante secondo cui solo il filosofo, o meglio il filosofo cristiano e teologo, possa assumersi l'educazione del principe per farne un filosofo che governa.[16] Imprescindibile punto di partenza di questa complessa operazione diventava la rigorosa ricostruzione dei modelli teorici classici che, nella conciliazione delle tesi aristoteliche con quelle platoniche, sfruttava *in toto* le potenzialità suggerite dai due filosofi greci. E l'acquisizione della scienza filosofica garantiva la collaborazione tra principe e intellettuale, assicurata proprio da quella divisione dei ruoli, che affidava al filosofo il recupero sul piano etico della precettistica indispensabile per la pratica del governo, e al principe la funzione di interprete operativo di quel programma ideologico e culturale.[17]

Con l'epistola 31 ritroviamo quale destinatario Belisario Acquaviva, il quale torna, dopo una lunga assenza, a comparire forse non del tutto casualmente, in questa sezione finale dell'epistolario. L'ambigua articolazione della lettera, tutta orchestrata sul valore dell'amicizia dei potenti, dalla quale dovrebbe naturalmente scaturire la beneficenza, istituisce un complesso gioco delle parti tra la funzione autore e la funzione destinatario. L'elogio dell'amicizia, che ovviamente coincide con l'onesto e con la virtù, introduceva anche il concetto di *charitas*, il quale scartando gli esiti edonistici e utilitaristici, indicava il parametro cristiano e l'ambito sociale della sua applicazione. E se l'amicizia si qualificava essenzialmente come fratellanza fra gli uomini, la sua corrispondente proiezione nelle sfere relazionali diventava di conseguenza la beneficenza. Ma la lode di questa virtù non poteva non richiamare i risvolti politici e il senso ideologico che già il Pontano aveva attribuito al medesimo tema dedicandogli uno dei cinque trattati sulle "virtù sociali." E come nell'umanista napoletano il discorso sfociava nell'esaltazione dei fondatori delle leggi, delle scienze e delle virtù,[18] anche nel Galateo l'obiettivo finale diventava quello di accomunare nell'esemplarità del com-

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ubique ipse sibi similis est, ubique invenies quod iuvet et ad obscuras et arcanas res intelligendas serviat. Graecos habeas codices: erunt enim tibi optimi interpretes, ubi aliquos locos nimis obscuros aut male a nostris in latinum versos inveneris. Siquando opus est interprete, non praetereas Alexandrum, Themistium aut ipsum Averroën: ceteros autem melius est aut nunquam videre aut ita percurrere, ut exploratores faciunt, quando hostium castra aut ignotas regiones adeunt." (Galateo, *De gloria contemnenda*, 42).

[16] Cf. Eugenio Garin, "Il ritorno di Platone," *Umanisti, Artisti, Scienziati* (Roma, 1989), 93 ss.; Vasoli, "Riflessioni sugli umanisti e il principe: il modello platonico dell'ottimo governante," in *Immagini umanistiche* (Napoli, 1983), 149–87.

[17] Cf. *Apologeticon*, 36–38.

[18] Ioannis I. Pontani "De beneficentia," in Giovanni Pontano, *I trattati delle virtù sociali*, intr., testo, trad. e note a cura di Tateo (Roma, 1965), 67–82.

portamento i Greci, fondatori di civiltà, e i filosofi, depositari della civiltà stessa.[19]

Ma è nell'impostazione satirica e paradossale delle ultime epistole che emergono alla fine gli umori più seri del Galateo, di protesta e contestazione morale, così come l'approdo alle Sacre Scritture introduce la sua maturazione religiosa in quel clima fideistico e di rinnovato profetismo che caratterizzerà la seconda metà del Cinquecento e che rappresenterà pure l'equivoca connotazione degli eretici italiani.

> Dispereant igitur inanes litterae! Valeat philosophia falsa, fallax, loquax, mendax, nugatrix, stulta, nescia, vesana, arrogans, ignava, malesuada, famelica, nostri fundi calamitas, nutrix paupertatis et multo pluribus invisa quam probata![20]

L'irridente invettiva contro le lettere e la filosofia che suggella inaspettatamente la *Vituperatio litterarum*, e che sembra, sia pure provocatoriamente liquidare il rapporto dell'intellettuale col potere, oltre che dissacrare il ruolo stesso del letterato, non può rappresentare solo la rabbiosa risposta di chi nega il proprio consenso ad una condizione politica avvertita come estranea o il disagio intellettuale di chi si vede emarginato da una nuova strategia culturale diversamente orientata.[21] E difatti la *vis* polemica dell'epistola si può cogliere nella sua più autentica problematicità se la si legge come una riscrittura delle precedenti posizioni espresse dall'umanista e come una implicita responsiva al *De instituendis liberis principum*, che Belisario aveva appena composto nel 1513 e presumibilmente sottoposto al giudizio critico dell'amico e maestro. L'operetta, nella quale si coagulava l'esperienza politico-militare dell'Acquaviva e il suo maturo impegno pedagogico, ribaltava totalmente le aspettative del progetto teorico elaborato dal Galateo. Il principe guerriero, deposte le armi e abbracciate definitivamente le lettere, approdava ad una nuova condizione esistenziale nella quale sembrava non esserci più posto per l'umanista, che si era fino allora candidato a filosofo consigliere del principe.[22]

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[19] Cf. *Illustri Aquevivo Antonius Galateus*, ed. cit., 185–90: 188–90.

[20] *Vituperatio litterarum*, ed. Nemola, 103.

[21] Sulle varie posizioni critiche espresse nelle diverse interpretazioni della *Vituperatio litterarum* cf., oltre la bibliografia cit. a n. 3, Moro, "Per una rilettura della 'Vituperatio litterarum'," in *Per l'autentico Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo*, 49–86; Miele, "Una dissacrazione delle lettere?" in *Saggi galateani* (Napoli, 1982), 69–97.

[22] É quanto sembra emergere chiaramente anche dalla lettura dell'epistola inviata dall'umanista al Duca di Nardò, nella quale si asseriva la superiorità delle lettere sulle armi, e della relativa responsiva di quest'ultimo, significativamente pubblicate insieme, l'una dopo l'altra, a siglare l'avvenuta pubblicazione della serie degli *Opuscoli* dell'Acquaviva. Nella lettera al Galateo, infatti, Belisario ribadiva la superiorità delle armi sulle lettere e si arrogava, in quanto uomo d'arme dotato di una raffinata cultura letteraria, il diritto-dovere di trattare delle norme della formazione principesca: " . . . Ne tamen a nostra nostrorumque professione aberrare videamur (ignoscas rogo, si tibi aliquo modo morem non gesserim), arma litteris praeponenda esse censemus. Hoc enim uno praecipue argumento coniectari potest tanto

Il Galateo sembra alludere in questo scorcio finale dell'epistolario al grave disagio provato nei confronti del nuovo modello sociale tratteggiato dallo stesso Acquaviva nei suoi opuscoli pedagogici, che recuperando gli antichi miti cavallereschi, da quello dell'amore a quello dell'onore e della gloria, e ovviamente al binomio lettere-armi, ne rovesciava l'esemplare carica ideale per omologarli al mutato formulario del vivere cortigiano. Di qui la condanna risentita per quelli che si vanno affermando proprio come gli stereotipi della pratica letteraria e degli schemi mentali dell'uomo di corte, la poesia d'amore, il duello, l'*elocutio sine eruditione*, il sofisma che simula la vera filosofia.

L'auspicata collaborazione tra principe e filosofo che il Galateo, sulla scorta dell'insegnamento platonico, aveva sperato di realizzare negli anni napoletani, si era rivelata improponibile proprio nella corte di Nardò per l'indisponibilità dello stesso Acquaviva, che aveva così a fondo assimilato la lezione del suo maestro da rivendicare per sé l'esclusivo ruolo del principe sapiente. Svanita per sempre l'illusione inseguita per tutta la vita, il Galateo si aggrappava ai τόποι retorici del paradosso e della *vituperatio*, e demolendo sotto il segno del dubbio e della demistificazione il primato delle lettere, obbligava il principe Acquaviva a ridimensionare le sue ambizioni di *magister morum*. Le operette pedagogiche di Belisario, infatti, vennero stampate solo dopo la morte del Galateo, e il *De instituendis liberis principum* si appropriava, nell'ultima redazione, forse non del tutto legittimamente, della sofferta e inappagata esperienza galateana.[23] Ma se l'*institutio* dell'umanista salentino si era sfaldata in un progetto utopico, quella del Duca di Nardò si integrava operativamente nel sistema cortigiano.

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praestantiorem armorum dignitatem esse habendam, quanto maiori dignos laude qui animi simul et corporis viribus praestant, quam eos qui tantum animo serviunt, existimamus. . . . Et enim accidere aliquando potest ut vel morborum eventu seniove vel aliis animi perturbationibus arma tractari non possint. Quare, ad litteras recurrendum esse, quis neget? Quando praesertim et ad animi oblectationem ornamentumque praecipue litteras plurimium facere videamus. Pro regendis enim civitatibus rebusque publicis adeo magnificiendas esse Plato censuit, ut beatas fore res publicas si reges philosophiae vacarent vel philosophi regnarent sit arbitratus. Sic etiam de activae et contemplativae vitae dignitate dicendum est . . . Optimum esse atque unicuique iucundissimum Aristoteles putat quod a mente proficiscitur, esseque activam vitam tamquam utilem et necessariam omni iure ab omnibus laudandam. Quibus ex causis ab uno quoque adnitendum est et arma et litteras amplecti et venerari ut in altero quis deficere nullo modo videatur" ("BELLISARIUS AQUIVIVUS NERITINORUM DUX GALATHEO SUO. S.," in *BELISARII AQUIVIVI ARAGONEI / NERITINORUM DVCIS; DE / VENATIONE ET DE AVCVPIO; DE / RE MILITARI ET SINGULARI / CERTAMINE., Impressum Neapoli in Bibliotheca Ioan. Pasquet. de Sallo Anno domini . M. D. XIX. primo Augusti*, cc. XXIV).

[23] Si può far risalire con molta probabilità proprio agli autorevoli suggerimenti del Galateo la massiccia rielaborazione della primitiva stesura del *De instituendis liberis principum*, affidata al MS Oxoniense, Rawlinsen C. 893, che si evince dall'esame della redazione definitiva consegnataci invece dall'*editio princeps*. Un confronto tra i due testimoni è stato condotto da Defilippis, "Le fasi redazionali del 'De instituendis. . . .' "

Pufendorf e due poeti neolatini olandesi (P. Francius e J. Broukhusius)

FIAMMETTA PALLADINI

I rapporti tra S. Pufendorf e l'Olanda meriterebbero di essere approfonditi meglio di quanto si sia fatto finora. E qui non pensiamo tanto al legame con l'opera del grande olandese al cui nome viene usualmente associato quello del giusnaturalista tedesco (mi riferisco, ovviamente, a H. Grotius), quanto piuttosto ad aspetti poco noti della sua biografia intellettuale. Dopo tutto, la tesi di G. Oestreich, secondo cui anche Pufendorf farebbe parte della *niederländische Bewegung*,[1] meriterebbe di essere verificata con qualche cosa di più consistente che non il *topos* del sistematizzatore di Grotius o il magro dato dei due anni passati dal giusnaturalista tedesco in Olanda prima della sua chiamata a Heidelberg.[2] Varrebbe la pena di verificare, ad esempio, se sia davvero un caso (così siamo infatti abituati a considerarlo) che egli abbia pubblicato la sua prima opera di diritto naturale a Den Haag e che abbia mosso i suoi primi passi nel mondo delle lettere nell'ambito della filologia olandese;[3] o se sia dovuto proprio solo alla sua

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[1] P. è espressamente oggetto di un paragrafo dello scritto di Oestreich, *Die Niederländische Bewegung und Brandenburg-Preussen. Geschichtliche Einführung in die Ausstellung: Die Niederlande und Brandenburg-Preussen* (Schloss Charlottenburg, 20. September–30. Oktober 1968), 21–22; ma il noto studioso di J. Lipsius e del neostoicismo sottolinea l'importanza del periodo passato da P. in Olanda un po' dovunque nei suoi scritti.

[2] Secondo le ricerche di E. Wrangel, *Sveriges letterära förbindelser med Holland* (Lund, 1897; trad. olandese Leiden, 19091), 243–45, il soggiorno di P. in Olanda durò dall'autunno 1659 all'autunno 1661. Le poche, ma preziose pagine di Wrangel su P. sono quanto di più preciso conosciamo sul periodo olandese di P. Ringrazio il Dr. D. Döring di Leipzeg per avermi segnalato questo scritto.

[3] Oltre all'opera del danese Johann Lauremberg, *Graecia antiqua* (Amstelodami: Johannes Jansonius, 1660), P. curò le edizioni di opere inedite del famoso filologo arminiano di Leiden Jan van Meurs, *Miscellanea Laconica sive Variarum Antiquitatum Laconicarum Libri IV* (Amstelodami: Jodocus Pluymer, 1661) e *Ceramicus geminus, sive de Ceramici Atheniensium utriusque antiquitatibus liber singularis* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Theodor ab Ackersdyck, 1663). Le vicende della pubblicazione

preferenza per la carta e i tipi olandesi[4] il fatto che, ancora molti anni dopo, egli scegliesse proprio l'Olanda come sede di pubblicazione della sua grande storia svedese.[5]

Uno dei motivi per cui si è finora data così poca importanza a un episodio della vita di Pufendorf, che non deve essere stato di secondaria importanza nella sua formazione, è il fatto che sappiamo, in fondo, così poco della sua vita e delle sue relazioni. Con questo intervento ci proponiamo quindi di ricostruire una di queste relazioni "sconosciute" di Pufendorf: una che, riguardando l'ambiente olandese, può contribuire a gettare un po' di luce su quel più ampio ed impegnativo tema dei rapporti tra Pufendorf e l'Olanda che richiede, naturalmente, ben altre ricerche ed approfondimenti.

I due poeti di Amsterdam le cui relazioni con Pufendorf cercheremo di ricostruire qui, vale a dire Petrus Francius e Janus Broukhusius (Broekhuizen) non sono affatto due sconosciuti. I loro nomi, infatti, non solo compaiono in tutti i lessici biografici nederlandesi[6] e nelle storie della letteratura di quel paese scritte nella sua lingua,[7] nonché nelle più specifiche storie di Amsterdam e del suo *Athenaeum illustre*,[8] ma, tra sette e ottocento, erano noti anche al pubblico non nederlandofonico grazie ai "belgici" che scrissero

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di quest'ultima opera possono essere seguite nelle lettere di P. a J. G. Graevius, scritte da Heidelberg il 4 settembre 1662 e il 26 luglio 1663. (Nel momento in cui scrivo, queste e le altre lettere di P. a Graevius che si utilizzeranno più sotto sono inedite e si trovano nella Kongelige Bibliotek di Kopenhagen, Thott 1264, 4°. Quando questo scritto sarà pubblicato sarà forse già disponibile l'edizione critica della corrispondenza di Pufendorf a cura di D. Döring edita dalla Akademie-Verlag di Berlin.) P. era entrato in possesso dei MSS. di Meursius e di Laurenberg grazie al diplomatico svedese dei cui figli era precettore Petrus Julius Coyet, al quale, durante la guerra del nord del 1655–60, era toccata come bottino di guerra la ricchissima biblioteca del consigliere di corte danese Jörgen Seefeld, in cui quei manoscritti erano custoditi. Devo questa notizia all'amico D. Döring il quale si fonda su O. Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten. En kultur-historisk-bibliografisk studie* (Uppsala, Stockholm, 1920), 422.

[4] Pufendorf a Graevius, Stockholm 26 giugno 1692.

[5] S. Pufendorf, *Commentariorum de rebus Suecicis Libri XXVI. Ab expeditione Gustavi Adolfi Regis in Germaniam ad abdicationem usque Christinae* (Ultrajecti: Johannes Ribbius, 1686).

[6] D. van Hoogstraten e J. L. Schuer, *Groot, algemeen historisch, geographisch, genealogisch en oordeelkundig woordenboek* (Amsterdam, 1725–33), s. v. ; A. G. Luiscius, *Algemeen historisch, geographisch en genealogisch woordenboek* ('s-Gravenhage, 1724–37), s. v. ; *Levensbeschryving van Eenige Voornaame Meest Nederlandsche Mannen en Vrouwen*, deel 9 (Amsterdam, 1781): su Broukhusius 264–74; Jacob Kok, *Vaderlandsche Woordenboek*, deel 8 (Amsterdam, 1787): su Broukhusius 1081–83; deel 15 (Amsterdam, 1786): su Francius 296; J. A. de Chalmot, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, deel 4 (Amsterdam, 1799): su Broukhusius 312–23; A. J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Gorinchem, 1839–51); Francius s. v. ; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1911–37): su Broekhuizen 4, coll. 309–12.

[7] Jeronimus de Vries, *Proeve eener Geschiedenis der Nederduitsche Dichtkunde*, deel 1 (Amsterdam, 1810), 281–88; N. G. van Kampen, *Beknopte Geschidenis der Letteren en Wetenschappen in de Nederlanden*, deel 1 (Den Haag, 1821), 365–67; P. G. Witsen Geysbeek, *Biographisch Anthologisch en Critisch Woordenboek der nederduitsche Dichters*, deel 1 (Amsterdam, 1822): su Broekhuizen 434–38; deel 2 (Amsterdam, 1822): su Francius 329–39.

[8] Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam*, 3e st. (Amsterdam, 1767): su Francius 235–36, su Broekhuizen 251–52; *Illustris Amstelodamensium Athenaei Memorabilia* (Amstelodami, 1832): su Francius 161–65.

della letteratura del loro paese in latino o in francese[9] e agli autori francesi che si occuparono di quei due poeti.[10] Tuttavia, poiché non ci risulta che, dopo la fioritura di studi su Broukhusius della fine dell'ottocento, che ebbe il suo protagonista in J. A. Worp,[11] i due autori siano più stati oggetto di studio,[12] richiameremo qui velocemente i dati fondamentali della loro vita e della loro personalità.

Petrus Francius (Amsterdam 1645– Amsterdam 1704) studiò nel *Gymnasium Amstelodamense* sotto Hadrianus Junius,[13] avendovi come condiscepolo Janus Broukhusius.[14] È a questo maestro che, secondo quanto viene ripetuto in tutte le biografie, risale la scoperta della disposizione poetica dei due giovani e il consiglio, fondato sulla considerazione della diversa personalità dei due, dato a Francius di proporsi come modello Ovidio, a Broukhusius di imitare Properzio. Francius studiò poi a Leiden sotto J. F. Gronovius, legandosi di amicizia anche con suo figlio Jacobus; viaggiò in Inghilterra, Francia (ove si laureò *in utroque iure* ad Angers) e Italia. Ritornato in patria, fece amicizia con grandi studiosi come J. G. Graevius e N. Heinsius e fu nominato nel 1674 professore di Storia romana ed eloquenza nell'*Atheneum illustre* di Amsterdam, cattedra a cui si aggiunse, nel 1686, quella di lingua greca. Malgrado fosse stato chiamato dall'università di Leiden nel 1692, preferì restare ad Amsterdam, dove trascorse il resto dei suoi giorni. Oltre che come poeta

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[9] J. G. de Chaufepié, *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique et critique pour servir de supplement au Dictionnaire de Bayle*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1750): su Broekhuizen 448–49; J. N. Paquot, *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire litteraire des 17 Provinces des Pays-Bas*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1763): su Francius 594–96; Christophorus Saxius, *Onomasticon Litterarium sive nomenclator historico-criticus*, pars 5 (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1785): su Francius 247–48, su Broekhuizen 334–35 (questo dizionario letterario, poco conosciuto dagli studiosi italiani, è uno strumento bibliografico prezioso, perché dà, sotto il nome di ciascuno scrittore, l'elenco di tutti gli autori che hanno trattato di lui); J. H. Hoeufft, *Parnasus Latino-Belgicus* (Amstelaedami, Bredae, 1819), 191–94; P. H. Peerlkamp, *De vita ad doctrina omnium Belgarum qui latina carmina composuerunt* (Bruxelles, 1822), 410–24.

[10] A. Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans sur les Principaux ouvrages des Auteurs . . . revus par M. De la Monnoye*, tome 5 (Paris, 1722), 376–77, no. 1536–1536 bis; J. P. Niceron, *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la Republique des lettres* (Paris, 1727–45): su Francius tome 12, 238–44, su Broekhuizen tome 18, 103–9.

[11] J. A. Worp, oltre a curare l'edizione di due raccolte di lettere di B. (J. Broukhusii, *Epistolae selectae* [Groningae, 1889] e J. Broukhusii, *Ad Petrum Burmannum epistolae* [Groningae, 1893] è autore della più completa ricostruzione della vita e dell'opera di B. che possediamo: "Jan van Brokehuizen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 10 (1891): 40–113.

[12] A quanto ci risulta, recentemente solo H. Hofman ha dedicato qualche attenzione a Broekhuizen nel suo articolo "Cornelius van Ackel und sein neulateinischer Freundeskreis im Holland des ausgehenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 35 (1986): 169–218.

[13] Questi, che fu direttore di quel ginnasio dal 1635 al 1670, non va confuso col suo omonimo celebre conterraneo, storico, e filologo del sedicesimo secolo.

[14] Questo fatto è attestato da tutti i biografi più antichi, anche da chi, come Petrus Burmannus, era stato amico e discepolo di Broukhusius. Lo scetticismo di Worp, pertanto, che afferma che, stando alle prove che si possiedono, l'amicizia tra i due non si può far risalire più indietro del 1672 (Worp, "Jan van Broekhuizen," 43, n. 4), mi sembra eccessivo.

neolatino,[15] egli è noto per i suoi scritti di retorica ed oratoria. E intrattenne una fitta corrispondenza con studiosi di varii paesi.[16]

E veniamo a Janus Broukhusius (Amsterdam 1649–Amstelveen 1707), che, essendo orfano ... lasciato il ginnasio di Amsterdam, non poté continuare gli studi, ma, dopo un periodo di apprendistato in una farmacia, abbracciò la carriera delle armi. Questa lo portò non solo in varie città dei Paesi Bassi, ma, durante la guerra contro la Francia, al seguito della flotta delle Provincie Unite, addirittura fin nei mari del nuovo mondo. Dopo molto peregrinare, e un grave episodio che gli fece rischiare la pena di morte per aver partecipato a un duello conclusosi tragicamente, egli trovò finalmente la tranquillità necessaria per dedicarsi ai suoi studi prediletti, quando, prima fu assegnato fisso per due anni a Utrecht, poi, ottenne il comando di una compagnia ad Amsterdam, dove rimase fino a quando, andato in pensione dopo la pace di Rijswijck (1697), si ritirò nella campagna vicina, ad Amstelveen, dove anche morì e volle essere sepolto. Il frutto degli anni di quiete furono, non solo la raccolta delle poesie latine scritte nei turbolenti anni precedenti,[17] ma le edizioni di alcuni poeti latini recenti, e le edizioni di Properzio e di Tibullo, alle quali è legato il suo nome come filologo. Anche egli corrispose con varii studiosi.[18]

A richiamare la nostra attenzione di studiosi di Pufendorf su questi due poeti è stato il casuale ritrovamento, nella biblioteca universitaria di Lund, in Svezia, della raccolta funeraria pubblicata alla morte di Pufendorf.[19] Quel che in essa colpisce è che tra le voci di ambiente berlinese o svedese che, piuttosto prevedibilmente, si levarono a celebrare la morte dello storiografo e consigliere di corte di Svezia e Brandenburgo, come uniche voci estranee a questo ambiente, spiccano proprio quelle dei due poeti di Amsterdam, che contribuirono alla celebrazione con una poesia ciascuno.[20] Ora,

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[15] Petri Francii, *Poemata ad Celsissimum Principem Ferdinandum, Paderbornensem ac Monasteriensem Episcopum* (Amstelaedami, 1682) *ed. secunda auctior ... Acc. Graeca eiusdem carmina* (Amstelaedami, 1697).

[16] Un'importante collezione di lettere scritte da personaggi illustri a Francius, fra le quali spiccano le lettere di N. Heinsius e di J. G. Graevius, fu pubblicata subito dopo la sua morte in Petri Francii, *Posthuma. Quibus accedunt illustrium Eruditorum ad eundem Epistolae* (Amstelaedami, 1706).

[17] Jani Broukhusii, *Carmina* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1684). Una seconda edizione molto ampliata, ma che esclude le traduzioni dall'*Anthologia* greca, che invece figurano nella prima, fu curata dal suo discepolo ed amico D. Hoogstratanus, *Poemata libri sedecim* (Amstelaedami, 1711).

[18] Una buona idea dell'epistolario di B. è fornita dalle due edizioni di lettere curate da Worp (cf. n. 11). Si noti, tuttavia, che Worp curò una *selezione* di lettere. Solo di lettere a Graevius, infatti, a Kopenhagen (Thott. 1259 4°) sono conservate 56 lettere, che coprono un arco di tempo che va dal giugno 1676 al febbraio 1702.

[19] Questa non ha non titolo cumulativo, ma si apre con la *Leich-Predigt* di Ph. J. Spener (tenuta in ricordo di P. l'11 novembre 1694 su Rom. 14.7–8 nella Nicholaikirche), che ci era già nota per essere stata raccolta in Spener, *Leich-Predigt* 6. Abt. (Frankfurt am M, 1696).

[20] Le due poesie figurano, nella raccolta funeraria, insieme a una del professore di *ius na-*

perché gliunici non tedeschi (se si prescinde) che celebrarono la morte del pensatore sassone furono due poeti olandesi? Che cosa aveva a che fare Pufendorf con questi personaggi? In effetti, a noi, suoi studiosi, quei due nomi non erano del tutto sconosciuti: li avevamo incontrati tra i libri della sua biblioteca, tra i quali figurano, infatti, le raccolte giovanili delle poesie latine di entrambi i poeti.[21] Il legame tra Pufendorf e i due letterati non doveva essere quindi un legame stabilito a posteriori da terzi dopo la morte del giusnaturalista, ma doveva essere una relazione allacciatasi già durante la sua vita. Di ciò ci saremmo d'altronde resi conto anche indipendentemente dalla biblioteca, se avessimo prestato la dovuta attenzione a un particolare, al quale noi studiosi del pensiero di un autore siamo, a torto, poco sensibili: vale a dire le poesie dedicatorie che ornano le opere del nostro autore. Ci saremmo accorti, allora, che nei *Commentarii de rebus Suecicis* figurano, tra le altre, poesie di Francius e di Broukhusius. Ad esse siamo, tuttavia, risaliti comunque, dalle raccolte delle poesie latine dei due autori, nelle cui seconde edizioni figurano sia le poesie in morte di Pufendorf, che quelle che ornano la storia svedese.[22]

Francius e Broukhusius sono stati dunque, se così si può dire, i cantori ufficiali di Pufendorf. Per quale tramite questi sia entrato in contatto con quelli non è difficile immaginare, e ne abbiamo, d'altra parte, le prove. È noto, infatti, come il professore di Utrecht J. G. Graevius, conosciuto, oltre che per i suoi lavori filologici, anche per l'imponente corrispondenza che intrattene con studiosi di ogni nazione, fosse sia corrispondente e amico di Pufendorf, che intimo amico di Francius e Broukhusius.[23] Ed infatti, in mancanza di lettere di Pufendorf ai due poeti o di questi a quello, è proprio nella corrispondenza di Graevius che troviamo alcune significative tracce delle vicende che portarono alla pubblicazione delle poesie che ornano la storia svedese. Dalla corrispondenza di Pufendorf con Graevius si deduce, infatti, che

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turae et gentium di Giessen, J. R. Hedinger, nella sezione che reca il titolo *Viri illustris Samuelis Pufendorfii . . . Memoriae Sacrum* (Berolini, Typis Viduae Salfeldianae): esse recano entrambe la data Amstelodami, Kal. Decembr. 1694.

[21] *Catalogus bibliothaecae illustris, selectissimis varii generis atque idiomatis libris refertae, cuius auctio consueta lege habebitur Berolini die 20. Sept. et seqq. in Aedibus Koenigianis in Platea, cui S. Georgius nomen dedit, vulgo St. Georgen-strasse, singulis diebus ab hora secunda pomeridiana* (1697). (Di questo catalogo, rarissimo, chi scrive sta preparando una nuova edizione.) Ivi Francii, *Poemata*, tra gli in-8° no. 20; Broukhusii, *Carmina*, tra gli in-8° no. 204.

[22] Nella 2 ed. dei *Poemata* di Francius (cf. n. 15), la poesia in morte figura tra le *Odi*, 350–51, quella sulla storia svedese tra gli *Epigrammata*, 434–35. Nella ed. dei *Poemata* di Broukhusius a cura di Hoogstratanus (cf. n. 17), la poesia sulla storia svedese si trova in *Epigrammatum liber secundus*, 230, quella in morte nella sezione *Brandeburgica*, 376.

[23] Su questo tedesco che, divenuto allievo in Olanda di J. F. Gronovius, rimase per il resto della sua vita in questo paese, vedi la bella commemorazione di Petrus Burmannus, *Oratio funebris in obitum viri clarissimi J. G. Graevii . . . dicta XI. Kal martias 1703* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1703), ristampata in Graevii, *Praefationes et epistolae*, 549–622; K. Burmann, *Trajectum eruditum* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1738), 112–23; Paquot, *Memoires* 10:369–448; *Nieuw nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, 4:669–70.

il professore di Utrecht fu fortemente corresponsabilizzato nella pubblicazione della storia svedese. Tra i varii ufficii che Pufendorf chiese a Graevius in relazione alla pubblicazione della sua storia, c'è anche la richiesta di poesie che la adornassero. Ma quando Pufendorf esprimeva questo desiderio, Heinsius era morto già da alcuni mesi,[24] sicché Graevius non era in grado di esaudirlo. Fu dunque probabilmente come compensazione, che egli presentò a Pufendorf i suoi due amici di Amsterdam. Quasi sicuramente la presentazione avvenne di persona, perché Pufendorf fece, nell'estate del 1684, un viaggio in Olanda per risolvere la questione della pubblicazione della sua storia svedese. Questo viaggio ci è attestato dalla lettera che il teologo di Upsala Joannes Columbus scriveva al professore di Deventer Gisbert Cuperus il 6 maggio 1684.[25] Il primo, nell'aggiornare il secondo sulle ultime novità di terra svedese, diceva anche:

> D. Pufendorffium ad umbilicum perduxisse Historiam Rerum Suecicarum, in Germania post Excessum D. Gustavi Magni gestarum, eamque Amstelodami nunc imprimi typis, scis, opinor, jam ante. Ipse nuper scripsit, hac aestate se in Belgium ea de causa navigaturum.

E che il viaggio di P. sia poi effettivamente avvenuto, è confermato da un passo della prefazione dell'autore della traduzione olandese (Simon de Vries) della *Einleitung zur Geschichte*,[26] in cui si allude al fatto che Pufendorf "è stato nella nostra città [Utrecht] per portare all'editore una grossa opera latina [la storia svedese] che sta per uscire."

Il viaggio di P. in Olanda è dunque certo. Molto probabile, invece, che in occasione di questo viaggio egli sia entrato in contatto personalmente con Broukhusius e con Francius. Probabile, sia perché era questo il periodo in cui Broukhusius risiedeva stabilmente a Utrecht; sia perché ad un incontro con Francius ad Amsterdam sembra alludere lo stesso Pufendorf nella lettera a Graevius del 12 agosto 1685, in cui, dopo aver avvertito il suo corrispondente di aver inviato all'editore quel che gli amici avevano scritto im onore del suo libro, aggiunge: "Promiserat quoque Dn. Frantzius, Amsterdami, se aliquod additurum." Ci piace anzi immaginare che fu proprio in occasione di questo incontro personale che Pufendorf entrò in possesso delle raccolte delle poesie di Francius e di Broukhusius che figurano nella sua biblioteca: tanto più che la raccolta di Broukhusius era appena uscita e quella di Francius era relativamente recente.

Come che sia di ciò, nelle lettere di Graevius a Francius e di questi a quello possiamo seguire abbastanza bene le *demarches* del primo per assicura-

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[24] Heinsius era morto, infatti, il 7 ottobre 1681.

[25] La lettera, inedita, si trova in Den Haag, Kon. Bibl. 72 C 10, fol. 146.

[26] S. Pufendorf, *Inleyding tot de historien der voornaemste Rycken en Staten, welcke ter deeser tijd in Europa worden gevonden. In't Hooghduytsch beschreeven van S. Pufendorff, en vertaeldt door S. De Vries* (Utrecht, Johannes Ribbius, 1686), *Aan de Leesers*, 10 (non numerata).

re alla storia pufendorfiana i versi celebrativi dei suoi due amici. Così, infatti, scrive Graevius a Francius nella lettera del 18 settembre 1685, riferendosi, forse, alla lettera sopracitata di Pufendorf del 12 agosto:

> Pufendorfius tibi salutem dicit et de carmine promisso aurem tibi velli a me voluit. Paucos intra dies eius Historia lucem adspiciet.[27]

E poiché il parto poetico di Francius tardava ad arrivare e la storia svedese era quasi pronta, così lo incalzava ancora l' 11 ottobre 1685:

> Interea carceres mordent commentarii rerum Suecicarum Pufendorfii. Fidem ne datam liberabis? Meam sane ut liberem hoc epigramma effudi....[28] Si tu et Broekhusius volueritis vestris carminibus hoc opus illustrare, Pufendorfium vobis devincietis.[29]

Quest'ultimo appello aveva finalmente effetto, perché Francius rispondeva il 28 ottobre 1685 così:

> Litteris tuis respondissem jamdudum, si Broukhusium nostrum offendissem. Confecit is tandem carmen, uti et ego. Sed cum oden aliquam animo concepissem, qua Maximi principis res gestas decantarem pleno ore, vidi sub finem libri IV desinere eius historiam: quare Epigramma coepi conscribere, hoc quod vides: cum vero parum conveniens esse videretur magnam illam Musarum olim fautricem negligere ac praeterire illaudatam, confeci alterum Epigramma, addidi tertium ne regem hodiernum offenderem, dignissimum utriusque successorem. Tu quid de singulis ac universis judicaturus sis a te expectabo. Tuum Epigramma graecum....

Gli epigrammi arrivarono effettivamente a Graevius che così ringraziava Francius il 26 ottobre/5 novembre 1685:[30]

> Epigrammata tua mirifice mihi placuerunt, eaque ut et Broeckusii nos-

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[27] Francii, *Posthuma*, 371 (ma si noti che lo stesso *corpus* di lettere di Graevius a Francius è ripubblicato in Graevii, *Praefationes et epistolae*).

[28] Segue la prima versione dell'epigramma greco per la storia svedese di P. con l'esposizione di alcuni dubbi riguardanti certi versi e la richiesta di un parere di Francius, che questi dette, molto diffusamente, nella lettera seguente. Questo parere fu di nuovo ampiamente commentato da Graevius in una passo della lettera del 26.10 = 5.11, che segue quello citato più sotto nel testo. Queste tre lettere prese insieme, quindi, offrono uno spunto interessante per gli studiosi di letteratura neogreca.

[29] Francii, *Posthuma*, 371–72.

[30] É solo, infatti, presupponendo che Graevius stia usando il calendario giuliano e Francius quello gregoriano che si riescono a conciliare le date della corrispodenza. Ma poiché stiamo parlando di date, si noti che la precedente lettera di Francius e questa di Graevius dimostrano che il 28 ottobre la poesia di Broukhusius era già composta. Se ne deduce, pertanto, che la data del 30 ottobre 1685 attribuita a questa poesia, sulla base del manoscritto di Leiden (che, infatti, reca questa data) da Worp, "Jan van Broekhuizen," 105, è inesatta.

> tri tradidi typographo. Cum typis describentur iussi ultimum specimen mihi recensendum offeri.

Immediatamente dopo, tuttavia, Graevius dovette cambiare opinione sull'opportunità che nelle due poesie venisse menzionato il presente re di Svezia, e dovette consigliare, in una lettera che noi non possediamo, di togliere, in entrambe, la parte riguardante Carolus. Lo deduciamo dalla risposta di Francius, che il 7 novembre 1685 affermava:

> Recte admonuisti tertium Epigramma non debere adiungi, quoniam huius regis historiam peculiari volumine complexurus est auctor.[31] Suum Epigramma mutavit Broukhusius, quod hic adjectum vides.[32]

Avuto quindi il "via libera" dagli autori, Graevius provvide effettivamente a fare le correzioni proposte, dandone coscienziosamente notizia al suo interlocutore: così infatti avvertiva il 29 ottobre/8 novembre 1685:

> Tertium epigramma tuum recidi et Broekhusii uti iusserat emendavi, quem saluere jubeo.[33]

In che cosa consistessero questa "rescissione" e questa "emendazione" siamo così fortunati da poterlo dire con esattezza confrontando le poesie di Francius e di Broukhusius quali appaiono nei *Commentarii* e quali figurano nelle raccolte dei due autori. Per quanto riguarda Francius, infatti, mentre nei *Commentarii* compaiono solo due epigrammi, nella seconda edizione dei *Poemata*, invece, sono raccolti tre epigrammi: i due dei *Commentarii*, più un terzo dedicato a *Carolus* (quello che Graevius *recidit*). Quanto a Broukhusius, l'epigramma *in Pufendorfii Historiam Suecicam* che figura nell'edizione postuma dei *Poemata* è di sedici versi, mentre quello che adorna i *Commentarii* è di quattordici versi, perché i vv. 9–12 del primo, che facevano riferimento a *Carolus*, sono stati sostituiti, nel secondo, da due versi in cui si continua, invece, a parlare di Cristina (certamente il luogo che Graevius *emendavit*). L'impegno di Graevius riguardo alle due poesie celebrative della storia svedese si dovette concludere con l'invio di queste e della propria a Pufendorf, perché questi risponde, in una lettera non datata, ma che, da quanto si è visto, deve essere posteriore all'8 novembre 1685:

> Pro Carmine Tuo gratias ago, idemque ut meo nomine apud Dn. Francium et Broukhuisium facias, uti alloquendi eos fuerit occasio, rogo.

Se ora, dalle poesie riguardanti la storia svedese passiamo a quelle in

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[31] In realtà, come è noto, P. non scrisse mai la storia di Carlo XI (il *re presente* di cui qui è questione), ma arrivò solo a comporre la storia di Carlo X Gustavo. Vero è, però, che originariamente il progetto di P. era proprio quello di scrivere una storia del presente re di Svezia.

[32] Lettera 54 delle lettere conservate a Kopenhagen.

[33] Francii, *Posthuma*, 373.

morte, vediamo che, se per ricostruire le vicende di composizione delle prime la corrispondenza di Graevius è risultata preziosa, essa non ci offre invece alcuna indicazione per quanto riguarda le seconde. Né nelle lettere di Graevius a Francius e a Broukhusius scritte immediatamente dopo la morte di Pufendorf, né in quelle del medesimo periodo dei due poeti a lui, Pufendorf viene mai nominato. Tuttavia, se non nella corrispondenza di Graevius, è stato sempre in questo giro di persone, vale a dire nella corrispondenza di Broukhusius, che abbiamo trovato un'indicazione. Ma torniamo un momento alla raccolta funeraria. In questa, a differenza che nei *Commentarii*, non figura una poesia dello stesso Graevius. Tuttavia, il suo nome vi compare egualmente: come destinatario di un *Elogium Viri Summi Samuelis Bar. de Pufendorf scriptum a J. F. C.* Anche qui, l'esperto di Pufendorf e della sua biblioteca non ha difficoltà a riconoscere in queste iniziali quelle di Johann Friedrich Cramer, autore della traduzione latina della *Einleitung*,[34] nonché di un eloquente giudizio critico dei *Commentarii de rebus gestis Friderici Wilhelmi Magni* (1695).[35] Con quelle stesse iniziali, d'altronde, questi firmava quelle *Vindiciae nominis Germanici contra quosdam obtrectatores Gallos*,[36] che, guarda caso, figurano nella biblioteca di Pufendorf,[37] e furono anche esse ornate dalle poesie di Francius e Broukhusius.[38] Ma qui Cramer non ci interessa né come traduttore, né come autore, bensì come tramite tra Pufendorf e i due poeti di Amsterdam. Egli, infatti, soggiornò a lungo in Olanda come uomo di fiducia del primo ministero della corte di Brandenburgo Eberhard von Danckelman; qui strinse amicizia con Graevius e con i due poeti, e fu soprattutto per suo tramite che vennero procurate molte delle poesie di Francius e di Broukhusius dedicate a fatti e uomini della corte di Brandenburgo.[39] Già questo potrebbe bastare a dedurre che fu lui, questa volta, e

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[34] S. Pufendorf, *Introductio ad historiam praecipuorum regnorum et statuum mo. in Europa, latine donata a Jo. Frid. Cramero* (Frankfurt am Main, 1687). Questa traduzione fu recensita piuttosto criticamente in *Bibl. univ. et Hist.* 8 (1688): 249–56. Ad essa P. rispose nella seconda delle *Epistolae duae super censura in Ephemeridibus Eruditorum Parisiensibus et Bibliotheca universali de quibusdam suorum scriptorum locis lata ad Dn. L. Adamum Rechenbergium*, Lipsiae 1688.

[35] Questa interessante e articolata critica della pufendorfiana storia del Grande Elettore, presentata nell'anno 1700 alla corte di Brandenburgo, edita da Io. Car. Conr. Oelrichs, *Ad Commentationem De Historiographis Brandenburgicis Supplementum* (Berolini, 1752), 25–44, meriterebbe di essere studiata con attenzione.

[36] Il libello uscì nel medesimo anno 1694 a Berlin in-f° presso J. M. Rudiger e ad Amsterdam in-8° presso H. Wetstenius. Esso è diretto contro gli anonimi (in realtà del gesuita Dominique Bouhours) *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (1671), ai quali aveva già risposto lo pseudo Cleante [= Jean Barbier d'Aucour] nei *Sentimens de Cleante sur les entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (1672).

[37] Tra gli in-f° no. 81.

[38] Le poesie, che compaiono nell'ed. in-8°, ma non in quella in-f°, furono lì pubblicate anonime, ma vennero successivamente incluse nelle raccolte delle poesie dei due autori: la prima, in Francii, *Poemata*, 405–6, tra la *Silvae*; la seconda, in Broukhusii, *Poemata*, 168–71, tra gli *Hendecasyllabi*. Cramer aveva chiesto a Broukhusius il suo contributo, in quanto "germano," alla battaglia contro la presunzione francese, nella lettera datata Utrecht, 13 luglio 1694, pubblicata parzialmente in Worp e conservata a Leiden, UB: Pap 15.

[39] Questa funzione di tramite di Cramer, esercitata soprattutto per il suo "padrone" E.

non Graevius, a sollecitare l'intervento dei due poeti per un membro della corte di Brandenburgo quale era Pufendorf, se la certezza definitiva non ci venisse da una lettera dello stesso Cramer a Broukhusius, pubblicata in estratti da Worp.[40] Questa lettera è, per la parte concernente Pufendorf, molto più lunga e interessante di quel che si potesse dedurre dal breve cenno considerato degno di pubblicazione da Worp. Riporteremo quindi qui per intero questo brano, non solo perché esso è inedito e, per quanto ci risulta, completamente sconosciuto agli studiosi del giusnaturalista tedesco, ma perché esso contiene un'interessante critica dell'epigramma di Broukhusius in morte di Pufendorf, che ci offre il destro di gettare uno sguardo sulla sostanza di quelle poesie, delle cui circostanze esterne di composizione ci siamo occupati finora. Il passo concernente Pufendorf della lunga lettera di J. F. Cramer a Broukhusius scritta da Utrecht il 13 dicembre 1694, suona dunque così:

> Epigramma Tuum, quo pios manes Pufendorfi, viri, dum vixit, summi voluisti cohonestare, non mihi solum, sed etiam iis, qui harum elegantiarum sunt intelligentissimi vehementer placuit. Quid inficeti et inepti homines, qui intelligendo faciunt ut nihil intelligant, de eo sentiant, non magnopere laboramus. Fieri tamen potest, ut aliud genus hominum, qui coelum terrae miscent, istos Campos Elysios et illum Silii Italici occursum indigne ferant. Caussabuntur enim, uti solent nodum in scirpo quaerere, haec talia *paganismum* (Theologisce, ut vides, loquor) sapere et criminabuntur, videri Pufendorfium, hominem Christianum, eandem qua Ethnici sunt usi, fortunam experiri, postquam vitam cum morte commutavit. Sed istos mortales, quia nihil rectum esse putant, nisi quod ipsi faciunt, contemnere merito debemus. Nec enim, nisi per jocum, eiusmodi ineptias commemorare mihi libuit.
>
> Viduae Pufendorfiae, feminae primariae, significavi, Te, Vir nobilissime, tam pium officium manibus defuncti mariti praestitisse, qui sane nuncius acerbissimum illius dolorem increbiliter mitigabit: idque eo magis, quod tanti viri funus non nisi strepentes anseres, id est, miserrimi poetae, sunt prosecuti: quemadmodum ex aliis cognovi. Confido fore, ut celeberrimus Francius quoque datam fidem liberet, et si non homini, saltem literis, quibus, inaudito exemplo, summus in hoc viro hornando est habitus honos, monumentum ingenii sui ad memoriam posteritatis prodat.

Come può vedersi, da questo passo risulta chiaramente quale fosse la preoccupazione di Cramer a proposito della poesia in morte di Pufendorf di

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Danckelmann, risulta chiaramente dalle lettere a Broukhusius conservate a Leiden, risalenti allo stesso periodo di quella menzionata nella nota precedente. Si noti, inoltre, che un'intera sezione della raccolta postuma delle poesie latine di Broukhusius è intitolata *Brandeburgica.*

[40] Broukhusii, *Epistolae selectae*, ep. 103, 127.

Broukhusius. Questa, infatti, pone, secondo Cramer, un problema, giacché, se è vero che a quelli che capiscono qualcosa di poesia è piaciuta moltissimo e che di quelli privi di gusto, che capendo non capiscono nulla, possiamo disinteressarci,

> tuttavia può succedere che un altro tipo di uomini (quelli che confondono il cielo con la terra) prenderanno male quei Campi Elisii e quell'abbraccio di Silio Italico. Addurranno infatti come pretesto (giacché sogliono cercare il pel nell'uovo) che quelle immagini sanno di *paganesimo* (come vedi parlo dal punto di vista teologico) e biasimeranno che Pufendorf, un cristiano, venga presentato come andato incontro, dopo la morte, alla stessa sorte toccata ai Pagani.

Vero è che Cramer si affrettava ad affermare che "dobbiamo però disprezzare questa gente che non ritiene giusto altro che il proprio comportamento," e che egli non ha menzionato tali sciocchezze che per gioco; tuttavia resta chiaro che il "paganesimo" che spira dai versi di Broukhusius doveva preoccupare non poco un personaggio come Cramer, che stava facendo carriera nella corte di Brandeburgo. Non è anzi escluso che quel suo firmarsi con le sole iniziali sia stato proprio una conseguenza di quelle preoccupazioni, rinforzate, crediamo noi, da una cert'aura di miscredenza che doveva aleggiare intorno a Broukhusius. Malgrado, infatti, tutti i suoi biografi facciano a gara nel sottolineare la *pietas* e gli interessi religiosi che caratterizzano gli ultimi anni del poeta (quelli del suo ritiro ad Amstelveen), proprio un'ammissione sfuggita al suo amico Burmann nell'atto stesso in cui anche lui evidenziava la devozione di Broukhusius, ci induce a pensare che le voci che correvano su di lui dovevano essere di segno del tutto opposto.[41] Fossero vere o no queste voci, resta il fatto che Broukhusius non si dette per inteso della preoccupazione del suo corrispondente e pubblicò l'epigramma tale e quale l'aveva concepito. Per fortuna, perché l'immagine imputata è forse l'invenzione migliore della poesia, quella che le dà tono, movimento e vivacità. Anzi, poiché abbiamo gettato uno sguardo sulla poesia, ci sia consentito fare qualche altra considerazione sul suo contenuto. Colpisce, in primo luogo, lo studioso di Pufendorf quella sua caratterizzazione come "sempre più maturo dei suoi anni." Non solo perché essa non corrisponde all'immagine del *Professor ridens* delineata dai suoi avversarii,[42] ma anche perché essa sembra presupporre una conoscenza di P. da giovane che non

[41] Così, infatti, si legge in Burmanni, *Oratio in Obitum Broukhusii*, 21: "Noscant temerarii illi judices et Magistri, qui in impiorum censum viros doctos et Poetas temere et impudenter referre non dubitant, si non, more rudis et insanae plebis, ad insulsas saepe et ineptas conciones quibus divina oracula indigne toties habentur, quotidie ruant; Broukhusium nullam unquam diem intermisisse, quo non ardentissimis precibus, supplicationibus et sacris domesticis, pacem divinam exorare et sibi conciliare tentaret."

[42] Così, ad es. Nikolaus Beckmann nel libello pubblicato con lo pseudonimo di Veridicus Constans, riportato in estratti in F. Palladini, *Discussioni seicentesche su S. Pufendorf*, 184–87.

si adatta con l'ipotesi avanzata sopra di un incontro avvenuto nel 1684, quando Pufendorf, cioè, aveva, già cinquantadue anni. Si tratta allora forse di un'immagine stereotipa (il saggio deve essere sempre più maturo della sua età)? Non sappiamo rispondere a questa domanda, anche se si noti che Broukhusius conosceva bene, oltre a Cramer, anche qualcun altro che era familiare a Pufendorf, e cioè quel Gottfried Thomasius, medico a Nürnberg, che aveva studiato in Olanda, si era stretto di amicizia con lui e con Graevius[43] e che pubblicherà, appena due anni dopo, un'altra opera storica di Pufendorf, l'ancora inedita storia di Carlo Gustavo.[44] E in effetti, le caratterizzazioni della personalità e dell'opera di P. che si danno nella poesia sono tutte piuttosto precise e calzanti: la lucidità è certamente una delle caratteristiche che più colpiscono il lettore di Pufendorf; che egli trattasse le gesta guerresche del tempo di guerra e il fondamento dei buoni costumi del tempo di pace corrisponde bene ai due aspetti principali della sua produzione (la storica e la giusnaturalistica); l'accenno alle cause della morte di Silius Italicus come simili a quelle della morte di Pufendorf dimostrano che il poeta conosceva la storia del callo estirpato;[45] il paragone con Livio dimostra che l'autore aveva almeno sentito dire che Pufendorf veniva considerato un novello Livio.[46] In conclusione, una poesia di cui non siamo competenti a valutare il valore poetico, ma che ci sembra molto ben riuscita nella capacità evocatica di un personaggio. Molto più riuscita, ad ogni modo, di quella sulla storia svedese, con i suoi pesanti traslati e con quelle caratterizzazioni stereotipe dei sovrani svedesi, buone per qualunque storia del loro regno.

Esattamente nella situazione opposta siamo, invece, a nostro parere, con le poesie di Francius. Mentre quella in morte non ha un barlume di originalità e si fa notare solo per l'attenzione con cui indica i vari campi di attività di Pufendorf;[47] i primi due epigrammi sulla storia svedese sono ispirati en-

[43] L'amicizia di Broukhusius con il fratello del più celebre Christian Thomasius attestata dalle due lettere di G. Thomasius a B. edite in estratti da Worp, conservate a Leiden UB, Pap 15. Per l'amicizia di G. Thomasius con Graevius, vedi la lettera di Graevius a Francius del 29. ottobre = 8. novembre 1685 in Francii, *Posthuma*, 373.

[44] S. Pufendorf, *De rebus a Carolo gustavo Sueciae Rege Gestis Commentariorum libri septem elegantissimis tabulis aeneis exornati cum triplici indice* (Norimbergae: Sumptibus Christophori Riegelii, 1696). L'opera è preceduta da una breve prefazione di G. Thomasius.

[45] In effetti, tutti i biografi di P. raccontano che egli morì per un'infezione sopravvenuta dopo che aveva tentato di estirpare un occhio di pernice dal piede. K. Varrentrapp, "Briefe von Pufendorf," *Historische Zeitschrift* 34 (1893): 230–31, ricostruendo le circostanze della sua morte in base al resoconto datone dalla stessa vedova, parla di un colpo apoplettico, della necessità di operarlo tagliandogli una gamba, della febbre e della morte sopravvenuta nove giorni dopo l'operazione. Come questo racconto si concilii con la storia del callo non riesco a capire, anche se, anche nella lettera della moglie di P. citata da Varrentrapp, 230 n. 1, si parla del "sangue che comincia a fermentare e che trova la sua via di uscita *aus dem lichtdorn*."

[46] Vedi, ad esempio, il giudizio di Chr. Gryphius, *Apparatus . . . de Scriptoribus historiam Seculi XVII. illustrantibus* (Leipzig, 1710), 70: "[Pufendorfius] ex monumentis fide dignis mira stili elegantia et perspicuitate, iudicioque simul solido res nobis Suecicas, et inter has maxime bellum Germanicum, velut alter Germanorum et Suecorum Livius, anno 1686 fol. Ultrajecti dedit."

[47] Francius, infatti, non si limita a ricordare il teorico del diritto e della morale e lo stori-

trambi da un'inventiva notevole. Quell'Alessandro che, come un tempo sospirò di invidia davanti alla tomba di Achille—che aveva avuto la fortuna di essere cantato da Omero—sospirerebbe ora di invidia davanti alla tomba di Gustavo Adolpho—che ha avuto la fortuna di essere immortalato da Pufendorf;[48] quella Venere dipinta da Apelle e quella Pallade/Cristina descritta con vivi colori da Pufendorf, l'una vittoriosa sul monte Ida, l'altra sulle giogaie nordiche, sono figure vivaci e aggraziate, in cui la lode iperbolica (Pufendorf novello Omero e novello Apelle) si piega nella grazia di un'invenzione felice.

Ma lasciando ai competenti, insieme al giudizio sul valore poetico delle composizioni di Francius e di Broukhusius in onore di Pufendorf, l'individuazione delle eventuali imitazioni classiche in esse ravvisabili, chiudiamo questo contributo notando che aveva perfettamente ragione Cramer ad affermare che, senza l'intervento dei due amici di Amsterdam, la morte di tanto uomo sarebbe stata celebrata da ben miseri cantori. In effetti, il tono della raccolta si eleva proprio grazie a quei pochi versi, sicché si può a buon diritto dire che questo fu l'ultimo dono che l'Olanda fece ad un pensatore che aveva mosso i suoi primi passi nel suo seno.

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co di Svezia e Brandenburgo, ma menziona anche la storia europea e la teoria degli interessi degli stati.

[48] L'episodio di Alessandro è tratto da Plut. *Ales.* 15.

Neo-Latin Drama and German Literary History

JAMES A. PARENTE, JR.

German literary scholars have always accorded a place to Neo-Latin drama in their national literary histories, but its role in early modern German intellectual life has yet to be fully and justly assessed. In contrast to the historians of most other European literatures, who have paid scant attention to Neo-Latin theater, Germanists have long been aware of the coexistence with the vernacular of an extensive Neo-Latin dramatic tradition, the largest in early modern Europe, and they have attempted, with varying degrees of success, to find an appropriate place for it in the literary past. The task has not been easy, for many aesthetic, political, and unabashedly nationalistic prejudices have obstructed the way. As a result, present-day knowledge of German Neo-Latin drama has advanced more bibliographically than analytically in the last one hundred years. There have, of course, been exceptions, as recent studies on Frischlin and Jesuit theater attest,[1] but for the most part, the enormous corpus of German Neo-Latin drama, some several hundred plays, lies unread, unedited, and inaccessible to all but the most determined and, alas, well-funded researchers.

Despite their limited familiarity with the subject, literary historians since the mid-nineteenth century have not hesitated to discuss Neo-Latin theater, categorize the various plays, and even to establish a canon of "great Neo-Latin playwrights." Such misguided undertakings are expected from earlier generations, but even the most recent handbooks still contain lingering traces of errors that originated over one hundred years ago. Scholars may know more now than before about Neo-Latin drama, but there is still a great deal that is not known correctly and a general inertia to rectify past mistakes.

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[1] See David Price, *The Political Dramaturgy of Nicodemus Frischlin: Essays on Humanist Drama in Germany* (Chapel Hill, 1990); Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande (1554–1680): Salut des âmes et ordre des cités*, 3 vols. (Berne, Frankfurt a. M., Las Vegas, 1978).

Because of the hasty and inaccurate way that Neo-Latin drama has been presented, scholars are in danger of forgetting much Benedictine and Augustinian drama, Catholic plays not written by clerics, the diversity of seventeenth-century Protestant Latin theater, and the socio-political complexity of much eighteenth-century Jesuit drama. Furthermore, to judge by the written evidence, Germanists still subscribe to convenient assumptions about Neo-Latin drama that hinder their ability to engage in accurate textual interpretation. They still believe, for example, that there is nothing inappropriate about viewing Netherlandic Neo-Latin drama as part of German literary history, that Neo-Latin drama was eventually displaced by the German-language plays of the seventeenth century, and, more seriously, that the great dramatic achievements of that century were somehow mysteriously influenced by preceding generations of Neo-Latin playwrights. Such self-aggrandizing conclusions are especially favored by Germanists who are also Neo-Latinists, perhaps in a hopeful effort to justify the hours spent combing libraries in forgotten centers of early modern Europe in search of neglected, but "historically significant," masterpieces.

I should like to explicate how the present-day perception, or more accurately, misperception, about Neo-Latin drama arose and suggest how it can best be ameliorated. Through an analysis of the main approaches that nineteenth- and twentieth-century literary historians have used in their discussions of Neo-Latin theater, I shall demonstrate the shortcomings of their exclusively literary treatment of the subject and the manner in which their individual aesthetic tastes have prejudiced their interpretations. Secondly, I shall suggest that the best way to emend these earlier literary-historical misjudgments is through a contextual methodology. By viewing Neo-Latin drama in light of the complex social, political, economic, and religious circumstances in which it was produced, the literary-historical segregation of Latin from vernacular culture can be eliminated and Neo-Latin theater will assume its rightful place as an integral part of early modern German culture.

Neo-Latin drama was never really forgotten; it was merely overshadowed by the ever-increasing quantity of German-language plays produced in the eighteenth century. Thanks to the bibliographic efforts of the indefatigable Enlightenment professor, Johann Christoph Gottsched, however, Neo-Latin theater was preserved from oblivion. In his *Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der deutschen dramatischen Dichtkunst* (1760; 1765), Gottsched listed several Neo-Latin plays alongside their German contemporaries as evidence for the extensive German theatrical tradition that rivalled other European lands.[2] This extremely informative work has not received much attention by Neo-Latinists, who have understandably turned to the more complete bibliogra-

[2] Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der deutschen dramatischen Dichtkunst* (Leipzig, 1757 [Part I]; 1765 [Part II]).

phy assembled by Karl Goedeke in the 1880s for a basic catalog of works and authors.[3] But Gottsched deserves recognition, for he is responsible not only for ensuring Neo-Latin drama a place in the German theatrical canon, but also for determining what texts belong there.

Gottsched's list is far from complete, for he had only limited access to libraries and he desired to cite only those books that he had personally examined. Nonetheless, his two editions contained much new information: a reprint of Reuchlin's *Henno*, references to such diverse authors as Betulius (Birck), Frischlin, Daniel Cramer, Christoph Bachmannus, Caspar Brulovius, Johann Micraelius and several others. Some of Gottsched's listings, such as Andreas Seulenbergus (*Bironius*, Liegnitz, 1653) and Philipp Lud. Hannelecnius (*Constantius Sophus*, Giessen, 1658) have even been completely forgotten by twentieth-century catalogers.

What is especially noteworthy is that Gottsched established two literary-historical traditions that have continued into the present. First, he includes Dutch Neo-Latin dramatists in his catalog: Latin editions, as well as German translations, of Macropedius, Zovitius, Papeus, and Narssius are cited. Gottsched defends this unusual practice by claiming that in the Renaissance the German and Dutch peoples were practically inseparable.[4] Secondly, Gottsched does not list any work by a Jesuit or Benedictine writer. Such an omission is hardly surprising, for Gottsched's catalog is based for the most part on texts from Saxon libraries, especially Zwickau. But his exclusion of what would later become known as *Ordenstheater* set the precedent for the subsequent segregation of German Neo-Latin theater from Jesuit and Benedictine drama and the consequent marginalization of *Ordenstheater* in the German literary canon.

Gottsched's treatment of Neo-Latin drama as part of German theater history and the coequal of vernacular plays did not continue in the nineteenth century. As fervent believers in a *German-language* tradition, the two prominent literary historians of that era, Georg Gervinus and Wilhelm Scherer, had only a peripheral interest in Neo-Latin theater. The few playwrights they do discuss, Reuchlin, Naogeorgus, Frischlin, and the writers associated with the Strasbourg academy, either produced works in both Latin and German or were translated into German by their contemporaries. Gervinus and Scherer never cite directly from the Latin texts, and it is doubtful that they were familiar with them. This is especially true for Gervinus, who, unlike Scherer, was an autodidact and not the product of the *klassistische Gymnasium*. Gervinus, in fact, only mentions translated texts and admits that he was unable to work with the original Latin versions.[5]

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[3] Karl Goedeke, *Grundri ß zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 2nd ed. (Dresden, 1886), 2:131–46.

[4] Gottsched, sig.)(7v.

[5] Gervinus declines to discuss Naogeorgus's *Incendia* since no German translation was

The roots of such linguistic chauvinism lay in Gervinus's and Scherer's firm belief that a nation's identity, indeed the soul of its writers, could only be expressed in the vernacular. Latin language literature was regarded as the product of a learned, classically-trained group of humanists, who purposely looked with disdain upon the German language and the *Volk*. For Gervinus and Scherer, the true heroes were authors such as Ulrich von Hutten, who had dispensed with Latin to reach a broader audience, and Protestant school dramatists like Wolfhart Spangenberg, who melded the form of Greco-Roman theater with the German language.[6] Gervinus and Scherer interpreted the sixteenth century as the triumphant age of *Volksliteratur*, a period when great literary works were no longer produced by scholars but rather populist writers such as Hans Sachs and Jacob Ayrer. Such a view did not allow for the coexistence of an elitist Latin *respublica litteraria*. For Gervinus and Scherer, had it not been for the destruction wrought by the Thirty Years War, this promising sixteenth-century trend towards the development of a populist "Nationalgeschmack" could have resulted in the creation of a true Renaissance theater of the people, as had occurred in Elizabethan England, rather than in the sterile artificiality of the Gryphius and Lohenstein.[7]

With this populist orientation, it is surprising that Neo-Latin playwrights are presented favorably at all. To a certain extent, as Günter Hess has pointed out,[8] Gervinus and Scherer, despite their unwillingness, were often obliged to deal with certain Neo-Latin authors. Writers such as Ulrich von Hutten who were appreciated by later generations of German poets had to be accorded an important place. The inclusion of certain Neo-Latin playwrights was likewise necessitated by circumstances. First, they enabled Gervinus and Scherer to discuss those aspects of German theater history, such as early humanist drama, for which there were few, if any, vernacular examples. Secondly, they served as further evidence of the greatness that German drama could have attained had these Neo-Latin playwrights elected to write in the vernacular.

Both of these reasons informed Gervinus's and Scherer's presentation of sixteenth-century Neo-Latin drama. The Neo-Latin playwrights discussed were chosen to represent three different types of theater: Reuchlin exemplified early humanist drama; Naogeorgus, Reformation polemical theater; and Frischlin, late humanist drama. In each instance, any aesthetically pleasing element of these playwrights' works is attributed to their identity as Ger-

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available: Georg Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 4th ed., 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1853–74), 3:81.

[6] Gervinus, 3:80–81; Wilhelm Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Berlin, 1929), 348–49.

[7] Gervinus, 3:75; Scherer, 350.

[8] Günter Hess, "Deutsche Literaturgeschichte und neulateinische Literatur: Aspekte einer gestörten Rezeption," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis (1973)*, ed. P. Tuynman et al. (Munich, 1979), 500.

mans. Reuchlin's *Henno* was considered a great success since, so Gervinus erroneously believed, the plot was "durchaus deutsch."[9] Scherer ascribed the effectiveness of Naogeorgus's polemical play, *Pammachius*, to its German Reformation plot and to the author's manly nature, a quality associated with patriotism.[10] And both Gervinus and Scherer agreed that the national pride and anti-aristocratic leanings of Frischlin, as evidenced by his drama *Julius Redivivus* and the oft-cited oration *De vita rustica*, established him as the major comic dramatist of the late sixteenth century.[11] In the case of Naogeorgus and Frischlin, Gervinus accompanied his praise with lamentations about the literary fame that awaited such talented writers if they had only written in German. Furthermore, he observed that had Naogeorgus and Frischlin written in the unpolished German idiom of the sixteenth century, they could have made up for the loss of Latin *eloquentia* by speaking more sincerely in German, the true language of their hearts.[12]

Gervinus and Scherer do not extend their discussion of Neo-Latin theater into the seventeenth century. Both writers knew from Gottsched's *Nöthiger Vorrath*, if not elsewhere, about the Strasbourg academic playwrights, Andreas Saurius, Johannes Paulus Crusius, and Caspar Brulovius, and the prolific Pomeranian historical dramatist Johannes Micraelius, who, like many of their sixteenth-century heroes, wrote his later works in the vernacular, but all of these authors are merely cited in passing. Because of their North German, Protestant orientation, Jesuit drama is rarely mentioned, and no Jesuit playwright is actually examined. Indeed, Gervinus's and Scherer's interpretation of seventeenth-century German-language literature as insincere, artificial, and politically regressive, (i.e., aristocratic rather than popular) ensured that Neo-Latin drama, for which both critics had little liking, was either seen as further evidence of artistic decadence or consigned to oblivion.

The sixteenth-century focus of Gervinus and Scherer has remained the standard literary-historical approach to Neo-Latin theater. To be sure, the boundaries of this century have frequently been extended at both ends to include writers such as Kerckmeister, Reuchlin, and Locher in the late fifteenth century and the Strasbourg academic playwrights whose best works appeared in the 1600s and 1610s. In more recent literary histories, such as the volumes assembled by Hans Rupprich and Richard Newald in the late 1960s and early 1970s for Helmut de Boor's and Newald's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, one still finds the subject divided into the three areas first selected by Gervinus and Scherer: early humanism, Reformation drama, and late humanism.[13] A separate section on *Ordenstheater*, chiefly Jesuit

[9] Gervinus, 2:343.

[10] Scherer, 345.

[11] Gervinus 3:84; Scherer, 345–46.

[12] Gervinus, 3:80–85.

[13] Hans Rupprich, *Die deutsche Literatur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock, Zweiter Teil: Das*

drama, is now traditionally appended as a result of the ever-growing body of research in that field. But whereas nineteenth-century historians had been restrained by linguistic chauvinism from analyzing Neo-Latin theater in detail, these recent presentations of the topic are burdened by hasty aesthetic judgements, incomplete data, and an impatience to formulate conclusions.

These failings are especially apparent in Hans-Gert Roloff's long encyclopedia article on Neo-Latin theater, written in the early 1960s, for the *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*.[14] Roloff's essay was the first substantial treatment of the topic, and it remains an invaluable bibliographic guide. But like many Neo-Latinists in the 1960s (and even today), Roloff possessed a pioneering spirit, and his enthusiasm for the subject led him to devise an interpretation of Neo-Latin drama for which there is little historical evidence.

Roloff's zeal for his topic caused him to legitimize the study of this hitherto arcane field for Germanists by suggesting that Neo-Latin theater occupied a central place in the history of German drama between the Middle Ages and the modern period. He rightly adduces numerous motifs, dramatic structures, and characterizations from late medieval vernacular theater to demonstrate how the otherwise classically-trained humanists incorporated this earlier tradition into their works. At the same time, however, he suggests that Neo-Latin drama influenced the structure, themes, and characterizations of later German-language plays.[15] Unfortunately, Roloff does not provide sufficient data to support this assertion other than the usual references to those Neo-Latin plays that were translated into the vernacular. But this politically correct stand for a Germanist demands proof for it raises many more questions than it answers.

Direct connections between Neo-Latin and vernacular theater are extremely difficult to prove. How does one distinguish, for example, between the structural, linguistic, and stylistic influence of contemporary Neo-Latin drama and the more profound effect of Greco-Roman theater on vernacular, humanist-trained playwrights? How can one attest that Neo-Latin drama served as a mediator of vernacular forms and topoi to later German-language playwrights when these same writers could have picked up these motifs directly from the vernacular source? How can one explain the way in which Neo-Latin drama influenced later vernacular plays when many seventeenth-century German-language plays were informed by other national theater traditions? Do Germanists, in fact, need to deal with Neo-Latin drama at all, other than out of a tacit obligation towards com-

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Zeitalter der Reformation, 1520–1570 (Munich, 1973), 348–91; Richard Newald, *Die deutsche Literatur vom Späthumanismus zur Empfindsamkeit, 1570–1750*, 6th ed. (Munich: Beck, 1967), 77–104.

[14] Hans-Gert Roloff, "Neulateinisches Drama," in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., ed. W. Kohlschmidt & W. Mohr (Berlin, 1965), 2:645–78.

[15] Roloff, 645.

pleteness, when speaking of the historical development of early modern theater?

Obviously Roloff could not deal with such complex issues within the macroliterary confines of an encyclopedia article. Clearly, too, many Neo-Latin plays are distinctly different from their Roman models, Terence, Plautus, and Seneca, because of their moralistic, religious orientation and a few structural innovations, such as the use of a chorus in comedy. But other than the few instances when a Neo-Latin play was adapted by a German-language writer, the influence of Neo-Latin theater on vernacular drama has yet to be adequately proven. On the contrary, the evidence suggests the opposite: vernacular theater was often a major source of inspiration for a Neo-Latin dramatist. As the sixteenth century progressed, many Neo-Latin playwrights adapted vernacular motifs from both German and other European literatures or reworked earlier Neo-Latin dramatic material. Hardly any Neo-Latin playwright from Reuchlin, Naogeorgus, and Frischlin to Daniel Cramer, Martin Hayneccius, and numerous Jesuit dramatists remained untouched by contemporary vernacular and Neo-Latin literary practices.[16] Neo-Latin dramatists formed their own literary tradition through a combination of vernacular and classical motifs: the use of the former reflected their indebtedness to their own native culture, while the latter secured them a place in the international *respublica litteraria*. Present-day evidence points more towards a symbiotic relationship between contemporary vernacular and Neo-Latin drama rather than a sequential, teleological development from Neo-Latin towards the vernacular.

Such issues are far too broad to be treated at length here. Other corroborative factors need to be considered before a definite conclusion can be reached, e.g., the relative scarcity and small print runs of many Neo-Latin plays guaranteeing that these works would have only a minimal influence on vernacular or Latin writers elsewhere. What is more important is that Roloff's ascription of a major literary-historical role to Neo-Latin theater significantly affected his arrangement and interpretation of the material and led to several inaccuracies.

Using the familiar natural-cycle metaphor, Roloff stated that in the course of the sixteenth century, Neo-Latin drama developed from a simple humanist seed to a mature neoclassical genre. In the latter stage around 1600, the full flowering of Neo-Latin theater took place with the revival of ancient Greek tragedy in Strasbourg, the triumph of Senecan closet drama in the plays of Hugo Grotius and Theodorus Rhodius, and the blossoming of secular satire with Frischlin, Fridericus Flayderus, and Johann Andreae.

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[16] Reuchlin's *Henno* was inspired by the fifteenth-century French farce, *Maître Pathelin*; Naogeorgus introduced the devils from late medieval Passion plays into his *Pammachius*; Frischlin and Hayneccius wrote plays in both Latin and the vernacular, Cramer dramatized medieval legends, and the Jesuit Jacob Bidermann imitated both late medieval vernacular drama and contemporary Latin theater.

After this brief Golden Age, the argument continues, Neo-Latin drama entered a rapid period of decline, especially after the closing of the Strasbourg academy in 1621; and with the exception of a few seventeenth-century Jesuit texts, later Latin plays attest to this artistic decadence.[17]

This aesthetic superstructure is specifically designed to suggest that Neo-Latin drama disappeared from the literary scene just when German writers, under the influence of Martin Opitz and the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, were beginning to create their own vernacular theater to vie with the late Renaissance plays of other European lands. Such a view not only continues the nineteenth-century Protestant, vernacular approach to the German literary canon, but also does a grave injustice to the accomplished seventeenth-century Neo-Latin plays written by Protestants, such as Johann Lauremberg, Johannes Micraelius, and Johann Ludwig Prasch elsewhere in the Empire.

It is always easy to criticize an article written over twenty-five years ago for its inaccuracies and old-fashioned methodology. But such criticism is warranted when its faulty aesthetic judgements and conclusions still prevail. Roloff's arguments have reappeared as late as 1980 in Rolf Tarot's essay, "Schuldrama und Jesuitentheater," in the *Handbuch des deutschen Dramas*.[18] The time has come to refrain from restating the premature opinions of earlier generations and to start reading the texts. If one were to study, for example, eighteenth-century Jesuit theater, as Karl-Heinz Habersetzer recently started to do,[19] one would discover the sophisticated political tragedies of Franz Neumayr and Andreas Friz, whose dramas elegantly lay bare the afterlife of Counter-Reformation political theory in the Enlightenment and the close connection between neoclassical form and absolutist political theory. More importantly, it is imperative to dispense with the aesthetic preconceptions of the *Deutsche Klassik* concerning characterization, plot, and dramatic structure when reading these texts. German Baroque scholars have successfully been able to read Silesian *Kunstdrama* and other seventeenth-century German-language plays without such a naive perspective during the last twenty-five years, but due to linguistic prejudices, the study of Neo-Latin theater still lags far behind.

In conclusion, I should like to suggest how these literary-historical errors can best be amended. Neo-Latin drama suffered unjustly at the hands of earlier historians because of their belief that the literary aspects of a text determined its ultimate value. But Neo-Latin plays were rarely accomplished masterpieces, even by early modern standards, and their frequently mediocre quality consequently demands a different methodology.

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[17] Roloff, 670.

[18] Rolf Tarot, "Schuldrama und Jesuitentheater," in *Handbuch des deutschen Dramas*, ed. Walter Hinck (Düsseldorf, 1980), 35–47.

[19] Karl-Heinz Habersetzer, "Andreas Gryphius und Franz Neumayrs, S. J. *Papinianus* (1659–1733): Versuch einer rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Analyse," in *Deutsche Barockliteratur und europäische Kultur*, ed. M. Bircher & E. Mannack (Hamburg, 1977), 261–65.

Neo-Latin drama should be studied within the cultural historical context in which it was produced. It is essential to be well informed about the history of the schools in which the plays were written and performed, the nature of their curricula, and the social background and political, religious, and philosophical orientation of the dramatists and their intended audience. Additionally, since the schools were often intimately tied to particular cities or courts, the respective urban and court histories must be considered, as well as the relationship of these locales to the larger territorial state and the Empire as a whole. Finally, in addition to basic knowledge about Greco-Roman theater and its Renaissance reception, one must be familiar with the Neo-Latin and vernacular literary traditions in Germany and other European lands. In short, Neo-Latin drama must be regarded more as an intellectual-historical document rather than as a self-contained artistic entity.

The privileging of the cultural context of Neo-Latin theater will help contribute to this much-needed rewriting of early modern German literary history. The many inaccuracies of earlier literary-historical treatments of Neo-Latin drama demand such a revision. The vernacular did not arise at the expense of Neo-Latin writing but alongside it, and both languages formed the cultural matrix of early modern Germany. Each language appealed to, and was intended for, a particular audience, but the ideology that informed the composition of these texts was a singularly *German* response to a specific historical situation. For this reason, Neo-Latin literature should not be separated from the vernacular because of some alleged, yet-to-be-defined relationship to a supranational Latin literary tradition. Although the use of Latin made Neo-Latin drama accessible to an international audience, the plays themselves were discrete elements of a particular national culture. It is fallacious, therefore, to suggest, as German Neo-Latinists continue to do, that Netherlandic Neo-Latin theater was part of German Neo-Latin writing, for such an assertion denies the significance of the Netherlandic cultural context in which the works were written.[20]

Neo-Latinists are prone to secret longings for the utopia of the international *respublica litteraria*, sketched long ago by Erich Trunz, in which blissful scholars, enlightened by their reading of the ancients, communicated with each other from the repose of their studies through elegant Latin epistles and verses.[21] Such a dream is ostensibly fostered by the Latin orientation of these international congresses. But this segregation of Neo-Latin from contemporary vernacular culture only leads to its further marginalization in

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[20] The importance of the Netherlandic vernacular context for Georgius Macropedius has been well documented: e.g., F. Leys, "De Middelnederlandse klucht, de Romeinse komedie, de Bijbel en Georgius Macropedius: vier polen in Macropedius' *Andrisca*," *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal—en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 32 (1978): 139–54.

[21] E. Trunz, "Der deutsche Späthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur," in *Deutsche Barockforschung*, ed. Richard Alewyn (Cologne & Berlin, 1965), 147–81. Trunz's essay first appeared in 1931.

early modern studies. It is no longer necessary to promote Neo-Latin as a discipline, for that field has already been institutionalized by these congresses and the establishment of chairs in Neo-Latin at a few European universities. What Neo-Latinists must do, however, is to ensure that Neo-Latin studies reoccupy their rightful place as the coequal of the vernacular in the minds of early modern scholars, who, for better or for worse, have specialized in the national literature of a single land.

University of Minnesota

Oluf Borch, A Danish Anomalist

FRITZ S. PEDERSEN

On June 15, 1686, Oluf Borch, sixty years old, professor of philology and medicine at the University of Copenhagen, made the solemn speech for the promotion of Bachelors of Arts.[1] It was the tenth time he had done so, so to him the occasion would by then have been commonplace. So was the theme of the speech, "On the Study of Pure Latinity," admonishing young persons to keep their daily Latin, whether spoken or written, undefiled by barbarism. The treatment of that theme may not have been quite so commonplace. I quote a couple of passages:

> What the Arabic tongue is in Persia, and in the provinces of the once great Byzantine ruler, because of the veneration for Mohammed who wrote the Alcoran in that language; what the Malay tongue is in the Indies and the tropical isles, since the merchants know it for their Indian trade; this is what the Latin tongue is rightly deemed to be throughout Europe.... (*Stud*, 155)

Then again:

> ... For centuries, the Latin tongue has been extinct on its native soil. It is like a tree that has been cut down: it will never sprout again, and no new words can be grafted on it. It is content with keeping to the numerous books of the ancients for its strength and beauty.... (*Stud*, 171)

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[1] The substance of this talk is from my article, "Borch som sprogmand" in *Borchs Kollegium 1691–1991*, (Copenhagen 1991), 45–70. Abridgments used: (*Lex*): *De lexicorum latinorum jejunitate*, 1660.—(*Ling*): *Lingua pharmacopoeorum*, 1670.—(*Caus*): *De causis diversitatis lingvarum*, 1675.—(*Cog*): *Cogitationes de variis latinae lingvae aetatibus* ..., 1675.—(*Ana*): *Analecta ad cogitationes de lingvâ latinâ* ..., 1682.—(*Poët*): *Dissertationes academicae de poëtis ... 1676–1681* ..., 1683.—(*Stud*): "De studio latinitatis purae" (1686), in S. Lintrup, *Olai Borrichii dissertationes* ..., 1715, 2:145–96.

So, roughly, Latin is a dead language, in the sense that it cannot evolve: it rests on the authority of the ancient writers. Nevertheless it is the international means of communication, God's gift to Europe. This seems to imply a static view of human affairs, better suited to the Middle Ages than to an early modern cosmopolitan.

In fact, by Northern standards, our professor was by no means a narrow-minded philologist. In so far as he is known today, this is due to some observations of his in chemistry. To be brief, he was born in 1626, studied in Copenhagen, and had various teaching jobs until he got a professorship in 1660. He took leave at once, to travel Europe until 1666, studying almost everything besides philology, mostly medicine and chemistry. These, too, were the subjects of a spate of publications until 1675; then philology took over.[2] Most of his philological work was directly connected with his teaching: the notes for his lectures were put to use as theses for examinations, and were eventually printed. One such set of papers was his work "On the Poets" which, uniquely, includes modern poets.

All this goes to show that, besides being a competent practical Latinist, Borch had an intimate knowledge of a lot of fields where the flexibility of contemporary Latin could be tested to the breaking-point. Nevertheless, as I said, his views were conservative. I shall try to show that he knew they were, but had his reasons for holding such views. I will discuss his possible reasons under three headings: (1) fear of change; (2) optimism about revival; and (3) concessions to necessity.

(1) Fear of Change

There is no doubt that Borch considered linguistic change in itself as a bad thing. From one standpoint this was part of the common reaction against medieval Latin; I will leave that aside. But from another point of view, linguistic change was unwelcome since it would cause a language to split into dialects, and this would put up barriers to understanding. Borch published a thesis on this subject, called "On the causes of the diversity of languages." In this thesis he lists some known reasons why spoken languages may change and diversify, from the Babylonian confusion onwards. Much of this is like Quintilian: for instance, he who learns a language may imitate the teacher's faults of speech. He may also imitate his own vernacular, so Borch has the common observation:

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[2] Borch's autobiography, the most important though not the only source for his career, is known in several versions. A copy in his own hand seems to be Copenhagen K.B., GkS 1645, 4°, vol. 3, near end. A modern introduction is in the preface to H. D. Schepelern, *Olai Borrichii Itinerarium*, (Copenhagen, 1983).

> At first, an Italian will not easily understand a Frenchman, nor a Dane an Englishman, nor a German a Pole, even if all of them speak Latin together. (*Caus*, x)

So can we get a standard pronunciation? We can, and that is one of the reasons why we read the poets. Borch says as much in his treatise on the poets:

> They support the precepts of the grammarians.... They control the pronunciation of words: indeed, except for them, we would soon see the end of quantity in pronunciation, and each nation would follow the peculiarities of its own language. (*Poët*, xv)

So, to get back to the subject of linguistic change, there was a danger from the vernaculars, at least as concerned phonetics.

Wars and conquests may also change the spoken language. This was how the living Latin language of Rome was half-killed when the barbarians invaded Rome. Then it lay lifeless throughout the Middle Ages, until it was partly revived in the Renaissance. (*Lex*, 1; *Caus*, xvi)

Further, if a language is a living one, it may change just because the material world is in change. As Horace said, whether words appear or disappear, is regulated by usage. But, as Borch says,

> This usage is nowhere stable, nor can one find any nation whose tongue has not changed since the beginning. (*Caus*, xi)

So, all things taken together, one might say that there would be every reason not to treat Latin as a living language.

Now, in a real-world language, any native speaker is allowed to make new words, at least by analogy with existing ones. There was some notion of doing the same thing for Latin. From another work by Borch, the *Cogitationes* (1675), we may gather his reactions to one such attempt. Gerhard Johann Vos, in his great lexical work *De vitiis latini sermonis* of 1645, had rejected, of all things, the word *puritas* as not being in the authors. He said it belonged to the vulgar crowd. The grammarian Gaspar Schoppe found that Vos himself had used the word twice; then Schoppe took it upon himself to defend it, as follows:

> In my opinion, Vossius may feel safe about it; and though he has not found the word *puritas* in the surviving books of the ancient authors (for it is well known that most of them have perished, so that innumerable Latin words have disappeared with them), still, since we read the word *impuritas* in Cicero ... he need not throw himself and other learned men together with the "vulgar crowd...."[3]

[3] *Gasparis Scioppii ... in ... G. J. Vossii libro De Vitiis Sermonis animadversiones*, as quoted in *Cog*, 212.

I interpret Schoppe as follows: If we want to speak Latin like the Romans, it is not enough to know what utterances happen to have been handed down. We must know what a Roman could have uttered; this is the province of grammar, and grammar does not just concern inflection, but also composition and derivation. To us this may seem quite a sane attitude, as apparently it did to the Middle Ages; but Borch will not admit it. His answer is rather lengthy; I will give the essence.

> I think that one is less exposed to error if one is more faithful in these things, and if one does not depend solely on analogy but keeps to the usage of the good authors. Already Priscian was prudent about this, saying: "Even if the rule permits an expression, we should not imitate it unless we find it in the usage of the authors." (viii, 4)
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> I admit that many writers have perished, but none of us knows what words have perished with them. On the contrary, if there were more freedom for analogy, there would soon be few defective stems, and the window would be thrown wide open to the fog of barbarism. For who would not believe himself learned enough to make new words from analogy?
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> Horace did say, "It is allowed, and it will always be allowed, [to coin new words]" (*Ars Poët.* 58–59), and Quintilian did say, "Since when is it no longer allowed [to derive and inflect]" (8,3,36). But this concerns the language when it was still flourishing among the population and common to whole cities and provinces; for neither Horace nor Quintilian imagined that the Latin tongue would eventually fall silent in the cities, only to survive in the books of the learned.
>
> It is true that languages such as modern French, English, German and Belgian allow themselves the freedom to inflect and alter words, or to make new ones. But these languages are living ones, in common use in whole regions; Latin, on the other hand, is as good as lifeless; it can only breathe within the crevices of books, and like a cut-down tree it cannot put forth any new fruits. (*Cog*, 213–14)

So, in other words, it is safer to keep to the authors. But there seem to be ancient authorities against that, in this case Horace and Quintilian. To get around those authorities, we must assume that Latin has a special status, and this is what Borch does. On top of that, we get a few more arguments, for instance: the word *impuritas* may be Ciceronian, but then so are *impunitas* and *incolumitas*, and who has ever heard of Latin words such as *punitas* and *columitas*?

Calling Borch an anomalist needs explanation. He was indeed an anti-analogist, and he may have considered himself on a par with the ancient anomalists. A little later, he does use some of the anomalist maxims:

> In my opinion it is close to foolhardiness not to reflect on the great Caesar's dictum on Analogy, "An uncommon word should be avoided

> like a rock in the sea" (Gellius 1,10,4), nor to consider what M. Pomponius Marcellus said to Tiberius, "You, Caesar, can give civic rights to men, not to words." (ibid.)

If he was not in fact an anomalist (I suspect this presupposes a living speech community), then at least he was an empiricist, using only what he had authorities for.

I now want to close the subject I called "Fear of Change." I might have called it "Fear of Diversity," or, if you like, "In Quest of a Standard." Now what standards should one set up against diversity? Well, books, obviously. Borch says as much concerning living languages:

> In America, before the coming of the Spaniards, there was another evil, namely, the universal ignorance of letters and writing.... In other parts of the world too, this has increased diversity rather than eliminating it. Nowadays, if the art of printing—this efficient restraint to change in language—were to prevail in every nation, it would no doubt prevent the multiplication of languages, which otherwise awaits us due to the inconstancy of men and things. (*Caus*, xvi)

But, as concerns Latin, are the ancient books enough? Borch had his reasons to believe this, or said he had them. This brings me to my second subject.

(2) Optimism About Revival

A little while ago, I referred to the discussion about the word *puritas*. Borch ends with a suggestion, as follows:

> One may object that the Latin tongue is poor. However, it is richer and more fertile than is generally believed by those who have only glanced along the vast farmlands of Livy, Pliny, Columella, Vitruvius, and Seneca. (*Cog*, 214)

Then he proceeds to look for the word *puritas* in the authors, and he does find it in Symmachus, in Palladius and in two places more. All are from late antiquity, but pre-barbarian, so to speak, so the examples are valid enough.

Lexicography, indeed, was the field where pure empiricism could be put to excellent use in those times. If, like Borch, one had the stamina to read one's authors, one was fairly certain to find a lot of examples of words unknown to the existing dictionaries. This was in fact the subject of the thesis Borch had defended already in 1660 to get his professorship; its title was "On the poverty of the Latin lexica, and on the difficulties that stem therefrom, even among eminent critics." The "critics" Borch refers to would mainly be Vos, whose *De vitiis* was then only fifteen years old. A lot of scholars had soon begun correcting Vos: I mentioned that Schoppe had done it

from the standpoint of a grammarian. Borch does it empirically, and he succeeds in finding pre-barbarian evidence for some eighty words that Vos had rejected. Most of this is of course from late Latinity, thus, the word *possibilitas* is in Ammianus Marcellinus; still this shows that the word is genuine Latin.

So, to revive the Latin Muses, and to enrich the Latin language, one would need a comprehensive Latin dictionary. How could this be done? Borch is optimistic about this in his thesis, at least for the sake of argument. He says:

> Since there are now so many illustrious seats of erudition, so many learned men everywhere, it would be a shame if they refused, but it would be a commendable enterprise if, in this respect too, they decided to be useful to the public and to the learned world by working for the edition of a precise and complete Latin dictionary. This might be brought about by five years' efforts if some institutions were to collaborate on it ... if they shared the work, and if each of them carefully worked through their own authors. (*Lex*, 9)

I have no comment on the time-limit of five years. But at least, Borch lived in times when hunting and gathering were likely to be successful. So, if he was restrictive about innovation in Latin, then he probably thought that the language could be made useful enough without coining new words.

Innovation, of course, might take several forms. Borch did not like any of them. For instance, for his dictionary project some good texts would be needed:

> This will only be successful if all the good authors were to be unravelled again; but first they should be carefully emended and corrected, and after that, no arbitrary alterations should be allowed. (ibid.)

So, conjectural criticism is a form of innovation too, and Borch was tired of it; in fact, he often had to disentangle himself from the mess of conjectures in the editions. Also, he conceived texts as printed editions; the textual basis was outside his sphere of interest, but then this seems to have been the normal attitude in those times.

To sum up this point: there were good reasons for believing that Latin could be enriched enough to become really useful, just by exploiting the authors efficiently. Still, sometimes it was only too obvious that they could not furnish words enough. This brings me to my third point.

(3) Concessions to Necessity

In some special fields one had to use non-classical words, even words that were not ancient, not least, of course, in theology. Borch, as the orthodox Protestant he was, took some pains to vindicate the terms that could not be avoided, such as the word *salvator*. In his early thesis, in 1660, he even manages to say:

> I do not deny that this would not have satisfied Cicero, but I may add that words, like coins, get their value by usage, and as Horace reminds us, usage is the judge and arbiter of speech; when the variety of things increases, then so do meanings. (*Lex*, 38)

A very analogist view, but then he had not yet been to grips with analogy in his criticism of Schoppe. He did that in 1675, and he also repeated his discussion of *salvator*. The passage I quoted is now reworked to say the usual thing:

> Of course, *when a language is still in common use*, and does not rest, half-buried, in books only, then usage is the judge and arbiter (etc.). (*Cog*, 230)

Then, since we are speaking of living Latin, we are faced with yet another authority for analogy:

> The word has been well defended by Augustine in the thirteenth book of *Civitas Dei*. He says, "The word that is Jesus in Hebrew and Soter in Greek, that is Salvator in our speech. The Latin tongue did not have this word before, but it could have had it, just as it got it when it wanted." (*Cog*, 230; *Lex*, 38)

In this case it does not seem to have mattered that Latin was on the verge of barbarism in Augustine's time. I think Borch was simply willing to stretch his point in favor of usage.

For daily Latin speech, Borch also had to make some concessions. In 1682 he says,

> "The phrase *Pro et contra*," says Cellarius (who was Borch's partner in this discussion), "is the filth of Latinity; one must say, *In utramque partem*." (Then Borch:) I also prefer *in utramque partem* in polished speech; but what is to prevent it from being used in the course of disputation, off and on, as an ellipsis? (*Ana*, 60)

By then, Borch had been teaching classes for sixteen years: he may have yielded to usage on this point too.

In several other fields, it was obvious that the ancient sources were inadequate. For example, virtually the only cookbook is Apicius; he was thought to have lived in the time of Trajan or Hadrian, not too good a period. What should we think of words such as *reexinanire, fiblare, combustura*? Borch resolves that these were technical words, not to be altered arbitrarily; most of them were perhaps borrowed from the cooks of the Silver Age (*Cog*, 18). So for once we see him accept the possibility that words may have existed even if they were no longer to be read in any texts; but he had to be hard pressed to do it.

However, where a technical language existed, without any hope of being transformed into classical Latin, we may see Borch making the best of a bad

job. Since he was a botanist by office, and by way of being a physician, he often had to visit pharmacies and listen to shop talk. On one such occasion, in 1669, it became too much for him: he later said that he was nauseated when hearing the pharmacists mispronouncing the names of drugs; even some of the doctors did it. The question simply was where to put the accents in the words, so Borch went on to write a manual on just that.[4] Part of the problem was more general: for instance, as concerns loan-words from Greek, anybody might pronounce *philología* in the Greek manner, but *ecclésia* in the Latin manner. Such questions had been treated by others; but in Borch's words, "they rarely stooped to treating the words of the arts and sciences, so what they left was a vast collection of elegant and orderly Latin for the benefit of those who cultivate it" (*Ling*, pref.).

The technical terms might be Greek or Arabic, or even more exotic, and as Borch saw his task, he had to take out Latin citizenship for all of them. So, not surprisingly, he used Latin phonetic rules as far as he could. There were a few hard cases, and I may mention one of them.

> *Bezoar* . . . There is doubt about the length of the penultimate syllable, but it may most fittingly be shortened: firstly, because this is done by the merchants who import these stones from the Indies and from Persia, so they adapt themselves to the pronunciation of the Oriental people; secondly, because this word has got Latin citizenship, so it must be treated according to the Latin rule for "vowel before vowel."
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> (*Ling*, s.v.)

As usual, Borch did his best to find some sort of rule, and only in the last resort did he appeal to usage. His purpose about the whole thing was obviously a purely practical one, that is, avoiding confusion; as usual, the means to counter confusion would be an authority, and where no authoritative books existed, he tried to make one himself. He failed: I am told one says "bezoár" if anything.

Now what about the demands made by the evolving sciences? He does pronounce on that, in his speech to the Bachelors of Arts:

> We do not condemn the technical words in logic, metaphysics, and physics, provided that they keep within certain limits . . . but let these new words live among them like the brass coins we use for counting, and let them not aspire to the validity of public money.
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> (*Stud*, xxx)

Clearly the subject does not interest him much in this speech, but then this was where he was exhorting the students to keep to polished Latin as far as possible.

To conclude, a person like Borch need not have had a consistent view of

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[4] Nausea: in the autobiography, cf. n. 2.—Manual: *Lingua Pharmacopoeorum*, cf. n. 1.

Latin-speaking in practice. He could not fail to realize that the necessity of a common standard clashed with the necessity of evolution, but I do not know whether he ever quite reconciled his attitudes about those two things. At least, he said one thing to his pupils; he said something else when he had to vindicate any words as Latin, from whatever period, in order to enrich the language; and he did something else again when he had to make the best of a technical language that was already there. But in any case he was heavily on the side of standard use, and he believed that, generally, the ancient authors might constitute such a standard when properly utilized. We now know that he was wrong in backing authority. The vernaculars, having no fixed standard, were even then catching up with Latin in most fields, apart from pure scholasticism. This is why I gave this talk in a vernacular.

Odense

Parisian Humanists in the Letters and Poetry of Germain Maciot

JAN PENDERGRASS

Throughout its long history, the University of Paris has often been the spiritual battlefield of conflicting ideologies. This is certainly true in the early sixteenth century, when many Neo-Latin and vernacular humanists joined forces in a concerted effort to ridicule and discredit the champions of decadent Scholastic doctrine. Anyone familiar with the writings of Erasmus, Vives, and Rabelais may well harbor visions of students in Paris suffering from malnutrition, fleas, and pedant schoolmasters versed in the frivolous arcana of Scholastic logic. Modern research, however, has taught us not to judge Parisian humanism by Erasmian standards alone.[1] The state of the humanities in the French capital was surely not as precarious as we once believed. Despite outspoken criticism of Parisian schoolmasters and doctors of theology, it appears there was nonetheless, at the end of the fifteenth century, an important contingent of qualified scholars there intimately devoted to the *studia humanitatis*.

Germain Maciot was a student at the University of Paris in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. He recently came to our attention as the obscure author of an unpublished manuscript containing seven letters, one dialogue and four poems, in which he pays tribute to an almost forgotten group of scholars and public figures whose talents and devotion to the hu-

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[1] Jean-Pierre Massaut convincingly argues this point in his study of Josse Clichtove: "La leçon n'est-elle pas claire? S'il ne faut pas juger l'humanisme uniquement d'après Érasme, il ne faut pas non plus juger tous les religieux de ce temps d'après les *Lettres des hommes obscurs* et par les seuls et bruyants adversaires de Reuchlin" (*Josse Clichtove, l'humanisme et la réforme du clergé*, [Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968], 448). According to his argument, Lefèvre d'Etaples, Clichtove, Bovelles, Gerard Roussel, Guillaume Castel and numerous other Parisian scholars continue a well-established tradition of monastic humanism inspired by Petrarca, Jean Gerson and the *devotio moderna*.

manities contributed to the quality of his education in Paris. True, this young student's modest lucubrations contain few profound or innovative ideas, but they are perhaps for that same reason representative of the attitudes of many other typical students at the Faculty of Arts. A brief description of the manuscript and its contents will reveal the author's profound respect for his professors in the humanities. In the course of his education, he had obviously been exposed to some of the very basic ideas of early Parisian humanism, ideas similar to those which inspire the thought and writings of such diverse individuals as Robert Gaguin, Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, Bovelles, Clichtove and Guillaume Petit. He had learned from his professors that poetry, elegant speech, good morals and good Latinity are the surest foundations of all good learning, especially for future theologians.

It is surprising that historians have completely ignored Maciot's youthful compositions. The manuscript now belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Ms. lat. 8659) and is only summarily mentioned in the catalogs covering the Latin collections.[2] It is colorfully illuminated and generously adorned with ornamental letters that mark the beginnings of every major section. The script is elegant humanist script, following neatly traced lines and margins, and contains relatively few *lapsus calami* on the part of the scribe. The margins of several pages are embellished with exuberant floral designs and other extra-textual drawings intended to engage potential readers and underscore the message in various passages. In all likelihood the handwriting and most drawings are those of Maciot himself. Judging from the attention to aesthetic detail, the manuscript must have been intended as a present to someone, probably one of the eight professors to whom he addresses the letters and poems contained in the collection.

Although we possess little information concerning Maciot himself, most of his professors are relatively well documented in the annals of the University. Several of them were teachers at the College of Burgundy in the 1490s, or had at least some connection with that institution. Based on internal evidence in the letters, it appears as though most were written in the approximate period from 1492 to 1496, at a time when Maciot was quite probably still a student of the arts, and perhaps a resident at the College of Burgundy. Despite his obvious dependence on Girolamo Balbi's *Rhetor gloriosus* (Paris, 1487) for inspiration and his labored emulation of Virgilian style, it can hardly be said that his professors were wasting their time. Records show that some five years later, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1501, young Maciot, already a master of arts, received his bachelor's degree in canon law along with a classmate Claude Caigeron.[3] His name is men-

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[2] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, t. 4, Paris, 1744, 481; P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 3:1 (Australia to Germany), London-Leiden, 1983, 228a.

[3] Marcel Fournier and Léon Dorez, *La Faculté de Décret de l'Université de Paris au XV^e siècle* (1481–1500), (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1913), 3:529.

tioned again the following year in the *Rotuli nominandorum* of 1502, where we discover that he was both a cleric and a native Parisian.[4] According to the brief entry contained there, he was requesting a benefice in one of two cathedral churches, Nevers or Amiens. In 1506, Guillaume Castel of Tours published a small collection of elegies, in which he included a poem in honor of his former student,[5] publicizing his name in this way to a choice circle of humanist scholars. By that time, however, Maciot had more or less disappeared from the capital.[6]

The opening letter is addressed to Bernard Roillet, principal of the College of Burgundy from approximately 1491 to 1514.[7] In 1492, he had served for a period of three months as rector of the university. The tone of Maciot's letter is full of respect and laden with the superlative, most likely due to the authority that Roillet exercised both in the college and the university. Maciot designates him as a man versed in important affairs, and he congratulates him on his nomination to the honorable office of rector, an important detail suggesting the letter was written in the summer of 1492. A direct quote taken from Girolamo Balbi's controversial *Rhetor gloriosus*,[8] while adding grace to the student's style, also provides some support for our approximate dating of the letter. Maciot, excusing his own ineloquent

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[4] *Rotuli nominandorum*, Archives de l'Université de Paris (BU Sorbonne, Salle de Réserve), Reg. 60, fol. 195r.

[5] *Guielmi Castelli seu mavis Castalii Turonensis Elegiae*, Paris, n. d. [Opera Ascensiana, 1506], "Ad Germanum Maciotum," fol. 30v.

[6] There is no genealogy covering the Parisian family Maciot, however some archival sources suggest that members of the same family belonged to the relatively comfortable circles of Parisian lawyers and royal officers. In 1499, a Jehan Maciot is the plaintiff in an affair concerning some 66 "bêtes à laine" (Fournier and Dorez, *Faculté de Décret*, 500n.). He is perhaps the same Jean Maciot who, by 1543, will become treasurer and general collector in the royal nitriairies of France, Picardy, Burgundy and Champagne. Some later family records contained in the "Dossiers Bleus" at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Dossier 1789, Macyot 41,347, pièces 1–26) make reference to Vincent and François Macyot, father and son, seigneurs of La Roche Nanteau, who were both lawyers at the Parliament of Paris. There are also isolated references to Landericus Maciot, rector of the University of Paris in 1531. It seems almost certain that Landericus would be a close relative of Germain Maciot. His name is cited in a marginal gloss of our manuscript collection, where he is designated as a former treasurer (*bursarius*) of the College of Cardinal Lemoine.

[7] "Germanus Maciotus Be[r]nardo Roilleto viro in rebus maximis gravissimisque expertissimo atque imprimis probato Salutem P. D." (Ms. 8659, fols. 2r–6v). On Bernard Roillet, principal of the College of Burgundy, see especially Peter A. Ford, *The College of Burgundy at the Medieval University of Paris. History, Topography and Chartulary*, diss., Univ. of Notre-Dame, Ann Arbor Michigan, 1964, chap. 9 "The College of Burgundy under Principal Bernard Roillet," 99–125. Ford maintains that Roillet was principal of Burgundy until approximately 1518. Cf. Fournier and Dorez, *Faculté de Décret*, 3:280.

[8] ". . . ut est Ciceronis sententia: *Mater omnium rerum sapientia, qua nihil a diis immortalibus uberius aut florentius, nihil prestabilius hominum vite datum est*" (Ms. lat. 8659, fol. 4r). This same passage can be found in Balbi's *Rhetor gloriosus sive dialogus de eloquentia*, in *Opera poetica*, Vindobonae, 1791, 1:319. On Balbi, see G. Tournoy, "The Literary Production of Hieronymus Balbus at Paris," in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1978, 70–77.

speech (*hiulcus sermo*), takes advantage of the opportunity to praise Roillet's most outstanding qualities, citing his incomparable eloquence, for which he easily deserves to occupy the highest and most distinguished rank among scholars, his benevolence, his practical wisdom and his generosity, especially toward those in need of protection.[9] In fact, according to Maciot's own words, he is himself in just such a delicate situation:

> I would not dare write—Be[r]nardus—with such familiarity to your excellence, if I did not know you to be the most humane and the most benevolent of all mortals. Thus..., as one cast out from his own home, I come to you, my only refuge so to speak, with the greatest confidence of obtaining what I most dearly request. Indeed I ask only to be liberated some day from the troubles and anguish that I daily suffer....[10]

Unfortunately, we know nothing precise about the causes of Maciot's unspecified troubles; they were perhaps in some way related to the conditions of his studies or of his lodgings. In any case, his professed misery lends a rhetorical note to his letter—something that he consciously seeks to incorporate into almost every line of text. In closing, our troubled and anguished student recommends himself to his benefactor, in the firm hope that this letter, along with the entire collection, will serve to remind all men of his unending gratitude. He merely asks that Roillet excuse his rapid style (*celeritas epistolarum*), claiming he had little free time at his disposition.

There is little doubt that Maciot's letter contains much exaggeration, yet should we doubt his sincerity? At least one external source can confirm that Roillet was a generous and kind man, as Maciot has claimed. Bruno Amerbach provides evidence of this in a letter to his father, in which he praises Roillet's genuine concern for the students under his direction.[11] Bruno and

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[9] "Itaque meo quidem non solum, sed re vera doctissimorum omnium mortalium iudicio plurima facundia prestantissimus facileque omnium primus vocitandus es [...]" (Ms. lat. 8659, fols. 2v–3r). "Cum ipse cogitabundus ex longissima memoria possum intueri, multa iam in animo diversa succedunt. Partim quod te virum magna sapientia preditissimum semper intellexi, qua igitur cum virtute, sapientia nulla hominum maior voluptas vite potest afferri [...] Partim vero quod tanta in omnes tua liberalitas sic amplificata est, ut etiam uniusquisque plurimum adoptet una tecum amore coniungi. Cum profecto tua in me vel maxima demerita assidue memoria repeto, omnia sum pro te perpessurus, dum tuam dignitatem possim et tueri et defendere. Tua etenim liberalitas, que mihi semper opitulata est, me sibi totum vendicavit" (ibid., fols. 3v–4v).

[10] "Non auderem igitur—Benarde—ad tuam usque adeo familiariter maiestatem scribere, nisi te omnium mortalium humanissimum omniumque benignissimum esse perspicerem. Quapropter (quoniam omnes tua benignitate freti ad te intrepidi confugere non dubitant) nos, sicuti qui propriis edibus fuere expulsi, ad te veluti unicum refugium confluimus, maxima cum fiducia id obtinendi, quod abs te potissimum cupio. Expectamus enim summo cum desiderio nihil aliud, nisi ut a tantis molestiis et angoribus, in quibus quottidie versamur, aliquando liberemur" (ibid., fols. 4v–5r).

[11] See Ford, 116–25.

his younger brother Basilius, sons of printer Johannes Amerbach of Basel, studied at the University of Paris from May 1501 to April 1506, and they then received their master's degree in the arts. Around March of 1504, they both transferred to the college of Burgundy, claiming their previous preceptor had neglected his duties. Judging from their letters home to their father, they were much happier in their new location, where they were placed under the supervision of master Guillaume Jourdain. Bernard Roillet was, of course, still principal of the college at that time. Probably around October 15, 1505, young Bruno writes home to his father, recounting how he and his brother had been sick, and how their new principal had spoken of their situation with Jourdain, manifesting sympathy and generously offering to lend them as much as a thousand *scuda*, a then appreciable sum.[12] Given this corroborating testimony, it appears that Maciot's adulatory portrayal of Roillet is perhaps not without some foundation.

In the following pages, Maciot includes similar notes of gratitude to professors that he designates as his *preceptores*, many of them, as we have said, in some way connected with the College of Burgundy. The second letter is addressed to Johannes Lantman,[13] from the diocese of Constance, in Germany. According to university records, Lantman was a resident at the College of Burgundy in 1489, yet Jean Du Hestray, one of his pupils, claims to have studied under his direction there from approximately 1488 to 1493.[14] In his address, Maciot celebrates his instructor as both a follower of good learning and a scholar highly distinguished in Holy Scripture. He acknowledges that Lantman had acquired expertise both in philosophy and the art of public speaking,[15] yet compliments him on having chosen to pursue his studies in theology, a higher form of philosophy. At the same time, he provides for rhetorical ornament in the letter by inserting an apostrophe to wisdom tacitly borrowed from his model Girolamo Balbi.[16] University records show that Lantman had initiated his studies in theology

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[12] "S. p. d. Si vales colendissime genitor, maiorem in modo gaudeo [. . .] Principalis collegii nostri, cum morbo laboraremus, adiit nostrum regentem dicens: 'Audio quod Germani nostri morbo laborent et pecuniis careant. Dicatis eis, si ducentis aut mile scutis indigeant, libens eis dabo accomodato.' " Alfred Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, vol. 1, no. 289, Basel, 1942, 271–72.

[13] "Germanus Maciotus Ioannem Lantemant bonarum litterarum indagatorem sacreque discipline preceptis ornatissimum plurime salutis iubet esse participem" (Ms. lat. 8659, fols. 6v–8v). On Lantman, see Astricus L. Gabriel and Gray C. Boyce, *Liber receptorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae) in Universitate Parisiensi* (*Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis* VI), (Paris: M. Didier, 1964), col. 558 and *passim*. Cf. Ford, 95–96.

[14] James K. Farge, *Biographical Register of Doctors of Theology 1500–1536*, Toronto, 1980, 146.

[15] "Qui philosophie scientiam omnemque et benedicendi artem multis pristinis laboribus [. . .] tibi comparasti [. . .]" (Ms. lat. 6859, fols. 6v–7r).

[16] "O rerum sapientia dux! O certa vivendi disciplina. Tu una in quacumque re quid verum syncerumque sit, latissime aperis; tuoque munere, quidquid natura desiderat, explete cumulateque habemus" (ibid., fol. 7v). Same passage in our edition of *Rhetor gloriosus*, 319.

at the Sorbonne as early as 1491. Based on our knowledge of his career, we can safely assume the letter was written no earlier, however the previously discussed letter to Roillet would suggest rather 1492 or 1493 as a more probable time frame. In the end, Maciot is not in the least surprised by Lantman's attraction to theology, and he concludes in the firm belief that his German friend will soon attain the highest distinction in that discipline.[17] By 1496, that belief had in part become reality: Lantman obtained his license in theology and soon left Paris in order to return to his native Constance.

Maciot's next letter is addressed to Jean Bartou, or rather Bertoul,[18] also one of his instructors, who by 1494 had received his master's title at the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, where he was then to remain as a regular professor until 1516. He was also elected dean of the medical school four times during the same period: in 1500, 1501, 1507 and 1513. If we are to believe Maciot, whose most apparent vice is a marked preference for hyperbole and flattery, Jean Bertoul (or Bartou) had distinguished himself not only in medicine, but also in the art of rhetoric. As Maciot states with enthusiasm in his letter:

> Your eloquence, by which (so help me the gods!) you caress the ears of mortals, embraces all varieties of speech, and you are such an accomplished orator that you could express the actions of all men.[19]

Despite the obvious flattery this letter contains, here and elsewhere, Maciot reveals that his affection for this professor is at least as great as his respect, and he allows himself to jokingly admonish Bertoul—with yet another borrowing from the *Rhetor gloriosus*—"not to imitate those physicians whose labels promise remedies, yet whose small boxes contain poisons."[20] This letter should perhaps be placed somewhere around 1494.

The fourth item in the collection provides similar testimony for the moral and intellectual qualities of Francis Perot[21] (or Perroti), another of Maciot's

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[17] "Divine igitur doctrine qui summum fastigium brevi habiturus es procul dubio, tum litteris optimis, tum multiplici virtute decorum, variis ex sententciis precipuum litterarum decus haud absurde te videor elegisse [. . .]" (Ms. lat. 8659, fol. 8r).

[18] "Germanus Maciotus Iohanni Bartou in medicinarum scientia doctissimo Salutem P. Dicit" (ibid., fols. 8v–10r). On Jean Berthoul, see E. Wickersheimer, *Commentaires de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris (1395–1516)*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1915), 319 and *passim*; and M.-L. Concasty, *Commentaires [. . .] (1516–1560)*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1964), 1, 2, 34. There is a concise résumé of available information in E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France*, (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 1:362.

[19] "Tua etenim multiplex facundia, qua (ita me dii ament!) aures mortalium demulces, omne in dicendo genus complectitur, adeoque es summus orator, ut omnium hominum gestus noris exprimere" (Ms. lat. 8659, fol. 9r–9v).

[20] "Proinde, suavissime preceptor, te commonefacere est animus: hoc minime insequaris vicium, quod late patet et in multis sepenumero contigit, ne hos presertim medicos imiteris, quorum tituli remedia, pixides habent venena" (ibid., fol. 9v). Cf. *Rhetor gloriosus*, 293.

[21] "Germanus Maciotus Francisco Perotto viro bonarum litterarum studiosissimo Salutem P. Dicit" (Ms. lat. 8659, fols. 10r–12v).

favorite instructors. Perot is not well known to modern historians of the university, yet his pupil seems to imply that he was one of the most distinguished Spaniards in the French capital at that time.[22] He also refers to Perot's solid formation in the arts and his expertise in Holy Scripture, and this suggests to us that Perot held degrees both in the arts and in theology at the time of the letter, or that he was at least a student of theology and showed some promise in that field. Francis Perot is mentioned in University records for the same general period. According to the *Rotuli* of 1496 and 1497,[23] he was indeed a master of arts and bachelor in theology. Both times, he requested a benefice from the church of Saint-Benoît-au-Mans. Those approximate dates remain reasonably close to the basic period to which we have assigned the previous letters to Roillet, Lantman and Bertoul. As with his other professors, Maciot takes pleasure in pointing out some of Perot's most distinctive merits: his eloquence and gravity, his practical wisdom, and his sense of virtue.[24] Like a brilliant star, Perot illuminates the darkness of his disciple's feeble intellect.[25]

What can be said of Jean Chevalier[26] (Ioannes Militis), Maciot's next "correspondent"? There is some hesitation concerning his "identity," not that basic biographical information is totally lacking, but it is difficult to distinguish exactly how many individuals with the same name there may have been at that time in Paris.[27] According to Maciot, however, Chevalier was a trustworthy individual, modest, prudent, devoid of all cupidity, he was a man of the highest probity, humanity and respect.[28] In short, everyone con-

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[22] This he suggests when he asks: ". . . quis est hodie inter facundos Hyspanie, qui vel venustate maiorum vel parentum gloria tuo nomine clarior videri possit?" (ibid., fol. 11v).

[23] *Rotuli nominandorum*, Archives de l'Université de Paris, Reg. 59, fol. 130v (March 2, 1496), and Reg. 60, fol. 19r (March 1, 1497).

[24] "Consodales enim memini dicere eleganti scientia ornatos te usque adeo in studiis philosophie doctissimum, ut tuam eloquentiam, gravitatem, sapientiam denique omnem, nemo sit, quin non amando demiretur . . ." (Ms. lat. 8659, fols. 10v–11r). "Quin vero si de virtute animi verba facere licebit, profecto tua virtus adeo in memoria hominum atque sermone quottidie versatur, ut quanta sit laudibus sempiternis afficienda, nec monumentis quidem litterarum mandare possumus. Ea igitur occasione existimavi summam te assecuturum gloriam, si ad virtutem totis (ut facis) viribus incumbas [. . .]" (ibid., fol. 12r).

[25] "Nam (ut profecto omnium mortalium est iudicium) tamquam fulgentissimum sydus inter nostre imbecillitatis tenebras summopere elucescis" (ibid., fol. 11v).

[26] "Germanus Maciotus Iohanni Militis in litterarum cultu non ignobili Salutem P. D." (ibid., fols. 12v–15r). On Jean Chevalier, see Farge, 86.

[27] Some of the hesitation concerning the "identity" of Chevalier can be traced back to the cautious scruples of Gabriel and Boyce, *Liber receptorum Nationis Anglicanae*, coll. 631–32. Their note suggests that they see no reason to assign references from three or more distinct sources to one individual Iohannes Militis, and we must of course respect the basic logic of this reasoning. Cf. C. Samran, A. Van Moé and S. Vitte, *Liber procuratorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae) in Universitati Parisiensi* in *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, (Paris: H. Didier, 1935), 3:610; Henri-Louis Bouquet, *L'Ancien Collège d'Harcourt*, (Paris: Delain Frères), 154, 596.

[28] "[. . .] non sum veritus te in consiliis administrandis optima fide ac religione insignitum

sidered him a brother, and Maciot can think of no one he honors more.[29]

The sixth letter in the collection is obviously a special one. Maciot writes to his teacher Guillaume Castel,[30] who was hardly unknown in Parisian humanist circles. Castel taught the arts at the College of Burgundy under Roillet, with whom he maintained cordial relations. Both Jean de Pins of Toulouse and Alain de Varènes of Montauban, two Southerners, concord with their northern compatriot in declaring a particular affection for their former teacher.[31] Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples recognizes him as a valuable collaborator and partisan of the humanities. Castel became known above all as a poet, and thus Maciot celebrates in him a rival of Baptista Mantuanus, and a second Virgil.[32] Whenever he speaks, it is as if the Muses themselves were addressing us in Latin.[33] What is interesting to note in this letter is that Maciot refers to Castel not only as his *preceptor* (a term he already used to describe Bertoul, Perot and Chevalier[34]), but also as his *magister*. It was common for students in the Faculty of Arts to have a specific tutor responsible for their progress and physical well-being. Here, the term *magister suus* suggests that Castel may well have played such a role in the formation of Maciot. Close supervision by this professor and daily contact with him would certainly account for the quality of Maciot's Latinity (which is acceptable for a student), his dedication to the humanities, and his marked reverence of good literature, elegant speech and poetry: things that his professors had taught him to hold in esteem, things he cites often in his letters. Yet there is another reason serving to convince us that Castel was in some way very special to his disciple, namely an elaborate and colorful floral arrangement which fills the entire left margin of the first folio of this particular

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iudicare, quandoquidem te et modestum hominem cognoscimus et prudentem, a cupiditate omni remotissimum, magni laboris summeque industrie [. . .]" (Ms. lat. 8659, fol. 13r). "Te videlicet hominem summa probitate, humanitate, observanciaque cognoscimus [. . .]" (ibid., fols. 13v–14r).

[29] "Tua enim incomparabilis virtus morumque similitudo effecit, ut omnes te haud secus ac fratrem amore prosequantur [. . .]" (ibid., fol. 14r). "Cum igitur—vir illustrissime—te tantis usque adeo scientiis perpolitum [. . .] cognoscimus, quem tibi preferam, habeo profecto neminem" (ibid., fol. 15v).

[30] "Germanus Maciotus Guielmo Castello preceptori suo, viro nostra tempestate in studiis doctrinarum egregio, Salutem P. Dicit. —Ad Magistrum suum" (ibid., fols. 15v–18v). On Guillaume Castel, see especially Eugene Rice, *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples*, (Columbia Univ. Press, 1972), 146; and Farge, 72–73.

[31] Jean de Pins, *Epistolae* ("Pinus Castello theologo S."), Bibliothèque Municipale de Nîmes, Ms. 215, 41. Alain de Varènes, *De amore dialogus* [. . .], (Paris: H. Estienne), n. d., fol. 144v et seq.

[32] "Quid queris? Habes carmen canendis bellis quam aptissimum, qui Mantuanum ipsum adeo facunde representas, adeo prudenter emularis, ut a celeberrimis mortalibus haud immerito Virgilii exemplar cognomineris" (Ms. lat. 8659, fols. 16v–17r).

[33] "Omnes ideo nostri temporis consodales, quod te ipsum loqui arbitrantur, usque adeo composite dictum fatentur, tanquam Musas ipsas Latine loqui audirent" (ibid., fol. 17r).

[34] Maciot considers himself a *discipulus* of Lantman (ibid., fol. 7r).

letter. Not all pages are graced with the same degree of attention. Perhaps in this particular case words alone could not adequately express the disciple's sense of gratitude.

The seventh, and last letter of the collection, goes beyond the academic circles of the University. Maciot closes this section with a letter to Jean de Lapite,[35] a Parisian magistrate familiar to parliamentary circles. Maciot refers to him, abusively, yet in an honorable intent, as a *senator*, which generally means a member of Parliament. In reality, Lapite had been as early as 1469 a clerk in the Parisian Chambre des Comptes; he was not, however, a senator in Parliament.[36] He became a somewhat more notable public figure when, in 1499, the bridge of Notre-Dame collapsed, drawing into the Seine with it some sixty-five houses. The highest municipal officers of Paris were placed under arrest pending an investigation into the causes of the catastrophe. In the meantime, Lapite and several other prominent figures were entrusted with the provisory direction of the municipal government.[37] As expected, Maciot again extols the merit of his "benefactor." At one point, quoting Cicero, he maintains that many individuals have attained high rank without possessing virtue,[38] yet that this is obviously not true in the case of Lapite:

> All mortals of our century will certainly consider your virtue sweeter than nectar, more precious than any gold or gem, and they will treat you as they would some god descended among them from the heavens.[39]

Having soon exhausted his reservoir of exuberant praise, Maciot closes the letter—and the entire collection of letters—asking that Lapite judge not the gift but the intent behind it, and that he accept his writings as a token of his deep affection and respect.

The following section of the manuscript is a short dialogue entitled *De nobilitate contentione*, a polite debate on the subject of nobility between Cornelius, the descendant of a rich aristocratic family, and an unnamed *philosophus pauper*.[40] In essence, the philosopher in this dialogue succeeds in convincing his somewhat complacent Cornelius that true nobility does not depend on

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[35] "Germanus Maciotus Iohannem Lapitam senatorem egregium virumque nostra tempestate prestantissimum iubet salvere" (ibid., fols. 19r–22r).

[36] H. Coustant d'Yanville, *Chambre des Comptes de Paris*, (Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1875), 2:866, 926, 766.

[37] Paul Robiquet, *Histoire municipale de Paris* (Paris: Hachette, 1904), 1:288, 293.

[38] "Insignia etenim virtutis multi etiam sine virtute sunt assecuti" (Cicero, *Epist. fam.* 3.13.1).

[39] "Tuam [virtutem] quippe huius seculi mortales omni nectare suaviorem, omni auro gemmaque preciosiorem putarunt, ac te ipsum veluti deum quendam e celo demissum apud se retinuerunt" (Ms. lat. 8659, fols. 20v–21r).

[40] "Invitat Germanus auctor maiores, ut Cornelii divitis et philosophi pauperis de Nobilitate contentionem attentis auribus audiant" (ibid., fols. 22v–32v).

the wealth of one's family or the accomplishments of one's ancestors, but rather on one's own actions and virtues.[41] "Virtue ... and virtue's companion, nobility, must be acquired through one's own efforts, and cannot co-exist with vice."[42] From the very beginning of their debate, the philosopher adopts a modest and conciliatory tone; most of his affirmations are based on authority, or he liberally punctuates them with formulas which attenuate the controversial nature of his opinions, such as "*si memoria non excidit*," "*si recte teneo*," "*si recte memini*," "*si libet*...." All in all, this dialogue is perhaps a good example of the modesty and moral principles that basically all humanists sought to convey to their students through the use of classroom dialogues.

The final pages of the manuscript contain four poems. The first poem, entitled "De viro in armis potentissimo,"[43] is a rather ambitious attempt at imitating the Virgilian muse. The exercise proves that young Maciot had indeed closely studied the works of his epic model, yet in all honesty, the final result is little more than a confused mosaic of Virgilian quotes and reminiscences.[44] Judging from what we see here, the student either had little talent for poetry or lacked sufficient training. The second poem, "Ad Zoïlum invidum,"[45] is by contrast quite elegant, yet need hardly detain us. A classicist should easily recognize it as an excerpt from the *Epigrams* of Martial (4.74), anonymously inserted into the collection. By way of a quote, our Parisian is able to thumb his nose with impunity at any and all malevolent critics of his literary talents.

Through the dedications of the remaining epigrams, we learn the names of two more professors at the University of Paris whose presence and model had an impact on Maciot's formation there. The first of the two, Jean Langlois (or *Anglici*),[46] is most probably identical with Jean Langlois of Valenci-

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[41] "Ergo in aliena gloria fictisque fortune bonis veram nobilitatem existimas. Nihil enim aliud est nobilitas (si memoria non excidit) quam excellentia, que digniora in dignioribus prestat, quandoquidem si quispiam maximis in litterarum monumentis educatus fuerit, profecto hic pre ceteris nobilis, clarus et illustris habebitur. Nempe ut Balbi nostra tempestate doctissimi verbis utar: *Omnia profecto maiorum nostrorum facinora in tenebris abdita latitarent, ni litterarum splendor accederet.* Sed inceptum prosequamur. Constat etenim (si recte teneo) ex sola animi virtute veram nobilitatem defluere. Nequaquam igitur divitiarum cumulus aut sobolis magnificentia concedere aut eripere nobilitatem potest" (ibid., fols. 24v–25r). Cf. Balbi, *Rhetor*, 286.

[42] "Virtus enim (ut theologorum est sentencia) ac virtutis comes nobilitas propriis laboribus queritur nec cum viciis constare potest" (Ms. lat. 6859, fol. 30v).

[43] "Germani Macioti de viro in armis potentissimo atque imprimis probato carmen" (ibid., fols. 34r–40r).

[44] The overall inspiration is unmistakably Virgilian. Slightly less than 150 verses long, the poem contains as many as thirty reminiscences or direct borrowings from Virgil's *Aeneid* (with a marked preference for books 2, 4 and 6).

[45] Ms. lat. 8659, fol. 40r.

[46] "Germani Macioti ad prestantissimum nostra etate virum Ioannem Anglicum carmen" (ibid., fols. 40v–41r).

ennes, a disciple of Peter Crockaert from Brussels. Among other things, Maciot describes his friend as one who by his fitting manners does honor to the ancient world....[47] Just as his poetry is intended to flatter his friend's self-esteem, Maciot hopes as well that the music of his verse will capture his ear, and that he will remember him by it.[48] The last poem is addressed to Gilbert Mauguin,[49] a professor who appears to have haunted the College of Burgundy together with Johannes Lantman. A master of arts, he was named receptor of the French Nation at the University in 1493, and later became first chaplain of Savoisy. According to Maciot, Mauguin is an eloquent orator and an accomplished poet, his brow justly crowned with a laurel.[50] He hopes that Mauguin will read his poetry without frowning in disapproval, yet if he cannot, then (says Maciot) may it burn on a funeral pyre![51] He ends his work at this point, adding only the words: "Τέλος. Finis laborum. Auctor Germanus."

Evidently, the writings of this late fifteenth century Parisian student were spared the ignominy of that funeral pyre and have only slumbered in oblivion for approximately five centuries. Their resurrection could offer us a rare and certainly unexpected sample of one Parisian student's literary talent and intellectual formation, a source that previous historians have left unexplored. Although his ideas lack depth and variety, his letters and poetry indicate nonetheless that the author was not without some formation in the humanities. His Latin prose, although uneventful, is generally commendable and pure, containing examples of studied rhetorical devices. Most important though, his work provides an extremely flattering profile of eight dedicated Parisian educators of the 1490s. Are they the same professors that so many contemporary humanists had seen fit to scorn? Maciot apparently does not think so. According to him, their main qualities are concern for their pupils, humanity and eloquence, and in some cases that "divine eloquence" of which he at one point speaks, referring to the felicitous marriage of lofty wisdom and graceful speech.[52] Even if we must sometimes doubt Maciot's

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[47] "Tu meritis decoras antiquum moribus orbem [. . .]" (ibid., fol. 40v).

[48] "Hac celebrare tenus modulatis cantibus aures praeclarissimum Iussimus, ut Galli sis memor ipse tui" (ibid.).

[49] "Germani Macioti ad virum Gilbertum Mauguinum epigramma" (ibid., fols. 41r–42r). On Gilbert Mauguin, see Ford, 96–97.

[50] "Cum sis magnanimi precellens gloria c(o)etus
Eloquii propria est fama petenda sacri.
Septa geris merito victrici tempora lauro,
Diceris in toto clare poeta choro" (Ms. lat. 8659, fol. 41r).

[51] "Ne contemne, precor, placida lege carmina fronte;
Turbida si fuerit, te rogo trade rogis" (ibid., fol. 42r).

[52] Maciot uses the expression *sacrum eloquium* in his poem to Gilbert Mauguin: "Eloquii propria est fama petenda sacri" (ibid., fol. 41r). In his letter to Francis Perot, elegance, gravity and wisdom go hand in hand: "Consodales enim memini dicere eleganti scientia ornatos te usque adeo in studiis philosophie doctissimum, ut tuam eloquentiam, gravitatem,

sincerity and the accuracy in his portrayal of those eight professors, their methods must surely have influenced his style and ideas. Maciot repeatedly invokes the gods—Juppiter, Apollo, the Muses; he cites as authorities Virgil, Cicero, Aristotle, Girolamo Balbi and Baptista Mantuanus (not to mention borrowings or possible reminiscences from Cato, Martial, Julius Cesar and Silius Italicus), and he is constantly praising the combined eloquence and learning of those he admires. All this, it may be argued, provides a clear indication of the importance that both the pupil and his professors attach to an education founded on eloquent speech, moral discourse and the imitation of classical and modern authors. All in all, Maciot's booklet contains perhaps little more than a series of exercises in adolescent rhetoric and a few names. Nonetheless, those exercises offer some interesting insight into the educational values prevalent at the Parisian Faculty of Arts in the late fifteenth century, and remind us of the teachers who helped inspire them.

University of Georgia

sapientiam denique omnem, nemo sit, quin non amando demiretur" (ibid., fols. 10v–11r).

Jonas Widalinus Thorkilli Filius: Calliopes Respublica

SIGURÐUR PÉTURSSON

For many centuries Iceland was a rural community with no towns or even villages where urban life could prosper. Social life and literary activity were thus more or less confined to the households of farms and the two centers of learning in Iceland; the episcopal seats of Skálholt in the southern part of the country and Hólar in the northern part. At these seats there were cathedral schools, but the university milieu so important for Neo-Latin literature was completely missing in Iceland, a lack which must have been sorely felt by those who had studied abroad. Fortunately, many of the bishops of the Lutheran Icelandic church and their collaborators were highly educated and able men who fostered an earnest desire to promote education and bring it to a higher standard—often under most unfavorable circumstances. We have evidence of some efforts of this kind from the seventeenth century, one of which was a series of learned gatherings held in Skálholt in the early 1690s.

A scholar of the eighteenth century, Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík, has in one of his many writings left us a short description of this activity in Skálholt.[1] He relates that Gísli Magnússon, who had been a district judge and was now living with his daughter and son-in-law, the Right Reverend Þórður Þorlákssson of Skálholt; Jón Vídalín, a teacher at the cathedral school; and his cousin Páll Vídalín, rector of the same school, adopted the custom of holding disputations on a certain day every week on matters from the various branches of science.[2] Moreover, declamations were introduced and

[1] Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík (1705–79), Icelandic scholar who lived for many years in Copenhagen. Left numerous writings and compilations of different kinds both in Icelandic and Latin; cf. J. Helgason, *Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík* (Copenhagen, 1925). For the description referred to, cf. *Vísnakver Páls lögmans Vídalíns,* ed. J. Þorkelsson (Copenhagen, 1897), 63–64.

[2] Gísli Magnússon (1621–96), district judge in South-Iceland 1659–96. An instigator of

the author mentions three titles of declamations he has seen, i.e., *De recta intentione docentium et discentium, Pro calumnia* and *De Septuaginta hebdomatibus Danielis*. To create the right atmosphere for these meetings the bishop had a new lectern made with an inscription consisting of six elegiacs in Latin by Páll Vídalín. Unfortunately very little else is known about this learned activity and the only thing which has come down to us, as far as we know, is a *declamatio* by Jón Vídalín called *Calliopes Respublica*.

When Jón Vídalín delivered this *declamatio* he was twenty-six years of age. A year before he had returned to his home country from Denmark, where he had spent some years studying theology at the University of Copenhagen and even joined the navy for two years, thus manifesting at an early age his many interests and versatility. He belonged to a most gifted and learned family with strong literary traditions so it could be said that he was in possession of all the qualifications needed for composing a declamation in verse like this.

The declamation, which has never been published, is extant in a manuscript found in the British Museum and in a copy in the National Library of Iceland.[3] From the full title *Calliopes Respublica, Carmen in laudes Svadæ Skalholtinæ compositum a Jona Widalino Thorkilli Filio et in Schola Skalholtina publice recitatum D.4. Cal. Aprilis 1692* we can see that it was delivered on the twenty-ninth of March 1692. The title also informs us that the poem is a *laudatio* of Suada Skalholtina, the personification of eloquence as presented in Skálholt. The poet's scheme must therefore be considered quite ambitious and a lingering feeling remains that the presentation of this poem was an almost solemn event which aroused much attention at the episcopal seat.

Preceding the poem itself there are two dedicatory poems and a short address to the audience. The first poem, consisting of sixteen elegiacs, is written to Þorlákur Þórðarson, the young, learned and promising son of the bishop, who was living with his parents and to whom Jón Vídalín acted as tutor in this period. The second, consisting of twenty-eight hexameters, is written to Páll Vídalín whom we have already mentioned. Judging from the praise bestowed on the addressees of the poems we can see that both Þórður Þorláksson and Páll Vídalín had excelled in the art of rhetoric but

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economic and agricultural reforms but without significant success. For his life and works cf. Jakob Benediktsson, *Gísli Magnússon. Ævisaga, ritgerðir, bréf.* Safn Fræðafélagsins, vol. 11 (Reykjavík, 1939). Þórður Þorláksson Thorlacius (1737–97), bishop of Skálholt 1674–97. A man of letters, responsible for remarkable editions from the printing press in Skálholt. Jón Vídalín (1666–1720). A member of the learned Vídalín family, descended from Iceland's best-known humanist Arngrímur Jónsson Vidalinus (1568–1648). Bishop of Skálholt 1698–1720. Páll Vídalín (1667–1727). Also a member of the family mentioned above. Lawman and district judge. Besides participating in reformatory projects for the benefit of Iceland he was a man of letters and outstanding poet in the vernacular. For his life and works cf. *Vísnakver Páls lögmanns Vídalíns*, ed. Jón Þorkelsson (Copenhagen, 1897).

[3] Add. Brit. Mus. 11, 198 4to; Lbs. 1026 4to (Lbs: Landsbókasafn Íslands: National Library of Iceland).

on what occasion it is not possible to say. Following these two poems are three hexameters addressing the audience which included the bishop, probably the old district judge Gísli Magnússon, other leaders of the church and cathedral school and its pupils.

In its preserved form the poem consists of 320 hexameters but it is possible that a part has been lost after verse 156. The composition of the poem may be described in the following way. In verses 1–13 the author invokes the muse to assist him in his undertaking and he explains the disposition of the work which is just about to begin. Thus this part of the poem might be called the *propositio* of the work. Verses 14–285 would then be the *expositio*, divided into smaller units furnished with many examples and similes. The end, the *conclusio*, which covers verses 286–320, has the true character of an *exhortatio*.

Bearing this main division in mind we will now have a closer look at each part and see what Jón Vídalín thought of expressing in his encomium of Calliope.

Verses 1–13: Exordium, propositio

After the invocation of the muse and an indirect statement of his own inadequacy for the task, the author says that it would be improper to refuse the bidding of "magnus parens," which must refer to the bishop. And, he continues, if the audience has such great desire to know about the praiseworthy deeds of the gods, he will tell how Calliope was formerly worshipped "quibus culta modis," about her birth, the origin of great things "prima Deæ cunabula nostræ, vera exordia tantarum rerum," how she cares for the city "cura urbis," how great the wars are which she wages "quanta bella gerat" and how she institutes different arts in cities in time of peace "pace artibus urbes instituit." To each of these propositions there is a corresponding part of the main narrative as we shall see in the following description of the poem.

Verses 14–285: Expositio

The question about how Calliope was formerly worshipped is dealt with in verses 14–31. The author describes Delphi and the cult of Apollo, where the Muses settled. They are all mighty powers but one holds sway over all the others. The Greeks called her Calliope; the Latins, Suada. Thus Calliope is identified with Suada almost at the beginning of the poem, a conception which is maintained to the end.

As an introduction to the following theme, the birth of Calliope and the origin of things (32–86), the author tells us that in the early days the mind was blind and true darkness was mixed with error. The ethereal beings worshipped the fruits of the mind in statues of bronze or marble and did not make much use of language, nor did Jupiter or Mercury. It would be more correct to go further back for a description of the beginning of things and

to unravel the first disasters of the Adamides, when mankind caused the Flood. Noah saved mankind and by a strange descent we reach the Strophades, where an Erythrean sibyl, probably Mnemosyne, delivers the heavenly-begotten Calliope. Then there follows a description of her nature and power; how she can change her appearance and show herself in many forms and exercise her influence. Like a wandering star she travels around the world and makes it yield to her power. Greece was the first country to feel her victorious reins, then followed the Latins, Pharos, Memphis and Schythia and now she travels to the colorful Arabs and makes strings sound with Hebrew words.

"Why do I tarry?" the poet asks, and goes on to the next topic, which concentrates on Calliope's role in the governing of cities (87–130). Without her power no state exists, and this has been felt even in Iceland. She divides cities into classes and thanks to her each knows his place and his duties. Accordingly there are well-defined and specific families, laws and rights. In this class-distinction the most conspicuous are the leaders whose task it is to build cities and walls and keep the enemy away from the borders. These are the most illustrious, who in all their splendor are not allowed to mix with the common people. Next to these—but still far away from them—are the plebeians and the middle class who occupy themselves with agriculture, fishing and mining. Thirdly there are the herdsmen taking care of their cattle and singing songs about the loves of Amaryllis. Lastly Calliope governs income and trade, as the author's own country knows, and with this activity she not only brings prosperity but causes sleepless nights, incessant labour and the gnawing of nails by anxious teeth.[4] This is her way of taking care of the city as regards civil functions.

In the military sphere Calliope plays an important role as well. We hear about this in the most extensive part of the poem (130–248). Her leadership in this field is divided into two categories: in one she is a leader of figurative armies, in the other, of armies in the literal sense. In this section the author produces several famous classical poets, beginning with Orpheus who led the listening oaks, and having mentioned Linus, Aeschylos, Amphiaraus, Pindar, Tyrtaios, Homer and Ovid, he ends with Vergil who outshines all the others. He describes their leadership as commanders of learned regiments consisting of dactyls and spondees armed with fiery tropes and figures. Other metrical units follow, but, before they are concluded, a part of the poem seems to have been lost. Then we reach the ranks of famous orators. There we meet the old Gorgias, Pericles, Isocrates and Demosthenes. The most impressive orator is nevertheless Cicero, whose eloquence is compared to the mighty river of Euphrates with its heavy flow. Then follows a description of the power shown in combat by Tullia Suada, who after victo-

[4] The reference to the governing of income and trade may be interpreted as a well-formulated reminder of the much-hated trade monopoly enacted in Iceland in 1602 and finally abolished in 1787.

ry leaves this battlefield and commences civil war where she invokes sentiments like *ira, pudor, desiderium, cupido, lætitia, dolor, spes, timor* and the horde of furies. We are taken to the real battlefield and witness the participation of Calliope, who here is simply called Regina, and we end in the company of well-known persons like Pompey, Caesar and Augustus.

After this the poet proceeds to the more peaceful functions of Calliope (249–285). He describes how she brings *artes* to the urban communities, exercises language in courts of law and educates men in the different kinds of science. Greek mythological imagery is used to depict Calliope's importance in the field of astronomy and she participates in philosophical discussions by debating and defining *turpis, honestum, utile, virtus, vitium* and many other values. She discusses the intentions and doings of the gods as regards the common good, and thanks to her, men can hide their intentions and deceive the young, like a crafty doctor inducing a fever-struck boy to swallow bitter herbs from a cup coated with honey. Rounding off this long description of Calliope the author declares that the dimensions and qualities of the goddess who is portrayed in front of the audience and sent to the pulpits of Iceland from heaven are as great as the power which she manifests.

Verses 286–320: Conclusio, exhortatio

Therefore, the young students of the audience, whom Jón Vídalín addresses in the final part of the speech (286–320), should rise to their feet and greet the magnificent and gracious goddess with music at her coming. Then there is an emphatic address to Calliope beginning with a strong *anaphora*, "O Dea . . . , O Dea. . . ." (300–301), where she is asked to leave the cliffs of Delphi and let Zephyr carry her swiftly to the shores of Iceland so people may enjoy her sweet gifts. For this the noble master, the bishop, who has arranged her depiction, would pay a high price and Þórður, the bishop's son who has already paid her tribute, is there, ready to portray her. In his final words he turns back to the young students and exhorts them once again to receive the queen descending from the starry sky.

After the delivery of this forceful *laudatio* there was most likely a pause in the learned gathering. According to the scholar Jón Ólafsson, mentioned before, Páll Vídalín sat down with a tankard of beer and in thirty minutes he composed a poem consisting of twelve hexameters as an answer to that of his cousin. As might be expected it is a small laudatory piece addressed to the other author with specific references to his poem's content. In his lofty praise of his cousin he even maintains that by this work he has made the fame of Vergil dubious, a fine choice of comparison if we remember Jón Vídalín's own verdict upon Vergil.[5]

[5] For the text of Páll Vídalín's poem cf. *Vísnakver Páls lögmanns Vídalíns*, ed. J. Þorkelsson (Copenhagen, 1897), 64.

What happened when Páll Vídalín had delivered his poem we do not know, but in any case we must assume that the audience was quite satisfied with the *declamatio* of that day and that Páll Vídalín's high praise was probably not as exaggerated as one would tend to think. Scholars of the eighteenth century had a very high opinion of this poem and Hálfdan Einarsson, rector of the cathedral school at Hólar, cites a statement ascribed to Páll Vídalín, where he says: "Carmen eximium scholæ Skalholtinæ Collega fecit inscriptum; Calliopes Res publica, nulli nostratum operi secundum & forte nec hujus seculi, sive inventionem spectes, sive metri elegantiam, sive svavitatem & dictionem undiqve magnificam."[6] These words of praise are very much in tune with a remark of another scholar, Jón Thorkillius, who says about Jón Vídalín "Poeta fuit Latinus in Islandia sine pari"—though with one exception—and the bishop Finnur Jónsson describes him as a "poeta felicissimus."[7] So it is evident that Jón Vídalín enjoyed a reputation for being a fine Latin poet.

We might now ask if *Calliopes Respublica* justifies this reputation. Obviously it is impossible here to go into details as regards the poetical value of the poem, as many aspects would have to be taken into consideration to do so. Nonetheless, attention may be paid to a few characteristics of the poem. First of all, its composition is well balanced in a rhetorical style well suited to the subject matter. Its diction is highly classical, containing a wealth of names of places and characters from Greek mythology. Historical persons are mentioned and poetical reminiscences are found, like the remark about the loves of Amaryllis (118) and the picture of the sick boy beguiled by honey to drink the herbs (279–282), calling to mind Vergil and Lucretius respectively.[8] These, nevertheless, must all be considered common features of Neo-Latin poetry in general. As regards Icelandic reality, there are some references to the country, but they are surprisingly few and very modest if compared with the tendency of many Icelandic Latin poets, at least in the eighteenth century. The same applies to the limited use of Christian and Biblical allusions. This, of course, greatly augments the poem's classical and international air.

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[6] Hálfdan Einarsson (1732–85), scholar and man of letters. Author of the first history of Icelandic literature, *Sciagraphia Historiæ Literariæ Islandicæ*, (Copenhagen, 1777; reprinted with a slightly altered title, Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1786). For the quotation cf. Páll Vídalín, *Recensus poetarum et scriptorum Islandorum hujus et superioris seculi*, ed. J. Samsonarson (Reykjavík, 1985), 71.

[7] Jón (Þorkelsson) Thorkillius (1697–1759), rector of the cathedral school at Skálholt 1728–37. Prolific writer in Latin, Icelandic and Danish. For the quotation, cf. the unpublished work *Specimen Islandiæ Non-Barbaræ Sive Literatæ et Cultioris* (Gl. kgl. saml. 2872. 4to; Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi = Arnamagnean Institute in Reykjavík), p. 53. Finnur Jónsson (1704–89) bishop of Skálholt. For the quotation cf. Finnur Jónsson, *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ* (Copenhagen, 1775; republished Farnborough, 1970), 3:694.

[8] For Amaryllis, cf. Verg. *Eclogues*, passim, in particular *Ecl.* I; Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 1: 936–42; 4:11–17.

If we have to form an opinion about Jón Vídalín's conception of Calliope and how he presents her power in the poem, we meet severe difficulties. At this stage it is impossible to say how original in thought this poem is, as we do not know with certainty which books the author read nor which poems of this genre could have inspired him. Páll Vídalín praises him for his *inventio*, so it can hardly have been a plagiarism of some well-known poem. The main aim of his presentation of Calliope is to show how her realm extends to the affairs of states and citizens in almost every situation, which she owes to her unique persuasive power and her prestige among the Muses. This conception is undoubtedly more akin to Hesiod's description of Calliope as having the tutelage of kings than to the common Roman tradition where Calliope is primarily the muse of epic poetry.[9] Whether that similarity is due to a direct knowledge of Hesiod is a question which must here be left unanswered, although we know that Jón Vídalín was well versed in Greek.[10] The versions of some of the mythological stories seem to be a little unusual, so once again we are left in doubt as to whether he is following a less-known tradition or whether it is his own poetical invention or even a mistake. The identification of Calliope with Suada may be a common feature in Neo-Latin poetry, but the failure to mention Peitho, who is the common Greek counterpart of Suada, is nevertheless striking. According to Jón Vídalín's description of Calliope, some of her activity really leads to deeds which from a Christian point of view must be considered evil. Thus, a positive use of eloquence must depend upon the approach of each person to the goddess. The moral question of right or wrong in a Christian sense does not occur in the poem, though it might have been expected at a declamation in the presence of the bishop and other leaders of the church. But as an answer to these discrepancies and inaccuracies we must not forget that we are discussing poetry, where logic is not always the most dominant factor, and we should keep in mind the words of the author when his rhetorical ardor has carried him perhaps a little bit too far in the description of Calliope as a leading power in civil wars. At that point (249) he says in an apologetic manner: "Sed joca sunt."

Being an unusual poem in many ways and certainly above the level of what an Icelandic audience was accustomed to, we might ask how *Calliopes Respublica* conforms to the rest of Jón Vídalín's poetical works in Latin. Although there is no poem which is similar to this, some common features may be found in all his poetical works. The wide range of subject matter presented in more than 2,000 extant verses testifies to the extraordinary versatility of the author, which in a way reflects his many experiences and interests in life. Besides *Calliopes Respublica* his Latin poetical production includes *Paraphrasis poetica in Somnium Schidonis,* which draws on a late-medieval *ríma* containing many pagan elements from Norse mythology, a paraphrase

[9] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 79ff.
[10] Jón Thorkillius, 53; Finnur Jónsson, 694.

of part of the well-known Icelandic Passion hymns and a collection of occasional poems and epigrams.[11] Common to all of them is the independence and sincerity shown by the author in expressing his thoughts and feelings about matters which range from obscenities to Christian topics calling forth deep religious devotion. Often the poet displays a fine sense of humor as we remark in the picture in *Calliopes respublica* of the bitten-off nails and his use of the Lucretian boy tricked into taking his medicine. His prosody is not always flawless, but Jón Thorkillius, the eighteenth-century scholar, who was a great Latinist himself and great admirer of Jón Vídalín, defends this fault and finds an excuse for the poet by saying that he has been carried away by his poetical vigor. Probably there is some truth in this statement. In spite of its imperfections, poetical strength and alertness of mind are always present in the poetry of Jón Vídalín.[12]

As the poem was composed in honour of Suada Skalholtina we might wonder how she actually prospered. At the declamation itself she must have been feeling quite comfortable. By expressing his skill in the art of rhetoric and poetry in this learned way Jón Vídalín was of course manifesting the presence of Calliope in the image of Suada Skalholtina at the same time as he paid tribute to her. Perhaps he felt that he was in a sense reviving her cult, as there had not been much Latin literary activity in Skálholt in the preceding decades. In the eighteenth century she was to have her moments of glory, e.g., at the hands of Jón Thorkillius and Finnur Jónsson who were both influenced by Jón Vídalín directly and indirectly and left remarkable works composed in Latin.[13]

But of greater interest is the personal relationship of Jón Vídalín with Suada Skalholtina. We have already mentioned his Latin poetry composed during the 1690s and the first years of the eighteenth century. In 1698 he was ordained bishop of Skálholt, a position which he held up until his death

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[11] The *ríma* (*ríma:* a special genre of Icelandic narrative poetry) paraphrased by Jón Vídalín is called *Skíðaríma* and relates in a humorous way how the vagrant Skíði in a dream finds himself amidst the gods of Valhalla. Cf. Stefán Einarsson, *A History of Icelandic Literature* (New York, 1957), 90–91. The Passion hymns, composed by Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–74), belong to the most treasured pieces of poetry in Iceland and have been translated into many languages. At least two Latin translations were published in the eighteenth century: *Psalmi passionales* (Copenhagen, 1778) by Kolbeinn Þorsteinsson (1731–83) and *Quinquaginta psalmi passionales* (Copenhagen, 1785) by Hjörleifur Þórðarson (1695–1786).

[12] For the published Latin poems of Jón Vídalín, including the paraphrase (472 verses in hexameters and elegiacs) of the Passion hymns, cf. *Biskupasögur Jóns prófasts Halldórssonar í Hitardal* (Reykjavík, 1903–10) 1:479–511. The unpublished poems including *P.p. in Somnium Schidonis,* of which the first 335 hexameter verses are by Jón Vídalín and the last 274 by Jón Árnason (1715–41), are found in Add. Brit. Mus. 11, 198 4to and Lbs. 1026 4to, cf. note 3.

[13] Among the works of Jón Thorkillius are the most extensive Latin poems written by an Icelander in the eighteenth century. For his life and works cf. Jón Þorkelsson and Klemens Jónsson, *Æfisaga Jóns Þorkelssonar* I–II, (Reykjavík, 1910). The above-mentioned history of the Icelandic church by Finnur Jónsson is the largest prose work written in Latin by an Icelander in the eighteenth century and is still regarded as one of the milestones in the history writing of Iceland. Cf. notes 7 and 10.

in 1720. The duties laid upon his shoulders by this important office cannot have left him much leisure to cultivate his poetical interests as expressed in the encomium of Calliope. From now on his work was chiefly devoted to the church, including all its institutions, and the promotion of the Christian faith in Iceland. It is in precisely this field that Jón Vídalín's personal Suada Skalholtina exerted her power and influence in the most conspicuous way. In the service of the church Jón Vídalín proved himself to be a most powerful preacher, for which he acquired a fame unequalled in the history of the Icelandic church. His sermons, actually the first truly native fruits of this genre sprung from Icelandic soil, were published in 1718–1720 in a book called *Vídalínspostilla,* which was highly treasured by thousands of Icelanders and reprinted at least eleven times during the following 120 years.[14] Building on a solid foundation in theology, Jón Vídalín draws inspiration and examples from his many experiences in life and from Icelandic reality. Thus he succeeds in rendering the message of the gospel intelligible and vivid to his audience. In his presentation he is the true orator, displaying all his skill in the classical art of rhetoric combined with a clear and powerful diction in Icelandic. With this masterpiece of Icelandic literature the author probably paid his greatest homage to Suada Skalholtina, showing at the same time that Calliope and her eloquence were more than just subject matter for a declamation.

Apart from the proper literary worth of *Calliopes Respublica,* the poem has a historical importance from at least two points of view. It is probably the first major work of Jón Vídalín and as such it marks the beginning of a most interesting and important literary career in the history of literature in Iceland, where the reciprocal influences between the Latin and the vernacular literature have only been touched upon very lightly. Secondly, it is the only piece of evidence still extant of the remarkable cultural activity which took place in Skálholt in this period. The gentlemen involved in this activity had either studied or were to study in Copenhagen and two of them had gone even further afield, namely the district judge, who had been in the Netherlands in the 1640s, and the bishop, who was in Wittenberg in the 1660s. Impulses and inspirations may therefore have come from many directions, but what all of them had in common was the desire to form the kind of learned community which most of them knew by their own experience from their studies abroad. Although these efforts were not crowned with a long-lasting success, *Calliopes Respublica* shows what these gentlemen were capable of doing so far away from the learned milieux of the rest of Europe.

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[14] Sermons and religious textbooks published in Icelandic before the time of *Vídalínspostilla* were mostly based on foreign works of German and Danish origin, cf. Óskar Halldórsson, *Bókmenntir á lærdómsöld* (Reykjavík, 1977), 52–57.

The Ecclesiastical Eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder

LEE PIÉPHO

In one of his various attempts to define pastoral, Samuel Johnson proclaimed himself unwilling to extend the title to poems "in which the speakers, after the slight mention of their flocks, fall to complaints of the errors in the church."[1] But it was precisely this kind of poetry, specifically the ecclesiastical eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus (commonly known as "Mantuan" in England since the Renaissance), that, under the impact of the Reformation, supplemented the Virgilian version of pastoral taught in English grammar schools during the sixteenth century. Mantuan's collection had already established itself as an educational text in England before the 1530s, but it was his reputation as an outspoken critic of papal corruption, in particular his attack on the vices of the Curia at Rome in the ninth eclogue of his *Adulescentia*, that assured his widespread institution in school curricula during the Reformation.

By the 1560s the impact of this curricular change began to appear in English literature (in George Turberville's translation of the *Adulescentia*, in the eclogues of Barnabe Googe, and, of course, somewhat later in Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*), but it also made itself felt in important ways in the Neo-Latin literature of the period. Surprisingly perhaps, the first extant collection of humanist Latin pastoral in England is Giles Fletcher the Elder's, offspring of the literary humanism that flourished in Cambridge at mid-century,[2] that dates in its composition from the late 1560s to the early 1570s. In some ways Fletcher's collection reflects, as Leonard Grant points out, contemporary Continental literary trends, including (for instance) a

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[1] *Works*, vol. III (*The Rambler*), ed. Walter Jackson Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 204–5.

[2] J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), 45.

pastoral epithalamium, but it also contains three religious eclogues, poems in which Grant finds "an old-fashioned ring,"[3] but which in fact show a quite interesting development in the strain of ecclesiastical satire recently sanctioned by the institution of Mantuan's eclogues within the schools.

As we have it, Fletcher's collection exists in two forms. The first is contained in a contemporary manuscript sent to Lady Burghley, the learned wife of William Cecil, during Fletcher's time as chancellor of Cambridge University. The second form comes down to us as one of "*Æclogæ tres incerti authoris*" edited by William Dillingham and printed in 1678 in his *Poemata varii argumenti*. Besides pastorals on Ann Cecil's marriage and the death of Clere Haddon and a versified account in pastoral form of the early history of Britain and of Cambridge University, the manuscript version, now at Hatfield House among the Cecil Papers, contains two ecclesiastical eclogues: "Æcloga de contemptu ministrorum quj verbo diuino pascunt" and "Queræla Collegij Regalis sub D. P. B." In addition to revised versions of these last two poems, Dillingham edited a third, otherwise unknown ecclesiastical eclogue for his collection: "De morte Boneri," occasioned by the death of Edward Bonner, bishop of London during the Marian persecutions.[4]

Fletcher's "Queræla" is his poetic response to the great scandal of his early years at Cambridge: abuses of office by Philip Baker, the provost at King's College.[5] During a visitation by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1565, the year that Fletcher entered Cambridge, Baker had been charged with mismanaging college affairs, failing to preach, and failing to "divert" scholars to the study of divinity. This resulted in several injunctions, among them that Baker destroy "a great deal of Popish stuff"—mass books, crosses, copes, and the like—but Baker chose instead to keep "them in a secret corner," since (as he shrewdly remarked on another occasion) "that which hath bin may be againe." In 1569 complaints were renewed, to the old charges this

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[3] *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 328.

[4] Quotations from "De morte Boneri" are taken from pages 201–7 of the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of Dillingham's edition, reproduced at the end of the text of this article. Citations to Fletcher's "Æcloga de contemptu ministrorum" and "Queræla Collegij Regalis sub D. P. B." come from Lloyd E. Berry's edition of the Burghley manuscript, printed as "Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher the Elder," *Anglia* 79 (1961): 338–77. Besides Berry's discussion of the eclogues in this article, see also his "Three Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder, in *Poemata Varii Argumenti* (1678)," *NQ*, n. s. 6 (1959): 132–34 and his introduction to *The English Works of Giles Fletcher the Elder* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 8–9.

[5] The following account of Baker's career at Cambridge is based on: *DNB*, s.v. "Philip Baker"; C. H. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1858–1913), II: 322–23; A. Austen Leigh, *King's College* (London: F. E. Robinson, 1899), 60–62; H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge University Press, 1958), 106. Reviewing these events, Austen Leigh concludes that, financial improprieties apart, "Baker was at heart a Romanist" (61). Thus, he could hardly be expected to preach or heartily encourage the study of a religion he disliked, and as with a number of his generation, he chose rather to leave than to stay in the increasingly uncongenial atmosphere at Cambridge.

time being added accusations that he showed favoritism, took bribes, and otherwise personally profited from his office. Visitors were finally appointed by the Queen, but Baker chose not to linger, departing instead for Louvain, and on 22 February 1570 he was formally deprived of his position as provost.

In the "Queræla" Fletcher presents Baker's tenure in allegorical terms. A nymph, Telethusa, (King's College) has been scorned in her love for Daphnis (first among shepherds in pastoral myth, as Baker should be first among *pastores*). Besides *bis centum iugera campi* left to her by her father, Daphnis has stolen numerous gifts given her by her mother. Like a rabid dog, he has attacked the terrified creatures. As a wolf snatches up the gentle lambs, so he has carried off her *pignora*. Rabid dogs, wolves that attack the sheepfold, thieves who fleece their helpless victims—all these echo the images and concerns of Mantuan's ninth eclogue. By the 1570s, however, the use that Mantuan and Protestant polemicists like John Bale and Matthias Flaccius made of this material was beginning to produce strains. Writers like Edward Fairfax or his nephew, the Great Lord Fairfax, continued well into the seventeenth century to use it to attack the Church at Rome.[6] But by the 1630s Milton could use Mantuan's terms to attack "*our* corrupted clergy," and even in Fletcher's time English Protestantism had a history sufficiently long to have revealed many of its problems, contradictions, and compromises. Centrally for Fletcher, England had long since broken with Rome, yet men like Philip Baker were English and, more than this, England had only recently put behind it the reign of Queen Mary, when it seemed that *Englishmen* would lead the nation back to the religion whose vices Mantuan had exposed. Perhaps the earliest of Fletcher's three ecclesiastical eclogues,[7] his "Queræla" scarcely looks to these issues. In this respect his other two poems, especially "De contemptu ministrorum," cast a much wider net.

In "De morte Boneri" Fletcher presents a dialogue between two shepherds, Thestilus and Palæmon, the latter having just returned from London where he has heard the news of Bonner's death. Throughout the poem the Marian bishop of London is portrayed as an boundlessly voracious wolf. He has slaughtered countless lambs and their mothers, and more than this, he is responsible for the deaths of many of their guardians. Foremost among these are two shepherds, Lycorus and Molus: the former from Canterbury, the latter from London. Fletcher is referring here, of course, in quite clear

[6] For Edward Fairfax's eclogues, written in the first year of the reign of King James, see *Godfrey of Bulliogne. Together With Fairfax's Original Poems*, ed. K. M. Lea and T. M. Gang (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 659–75. Translations by Thomas, Lord Fairfax of passages from the works of Mantuan are printed and discussed in Lee Piépho, "Versions by Thomas, Lord Fairfax of Some Poems by Mantuan and Other Italian Neo-Latin Writers," *Renaissance and Reformation*, n. s. 7 (1984): 114–20.

[7] Thomas Cooper's definition in his *Thesaurus linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ*, s.v. "*brutus*."

terms to Bonner's role in the trial and execution of Thomas Cranmer, Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London. How (Palæmon asks) could our island—so notable for the gentleness of its people—have brought forth men such as Bonner? This is the central question of the poem, but the answer Palæmon receives is less than satisfactory. Bonner's parentage was the subject of some speculation in the sixteenth century. In particular, it was rumored that he was born out of wedlock, the natural son of a man named George Savage. Fletcher plays on this material, having Thestilus muse that Bonner wasn't born in England but instead was engendered (as he says) far away in a hot land where the Tiber washes against Italian shores (*calidis regionibus ortum, / Moenia pinguis ubi late rigat Itala Tybris*). Men say that he was born of some kind of savage thing (*nescio quo genitum Savago*)—and come to think of it, Thestilus points out to clinch his argument, in Latin "Savage" means "*brutus*": "brutish" that is, "without reason."[8]

In making Bonner responsible for the Marian persecutions (an interpretation that modern historians view as simplistic but which was a common enough explanation among Protestant historians at the time),[9] Fletcher sees in him a wellspring of evil. That he could raise the possibility that an Englishman could do these things in the name of religion takes Fletcher well beyond the givens of his eclogue on Philip Baker. Nonetheless, the slim basis on which he allows an explanation of the origins and nature of Bonner's actions to stand—speculations on paternity and a quibble on a name—suggests that, although he has turned Mantuan's imagery on an English subject, he has yet to accept that Bonner is a part of English history.

From this point of view, "Ælcloga de contemptu ministrorum" is by far the most probing of Fletcher's three ecclesiastical eclogues. As its title indicates, the poem is a discussion by Celadon and Myrtilus of the low esteem that shepherds now command in the realm. Celadon tries to console his friend by reminding him that Apollo and Moses once were shepherds; even kings love the pasturelands. But that, Myrtilus laconically points out, was long ago. True, Celadon replies; indeed, just recently Cerebus, "*ille sub Hesperidum latitans canis horridus antris*," put his companions from the Tiber in charge of our fields. This offspring of Lycaon (*stirpe Licaonia*), unskilled as shepherds, have shorn the sheep and then exposed them to the winds of winter. Indeed, the vice they brought with them, Celadon suggests, might even affect shepherds like ourselves. All this has brought the shepherds'

[8] The conclusion suggests that Baker is still provost, which would date the poem before Fletcher's eclogue on the death of Bonner and his other eclogue on Baker, which assumes that he has been deprived of his position.

[9] John Foxe, for instance, sees him as becoming the willing administator of the policy formulated by Gardiner (*Actes and Monuments*, ed. S. R. Cattley, rev. J. Pratt, [1843–49; New York: AMS Press, 1965], VI: 704). For a recent historical assessment, see Gina Alexander, "Bonner and the Marian Persecutions," *History* 60 (1975): 374–91.

trade into disrepute. Moreover, should this Hesperidean evil come again, the wolves and the cold won't be able to be driven away, since the flock continues to be robbed of its wealth and the reputation of shepherds is still being harmed.

As in his eclogue on the death of Bonner, Fletcher is looking back in this poem on Protestant England's blackest hour. Cerebus is clearly an allegorical refraction of Cardinal Pole—until April 1557 a papal legate sent to reconcile the nation to the papacy—who served as Archbishop of Canterbury during Mary's reign. The offspring of Lycaon are followers whom, Fletcher imagines, Pole appointed to high positions within the church.[10] As with Bonner, Fletcher characterizes Cardinal Pole as a wellspring of evil come (in this case) not from the Tiber's banks but ultimately from a Graeco-Roman type of Hell. Nonetheless, he recognizes that the pillaging of the flocks practiced by Pole's followers has attracted native Englishmen. In this regard he cites Corydon, a plowman who now feigns pastoral songs even though he doesn't know how to sing or tend the flocks. Corydon, it would seem, was a stock figure in the pastoral literature produced at Cambridge during the 1560s. In Barnabe Googe's third eclogue, for instance, like Fletcher's Corydon he appears as a farmer and herdsman who has left his trade to turn shepherd. Googe condemns him, however, less in religious than social terms, as an upstart who has risen above his class to become "the chiefest man in all our town."[11] Behind Fletcher's Corydon stands the exaltation of shepherds over farmers in Mantuan's seventh eclogue (VII, 9–22), and in general Fletcher keeps to the religious frame evident in Mantuan's eclogues and in the biblical imagery that ultimately underlies them: for Fletcher, Corydon and his ilk are, like Pole's appointees, the antitheses of good shepherds.[12]

In addition to these appointees and to figures such as Corydon, Fletcher cites a third group that has weakened the power the clergy used to com-

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[10] In fact, before Pole arrived in England bishops had already been appointed at Bath, Chichester, Exeter, London, Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Lincoln, Rochester, and York (G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509–1558* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977], 384).

[11] Barnabe Googe, *Eclogues, Epitaphs and Sonnets,* ed. Judith M. Kennedy (University of Toronto Press, 1989), 54. Kennedy has a good note (147) in which she surveys the various historical figures Googe might be referring to. In Thomas Drant's *Apomaxis,* likewise written at Cambridge in the 1560s, Corydon appears as a figure for the Pope himself, opposing Elizabeth in claiming stewardship over the English flocks (*Impii cuiusdam epigrammatis quod edidit Richardus Shaklockus in mortem Cuthberti Scoti, quondam præsulis Cestrensis Apomaxis* [London: Thomas Marsh, 1565], fol. d3v).

[12] Berry (*NQ,* 133) insists on connecting Corydon with Baker. In contrast to Drant's Corydon, however, the terms by which Fletcher characterizes him are too general to admit so specific an identification. The ordering of the eclogues in the Hatfield House manuscript moreover would suggest that Baker in "Queræla Collegij Regalis sub D. P. B." is a concrete example of the vices deplored in Corydon in the preceding eclogue.

mand in England. In contrast to Corydon these are good singers, skilled at pasturing and milking the flocks, who nonetheless—as Fletcher puts it—having grown rich on the fleece they have shorn, have fallen silent in their songs. As his reference to the execution of Cranmer and Ridley shows, Fletcher could be quite precise in pointing to the historical figures underlying his shepherds. That he chose not to be so here is provocative. Fletcher intended "De contemptu ministrorum" to be set during the Marian reaction—at one point in the eclogue on Bonner, Thestilus mentions that Celadon and Myrtilus both died at that time—but was he perhaps also suggesting that the beneficiaries of that time of troubles are indeed cunning shepherds who have continued to hold their high positions within the English church throughout the 1560s?

At the end of his ninth eclogue, Mantuan puts his faith in Falco (Falcone de' Sinibaldi, Papal Treasurer under Innocent VIII) whom he sees as alone having the power to keep the wolves and thieves from the sheepfolds. Mantuan is, of course, echoing Tityrus's faith in Octavian in Virgil's first bucolic, and like his literary predecessors, Giles Fletcher too offers some hope to set against the evils he describes. At the conclusion of "De contemptu ministrorum" Celadon resolves to make his songs pleasing to Phyllis, whatever Amaryllis thinks of them. In Virgil's eclogues Amaryllis is (as Myrtilus observes) the theme of Tityrus's songs, but who Phyllis is in Fletcher's poem is sufficiently opaque that in a marginal note he identified her in the Hatfield House manuscript. Phyllis is "Ecclesia": the Church, that is, but in particular "the true and faithful congregation of Christ's universal church" whose members are "congregated or dispersed through the realm of England." The terms here are those of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (an address appended to the 1570 edition, to which Giles Fletcher contributed a prefatory poem of expansive praise). Fletcher's "De contemptu ministrorum" is remarkable among the English pastoral literature of the time in acknowledging the English sources and the loss of stature that the clergy suffered during the turmoil of the preceding two decades. But for all this, like Foxe and John Bale, in this eclogue Fletcher was ultimately concerned with the struggle between Amaryllis, the Church of Rome "so shining in outward beauty" (Foxe, I.xix), and Phyllis, the persecuted, invisible, one true church of God.

In "De morte Boneri" Phyllis is joined by two other figures. One is Ægle, whom Fletcher describes as ordering Bonner, that *lupum ruentem*, to be bound and at long last cast into prison. Fletcher's wolf image is ultimately Biblical, but Ægle is, of course, Graeco-Roman and specifically pastoral, being based on the nymph who lends her supernatural support to the binding of Silenus in Virgil's sixth bucolic. Here she is an obvious reflection of Elizabeth, who in 1559 had Bonner imprisoned after he refused to take the oath of supremacy. The other figure is the sea-god Palæmon whom the shepherd Palæmon invokes along with Pan and his followers to turn away in future any such monster as Bonner. Fletcher's eclogue looks back to the Marian Reaction,

but Palæmon's prayer covertly reveals his more immediate concern that (what ex-Provost Baker hoped for) "that which hath bin may be againe." Composition of "De morte Boneri" postdates September 1569, when after ten years confinement Bonner died in the Marshalsea prison, and writing at this time Fletcher surely had in mind the recent Rebellion of the Earls that, like the Marian Reaction, had unsuccessfully attempted to reestablish the church of Rome in England. The sea-god Palæmon is therefore to be connected with the Earl of Sussex, who led a royal army against the rebels, or (much more likely) with Lord Burghley (Fletcher's potential patron[13]), whose star was clearly in the ascendent at court after the Rebellion of the Earls.[14]

No doubt as a protective device, both "De morte Boneri" and "De contemptu ministrorum" have a double time frame, looking back to the Marian Reaction while they covertly consider the religious and political situation of the early 1570s. The question of respect for the clergy continued to dog the English Church throughout this period, partly, as Fletcher stresses, because of the compromises made by its leaders and the gross incompetence of so many of the men who entered the ministry. Behind these problems, however, loomed two immense challenges to the Church. The first was a profound spiritual malaise that affected the English people, subjected by the State's power to so many religious changes during the preceding two decades. Not unsurprisingly, many, especially among ordinary men and women in England, became skeptical in general and largely indifferent to questions of the dogmatic truth of religion.[15] Fletcher's exaltation of Elizabeth as Ægle is a literary, ultimately a visionary attempt to respond to this malaise, but in the final analysis it misses the mark. Given the Rebellion of the Earls and the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, one can perhaps forgive his preoccupation with struggling against what he viewed as the evils of the Church of Rome. Nonetheless, the bipolarity of his concerns—a bipolar structure that, beginning with Bale and Foxe, was to become fully developed by the early seventeenth century[16]—partly prevented him from men-

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[13] Fletcher's dedicatory letter, to Lady Burghley, in the Hatfield House manuscript was clearly intended for her husband's eyes. In 1590 he sought Cecil's patronage for a history in Latin of Elizabeth's reign (Berry, *Anglia*, 340).

[14] In February 1571 he was created Baron of Burghley and the following year was appointed lord high treasurer of England (*DNB*, s.v. "William Cecil").

[15] Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 268; Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (New York: Macmillan, 1950–54), III, 51, 60, 66, 97, 106.

[16] Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longmans, 1989), 75. Perhaps the greatest concern of Jacobean Englishmen, Patrick Collinson has insisted, was "to defend the integrity of the protestant church and nation against what was perceived to be a fearful popish enemy, partly intestine, partly identified with the pope himself and the powers of catholic Europe." (*The Religion of Protestants* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982], ix).

tioning the second great challenge that faced the Elizabethan church. This was nearer to home, in the massive control of benefices that was exercised by the Crown and lay patrons in England. The Settlement of 1559 gave administration of the Church and its personnel to the Queen's chief ministers, to laymen that is, thereby preventing effective disciplining of the clergy through ecclesiastical supervision. A passage in Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale* (lines 503–36) cynically describes the process for securing a benefice. One should find a lay patron, usually at the court, and strike a deal in which the courtier is to be given a gift of money or the *primitias*, the first year's income. Then he goes to the bishop and forces him to admit and maintain you. Thereafter, a large portion of the living (Spenser puts the figure at fifty percent) is to be paid to the courtier, the remainder being accumulated with other benefices to make up the incumbent's income. Small wonder, given this system, that there were so many Corydons within the Elizabethan Church! Indeed, in all likelihood this helps to explain why Fletcher doesn't mention the problem in "De contemptu ministrorum." Like his mistress, the Queen, Lord Burghley controlled a number of quite lucrative benefices in the English church. At the very least it would therefore have been impolitic for Fletcher to have criticized the system in a poem that was so clearly intended to win Burghley's favor.

"De morte Boneri" and "Æcloga de contemptu ministrorum" show Giles Fletcher not only setting the terms of Mantuan's ecclesiastical satire within an English context but working towards distinctively English responses to the problems he raised. As with Palæmon's trust in the sea-god and Celadon's loyalty to Phyllis, these responses were largely in accordance with developments within Elizabeth's government and the emerging ideology of the Elizabethan church. At the same time, there are enough loose ends in "De contemptu ministrorum" to suggest Fletcher's continuing unease with the state of the clergy in his own time. The friend of John Foxe, the son of an ardent Protestant who had himself suffered during the Marian persecutions,[17] over a decade later Fletcher was to serve on the Parliamentary committee that recommended to Elizabeth—unsuccessfully, as it turned out—that ignorant or unqualified ministers be suspended or removed and that in future adequate provision be made against admitting such men.[18] Giles Fletcher was no Puritan and certainly he would have been as puzzled as his father and brother were by the "godly" whom they encountered in the Kentish Weald,[19] but a concern with Church reform runs throughout

[17] Along with Foxe, Richard Fletcher was ordained by Bishop Ridley in 1550 "according to the rite, manner, and form of the Church of England lately published and enjoined" and seems to have suffered for his faith after Mary came to the throne (a commemorative plaque in his church at Cranbooke in Kent speaks of Fletcher as enduring "*adversa multa et vincula*" [Berry, *English Poems*, 4]).

[18] Berry, *English Poems*, 18; J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments 1584–1601* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957), 63.

[19] For a good discussion of this encounter, see Patrick Collinson, "Cranbook and the

his life and work from his first years as a student at Cambridge. Writing less than ten years before publication of *The Shepheardes Calendar* and moving as a prominent member within the literary culture that Edmund Spenser himself found when he was entered Pembroke Hall in 1569, Fletcher in his ecclesiastical eclogues displays within an English context the most thorough, innovative, and subtle generic response up to his time to the images and concerns posed by Mantuan's ninth eclogue. In his collection of pastorals Spenser ultimately took a different way, but in his religious eclogues he owed a greater debt to Fletcher's example than either he or his friend E. K. was ever willing to admit.

§ § §

DE MORTE BONERI.

Thestilus. Palæmon.

Jam nova falcatus reparaverat horrea messor,
Quæ prior emensi victus consumserat anni,
Captivámque manu Cererem sub vinc'la coëgit,
Debilibus postquam stragem fecisset aristis;
Thestilus exigui custos cùm pauper ovilis,
Et coenæ memor, & jejuno providus ori,
Ad vada contiguæ solus consederat undæ:
Canna manus illi, cannámque armaverat hamus;
Et levis appenso nutabat cortice funis.
Sola comes domino canis accubat, arváque circùm
Impransæ pariter tondebant læta juvencæ,
Mutáque vinicis pendebat fistula ramis.
Tunc etiam cædem meditatus piscibus, hamos
Jecerat, atque acri servabat lumine motum:
Cùm veniens illàc, intentum fortè Palæmon
Viderat, & subitâ stupefactum voce salutat.
Ille ubi respexit, vultúmque adnovit amici..
Thest. Ecquid agis nostris (O chare *Palæmon*) in arvis?
Solus an hîc? an te pecudes comitésque sequuntur?
Pal. Non venio vestris hospes mansurus in agris,
(*Thestile*) nec vacuum conctando ducere tempus.
Est mihi namque domi pecus, est mihi charior *Ægle*,
Illáque jam nostros exspectat vespere gressus. [page 202]
Sed properans illa venio propè lassus ab urbe,

Fletchers: Popular and Unpopular Religion in the Kentish Weald," repr. in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 399–428.

Quam veteres olim *Trojam* dixêre *renatam*,
At nunc indigenæ *Londinum* nomine dicunt;
Nobilis occiduis quam ditans *Thamesis* undis
Alluit, *Angligenas* inter pulcherrimus amnes.
Thest Et quid habes forsan gratum novitate, *Palæmon?*
Pal. Non ego, quæ *Gallus*, vel quæ *Germania* tractar
Prælia, quásve, jacens ad moenia clara *Melitæ*,
Turca pharetratas ducat per millia gentes,
Aut nova quæ timidus desert Mercator ab *Indis*,
Cætera vel nosco (nec enim mihi cætera curæ)
Ambitiosa quibus magnorum pascitur auris:
Sed quæ grata magìs poterint Pastoribus esse,
(*Thestile*) quæque tuas mulcebunt suaviter aures.
Thest. Fare, (precor) neque te tantum via cætera nostris
Auribus invideat. sic candida *Phyllis* & *Ægle*
Multa tibi solvant fragrantibus oscula labris,
Cùm repetes seros sub amica crepuscula gressus;
Amplexæque suis blandè tua colla lacertis,
Suaviter illa patrem vocet, & vocet illa maritum.
Pal. Expediam, quamvìs mora festinantibus obsit.
Cùm, repetens hodie vestigia, solus ab urbe
Egrederer, terris primos ubi *Cynthius* ignes
Erigit, occurrit notus mihi *Myntius*, illic
Quà medium versus Solem via ducit ab urbe,
Templáque defendit tibi nota *Geörgius* acer.
Hîc ubi me celeri cupientem evadere passu
Vidit, Io! dixit; tibi jam secura virescant
Arva, nec oblitas errent armenta per herbas,
Nec teneræ capiant pecudes cum fronde timorem.
Hîc ego, Lætitiæ num quæ nova causa resurgit?
Hocne vides, inquit, (digito monstraverat illud) [page 203]
Quod patet hîc oculis inter spineta sepulchrum?
Quáque priùs tellus neglectâ fertilis herbâ,
Jam rudis, & nullo decorans se gramine surgit?
Hîc jacet ille ferox vestri prædator ovilis,
Quem modò grassantem terris non ulla valebant
Pascua, non ipsi montes satiare, nec urbes.
Aspice, (namque novo semper se sanguine pascens
Crevit in immensum distento corpore pondus)
Effossæ quantum telluris possidet antrum.
Thest. Ille lupus, similem cui secula nulla tulerunt,
Occidit (ah!) nostri quondam populator ovilis?
Et te vera putem nobis retulisse, *Palæmon?*
Carpite securæ jam gramina, carpite flores,
Lanigeræ pecudes: neque jam vos torreat æstas,

Sæva licèt vobis immittat lumina *Phoebus*;
Nec gravis hyberni lædat violentia coeli.
O quantam miseris stragem Pastoribus olim
Intulit! O quoties teneros cum matribus agnos
Sanguineas olim libans mactavit ad aras!
Quin etiam nuper, quamvìs sub carcere tutus,
Indomito quantas spiravit pectore cædes,
Libera si quando vitæ foret ulla potestas!
Pal. Sic quoque jam moriens horrendùm sibilat anguis:
Sic etiam Marti sonipes assuetus & armis,
Debilior quamvìs senio jam factus & annis,
Ore tamen sævit, frendénsque immanè, lupatis
Incubat, & surgens terram pede pulsat inerti.
Ast ego non tantùm miror potuisse nocere,
Aut voluisse greges iterum lacerare *Britannos:*
(Non etenim monstrum videas crudelius ullum,
Sive per *Æthiopum* latè deserta peragres,
Seu *Nomadum* sylvas, & inhospita rura *Molossæ*) [page 204]
Sed miror, quòd nostra, seras cùm sperneret istas,
Insula, carnivorûm tellus inimica luporum,
Hunc tamen ediderit, quo non violentior ullus
Incolit extremi nemus & juga celsa *Pachyni.*
Thest. Et mihi, dum tacitas venabar pectore causas,
Hæc eadem coepit res admiranda videri,
Venerat hæc donec potior sententia menti;
Non illum terris tenitum crevisse *Britannis,*
Sed calidis venisse procul regionibus ortum,
Moenia pinguis ubi latè rigat *Itala Tybris.*
Non etenim genitor nobis hîc cognitus unquam,
Foemina nec partu sese jactavit ab illo.
Nescio quo multi genitum tamen esse *Savago,*
Et de supposita natum genitrice ferebant.
Nec mihi difficilis venit hæc sententia menti,
Namque sonat *brutum* nostro sermone *Savagus.*
Ille tamen, quocunque fuit genitore creatus,
Infelix nimiùm nobis Pastoribus ortus.
Tunc etenim credo tristi *Saturnus* Olympo,
Horridus, & nullo pacatus sydere, fulsit.
Nam memini, nimiúmque fuit meminisse necesse,
Sceptra manu gereret quando Puer aureus ille,
Aureus ille Puer regni cùm sceptra teneret,
Æmulus *Alcidis* qui fortia facta sequutus,
Tergeminum nostris Serpentem contudit agris,
Mitior ut fuerat primùm sub carcere clausus.
Ille tamen postquam pejori regna Sorori

Liquerat; ut nostros iterum redivivus in agros
Irruerit, totísque furens se miscuit arvis,
Tigribus indomitis & foetâ sævior ursâ,
Impastam quam fune diu venator & arte
Implicuit; donec paulitim vincula rumpens [page 205]
Gaudet, & insultans sylvis prædatur opimis.
Aut velut æstivus ruptâ tellure per altum
Evehitur, mediúmque vapor secat aëra cursu;
Illic cærulea crescens in nube moratur,
Impatiens donec paulatim carceris, altè
Mugit, & in spatium migrans evadit apertum;
Tum verò horribili coelum clamore fatigat,
Ipsáque terrifico Tellus conterrita planctu
Muta silet, mussant pecudes, pictæque volucres,
Et matris lateri trepidus se complicat agnus:
Non aliter sese ruptis effudit habenis,
Sævior & tauris, quos, flammas ore vomentes,
Phasidos ad ripas domuit *Pagasæus Jason.*
Vulnere sic olim, sic damnis sævior ipsis
Dira venenatæ surrexit bellus *Lernæ.*
Tum verò, gregibus lictis, trans alta videres
Currere Pastores, patriæ neque sidere terræ;
Aut pavidos densas inter se condere sylvas,
Attonitos subitâ tanti forminine monstri.
Non etenim pecudum calido se sanguine tantùm
Imbuit, aut miserum raptans spoliavit ovile:
Quin etiam cædem Custodibus intulit ipsis.
Tunc etenim (memini) fuso cecidêre cruore
Myrtilus & *Celadon,* charissima pectora nobis,
Dum lacerum trepidúmque metu tutantur ovile.
Vivite, felices animæ, jam sydera vobis,
Altáque sub pedibus calcatur regia coeli.
Non ego vos posthac viridi sub fronde videbo
Mulcentes pecudes, & carmina grata loquentes.
Et duo præterea noti, *Lycorus*que, *Molús*que,
Insignes calamis ambo. prior arva regebat,
Quà vetus exosos tollit *Cantuaria* muros; [page 206]
Alter ad irriguas pascebat *Thamesis* undas.
Non illis aliquæ potum venêre diebus,
Gramina nec tristes gustabant læta juvencæ:
Illos & sylvas, illos & flumina Ponti,
Et vitreis flevisse ferunt *Nereïdas* undis.
Ipse suum lacrymis augens & fletibus amnem,
Limosúsque vadis, & pullo cinctus amictu,
Flevit, & infestas turbavit *Thamesis* undas;

Thamesis argutos qui flumine gignit olores.
Tum quoque, (ceu perhibent) tot funera ferre coactus,
Coepit & ipse suas *Vulcanus* spernere flammas.
Ast ego, tum fugiens ad proxima littora, tandem
Perveni, *Zephyris* ultro spirantibus, illuc
Sequana quà *Belgis Celtarum* dividit agros.
O quoties *Euro* tamen, huc cùm verteret alas,
Mandavi, nostros inviseret ille penates,
Forsan an hîc aliqui tanta de strage manerent?
Non etenim (quamvìs multùm Pastoribus ille
Obfuit) *O Eneïos* ità Sus vastaverat agros
Spumeus, iratæ vindex famulúsque *Dianæ*.
Hic etenim, donec Sol quinque peregerat orbes,
Palantésque metu pecudes, pecudúmque magistros,
Et gravidas passim nullo discrimine matres,
Sanguineis instans epulis, rapuítque tulítque:
Donec *Nereïdum* pulcherrima venerat Ægle,
(*Ægle*, quæ reliquas excellit corpore Nymphas,
Exiguas quantum laurus *Phoebæa* myricas;)
Et, Procul, O, cohibete Lupum, cohibete ruentem,
Dixerat. Invadunt socii, vinc'lísque furentem
Impediunt, captúmque novo sub carcere claudunt.
Hic jam bis quinos (etenim sic jusserat *Ægle*)
Detuluit Soles; donec culpantia tantas [page 207]
Fata moras, ultro *Stygias* rapuêre sub undas,
Et scelerum vindex seris Deus abstulit annis.
At vos, O veteres Pastorum numina, *Fauni*,
*Pan*que Deus pecorum, cui rustica *Mænala* cordi;
Et vos, O Nymphæ nemorum, Satyríque bicornes;
Aut (nè ficta sequar) potiùs Deus ille, *Palæmon*,
Ille Deus toties quem fistula nostra sonabit,
Monstra (precor) nostris avertat talia regnis.
Pal. At nunc Oceano properat Sol tingere currus,
Et mihi longa viæ pars altera restat eunti.
Thest. Ergò meis potiùs succede penatibus hospes,
Crastina lux donec primos rubescerit ortus.
Sunt mihi, quos cernis, capti modò flumine pisces,
Pyráque, quæ nuper ramis fragrantia legi:
Et jam suadet oves sub culmina ducere vesper.

Sweet Briar College

The Moving Force in Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili

KAREN PINKUS

The macaronic *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, written by the Dominican prelate Francesco Colonna and printed by the Aldine press in 1499, recounts the "strife of love in a dream."[1] Anyone familiar with its critical reception will be aware of the overwhelming number of attempts to read the text within some broad interpretive spectrum or frame: Jungian,[2] alchemical, humanist-archeological, as a giant rebus occulting the narrative of an actual erotic encounter, and so on. Alternately, scholars will extract a single figure—the elephant, obelisk, or one of the temples, for example—in support of an iconographical motif study;[3] this second reading ignores the question of a structural narrative logic that ultimately grants significance to the particular images. A most compelling interpretation reads the object of desire *Polia* (the old one) as a figure for (humanist) Latin, so that the entire poem becomes an obsessive meditation on the contingency of language, reflected in the anxious macaronic which conjoins Latin cognates and word

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[1] All citations refer to the critical edition of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, ed. G. Pozzi and Lucia A. Ciapponi, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Padua, 1980); see also, M. T. Casella and G. Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna. Biografia e opere*, 2 vols. (Padua, 1959), and Pozzi's entry on Colonna in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, series ed. Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, vol. 27 (Rome, 1960). Of a more dubious scholarly quality is Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les Jardins du songe* (Rome, 1976), which, however, includes a good bibliography. Colonna was probably born in 1433 in Treviso and entered the Dominican Order in Venice. The *Hypnerotomachia* may have been written between 1462–67 according to rather specific historical-biographical references encoded in the text itself. The author received a baccalaureate degree at the University of Padua.

[2] Linda Fierz-David, *The Dream of Poliphilo*, trans. M. Hottinger (New York, 1950) expands on Jung's initial findings in his *Psychologie und Alchemie* (Zurich, 1944). Both works impose a pre-established frame onto Colonna's text which they read completely ahistorically.

[3] One example of this type of scholarship is E. H. Gombrich, "Hypnerotomachiana," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951): 119–25.

order, Greek roots and vernacular grammatical forms.[4] Colonna's biography seems to support this interpretation; we know that he encountered resistance to his monastic ordination—as if he refused obstinately to choose between writing a romance in the vernacular and a didactic treatise in Latin.

Suppose, then, that the *Hypnerotomachia* were caught, not only linguistically, but narratologically, between Latin and vernacular genres? The text can clearly be read as a vision-romance in the tradition of the *Roman de la Rose*, Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*, and so on, and like these vernacular texts, there is a certain normative rhetoric to the dream-frame: medieval romances sometimes used the dream, as in Dante, for an excursus into the underworld, and as we shall see, this is certainly a feature of Colonna's text. He uses the first person indicative throughout, setting the cæsura between dream and narrative journey in the verb "*ritrovare*," following Dante ("I found myself in a woods . . ."). Where he deviates into commentary, it is his own jussive voice that brings the text back to a narrative position: "Let us return, then, to the pyramid," he says. Not only space, but also time is subject to a continual flow without any tempo other than that set by the complexity of the language. "*Doppo alquantulo*," "after a little bit," and other similar transitions separate the images. Like its precursors, the *Hypnerotomachia* includes a lengthy, detailed description of the precise hour and astrological position when the dream begins; the primary verbal mode employed is the imperfect tense, lending a kind of historical credence to the events recounted. Finally, the text really does read like a dream in the sense developed by psychoanalysis inasmuch as Poliphilo, the "I" or ego of the text, is not its narrative consciousness or agent. Instead, he is led about by both text and images which appear before his eyes almost like a series of triumphal carriages, evoking the traditional oneiric formula "*mihi visum est*" to introduce new material.[5] So, while the act of falling asleep and initiating a dream is essentially forgotten once the narrative is underway (it is a *mere* frame, explained historically by the fact that most dreams were invested with prophetic powers, so granting a truth-value to all that would occur in a given fiction), there are certain textual elements which clearly place the *Hypnerotomachia* in this earlier vernacular paradigm. Finally, though, what seems lacking is the allegorical or ethical passage (from a dark woods to the divine

[4] For this interpretation see Giorgio Agamben, "Il sogno della lingua. Per una lettera del Polifilo," *Lettere italiane* 34 (1982), 4:466–81. More general support for this reading is the work of Dionisotti in *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Florence, 1968) and *Tra latino e volgare*, ed. Gabriella Trezzini (Padua, 1974). The connection between linguistic macaronic and a psychological state of division is explored in the fascinating book by Louis Wolfson, *Le schizos et les langues* (Paris, 1970).

[5] Christiane Marchello-Nizia, "La rhétorique des songes et le songe comme rhétorique dans la littérature française médiévale," in *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. Tullio Gregory (Rome, 1985), 247.

assumption of Polia, the female figure) as in the true romances. Instead, the text is ordered as a series of individual episodes strung together within this conventional frame. There is little interest in maintaining a sense of proportion or progress which characterizes *The Romance of the Rose*, and here is where Colonna finds himself indebted to a series of Latin, didactic genres.

As a Dominican, Colonna could not help but be influenced by the *ars memorativa*, particularly its scholastic use perpetuated by Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and numerous fifteenth-century imitators fusing Ciceronian technique with Aristotelian theory. Although this is primarily a Latin phenomenon, it is true that by the mid-fifteenth century, a number of treatises began to appear in the vernacular, attesting to the increasing laicization of the technique for the devout: for conjuring images in praying and recalling the sins or virtues, linking particular sins with the places of hell, and recalling key narrative moments in Scripture. Colonna hovers at the edge of this lay, vernacular trend which was implicitly pragmatic; texts were increasingly published for use in professional fields such as medicine, law, or printing.

In the *Summa* (quest. 49.2.2), Aquinas takes up the question of the proper place of memory within the intellectual faculties, concluding that it belongs to the realm of prudence as a rational operation, since although it appears to be "naturally given," it can also be exercised and augmented. A brief passage explicates the four mechanical stages of this process of *aggredatio*. First,

> When a man wishes to remember a thing, he should take some suitable yet somewhat unusual illustration of it, since the unusual strikes us more, and so makes a greater impression on the mind. . . . Now the reason for the necessity of finding these illustrations or images, is that simple and spiritual impressions easily slip from the mind, unless they are tied as it were to some corporeal image, because human knowledge has a greater hold on sensible objects.

This consideration places Colonna squarely within the classical memory tradition, with its emphasis on the obscure that will be finally obliterated by the Counter-Reformation edicts against any visual *insolitae*.[6] Secondly, Aquinas suggests that whatever a man wishes to remember he must carefully consider and *set in order*, so that he may pass easily from one memory to another. The third element is especially interesting for a reading of the *Hypnerotomachia*. Aquinas writes: "We must be *anxious* and earnest about the things we wish to remember, because the more a thing is impressed on the mind, the less it is liable to slip away," and this refers to a passage from the

[6] The term is used by Paleotti in his treatise on visual orthodoxy during the Council of Trent. See Paolo Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella riforma* (Bologna, 1984), 17. Although the participants of the Council never issued any document expressing consensus on the issue of visual images, they clearly disdained bizarre, startling, or extra-canonical scenes.

Ad Herrenium in which "anxiety preserves the figures of images entire." In his fourth consideration, Aquinas recommends a more full meditative reflection on the thing to be remembered, followed by frequent "exercises" of recollection that will retain the thing in the mind beyond an initial iteration of places.

Many of these notations were taken up by a widespread tradition that cannot be traced here. An artificial memory by Iacopo Ragone da Vicenza written in 1434 suggests, following the Ciceronian idea, that the subject must choose some kind of edifice in which he then disposes a number of different images in various loci: niches or architectural details that serve as visual frames. The subject then walks through this "house," filled with rooms that are neither too large nor too small, and not too distant one from the other.[7] He always turns either to the right or left (depending on the composition of the building), mimicking a technique common in mythography for navigating a labyrinthine structure.[8] Significant for the present discussion of narrative is the fact that the itinerant never walks backwards: he proceeds *per ordinem*. The images themselves are temporary and subject to change, while the structure remains permanent. Pietro da Ravenna, famous throughout Italy for his extraordinary memory, and displayed in the courts like a circus freak or curiosity, insisted on the necessity for images to be "exciting." He particularly approved of the use of young virgins in the formation of images; the pragmatic or prudential nature of the memory techniques demands that such admissions be overlooked by the "religious or chaste."[9]

The parallels between the treatises and Colonna's narrative strategy are indeed striking. He also explicitly imitates this process of iteration past a series of images disposed according to a grand scheme, as well as to the formula cited above. He includes many impressive and "exciting" images that would seem to disregard decorum; the element of anxiety recommended by Cicero and Aquinas permeates the *Hypnerotomachia*, within the individual episodes, as we shall soon see. In his introductory epistle, Colonna explicates the over-arching structure of the text: a narration in which Poliphilo pretends (*finge*) to have seen various antiquarian things worthy of memory:

> And all of this he says he saw, from point to point (*di puncto in puncto*) and in his own words he describes it: pyramids, obelisks, the ruins of great edifices, different columns: their measures, capitals, bases.[10]

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[7] Iacopo da Ragone, *Artificialis Memoriae Regule*, quoted in Paolo Rossi, *Clavis universalis. arti mnemoniche e logica combinatoria da Lullo a Leibniz* (Milan, 1960), 19–25.

[8] Iacopo da Ragone, in Rossi, 21–22. See also Penelope Reed Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York, 1990) for the motifs of exiting the maze.

[9] Pietro da Ravenna, *Phoenix seu Artificiosa Memoria* (Venice, 1491), fols. 88v–89r.

[10] Colonna, 1:xxi.

He continues thus, up until the moment when he is awakened by the song of the nightingale. In the book's incipit, the insomniac goes over in his mind again *di puncto in puncto* the stages in the development of love (1:4). He takes off on an *ignorato viagio* (1:5), the whole of which is structured like a labyrinth requiring an Ariadne's thread in order to exit (1:7). Figured within this well-considered memory tradition, the text loses some of its mystery and its structure becomes clear.

Next, we should consider another set of sources popular in Colonna's Veneto circle—the sketchbook, or architectural treatise where the narrative, if any, is a mere excuse to illustrate the fragments of antiquity or display the author's erudition on archeological-historical matters. Such works as the antique studies by Ciriaco d'Ancona, the *De Re Aedificatoria* of Alberti, the *Roma Instaurata* of Flavio Biondo and the *Trattato* of Filarete really reflect the order images present themselves to a particular antiquarian; the fact that they are bound and then "reread" according to narrative conventions is only secondary and incidental. Both Flavio Biondo and Alberti were papal functionaries and "recorded" the monuments of Rome while they were performing a traditional humanist service, the former as a notary and later Apostolic secretary, the latter a member of the College of Pontifical Abbreviators, where the new Italian hand was developed. In both the *Roma Instaurata* and the *De Re Aedificatoria* (probably finished in 1450 and published in 1486), a clear Latin style and adequate documentation is essential to fill in the spaces between the illustrations.[11] Alberti in particular makes a great deal about the fact that he will order the information in his book according to a logical plan that is reiterated at the beginning of each chapter, but there are no characters that penetrate the building themselves, and there is no anxiety to the text, no linguistic tension at the level suggested by the memory treatises. Filarete's Italian treatise on architecture is, for my purposes, primarily a political project mediating the relationship of prince and subjects through the creation of a utopic community. Again, the text is a paratactic catalogue of elements, an attempt to include as many details as possible, as many as the eye can apprehend as it moves across the city (through the engravings). There is, however, a stated organization, dividing the "modes of building," the "reasons for various edifices," "proportions and measures," all addressed in Italian to the technician who is "less versed in letters" than in the principles of construction.[12] Moreover, the information is expounded through a dialogue between the architect (as *faber* he links himself with the antique wonders including the Egyptian labyrinth) and his

[11] Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, ed. Giovanni Orlandi (Milan, 1966), 1:25: "Sed cum huiusmodi rebus alioquin duris et asperis atque multa ex parte obscurissimis conscribendis me cupiam esse apertissimum et, quoad fieri possit, facilem et expeditissimum nostro pro more explicabimus quidnam sit, quod aggrediar. Nam hinc non negligendi rerum dicendarum fontes patebunt, unde caetera aequabiliore oratione diducantur."

[12] Filarete (Antonio Averlino), *Trattato di architettura*, ed. Anna Maria Finoli and Liliana Grassi (Milan, 1972).

patron. Filarete uses a verbal conditional, imagining a journey to take place around the city. "If one were to cross the bridge, he would come to a palace of many rooms," and so on. The Lord remains (justly) confused by the architect's descriptions which do not always seem to correspond precisely to the plates themselves.

The problem of the practical interaction between the memory treatises and archeological registers within Colonna's text remains unresolved. At a certain point (1:116), Poliphilo is led by a figure of Logic to contemplate a water maze, symbolizing the "life itinerary" (fig. 1).[13] Located in a garden, this conceit may derive from Filarete's garden maze of similar physical configuration; in this latter case it serves no particular narrative function, but is included in the prince's estate as a courtly game or *beffa*, a *mappamundo* that could actually be navigated by visiting subjects, tricked or lost in a hedgerow until the prince offered an "Ariadne's thread" to help them escape, thus asserting his power.[14] There are seven circles of water in Colonna's version, interrupted by seven towers. The first one is presided over by a matron who draws lots from an urn for each of the "players," a motif that links this maze with Virgil's description of the "*domus labor*" and the Sybilline *sortes*. At Colonna's second tower different young women accompany the pilgrims, depending on the lot they have drawn. Finally, the waters become choppy and the circles increasingly restricted, following the pattern of the course of life, the seven ages of man in the Augustinian tradition (1:83; *Quaest.* 58). At the center, the pilgrim faces judgement by another matron, but the boats begin to pile up before a sign in Greek reading: "The wolf of the gods is insensitive." Rather than be devoured by this figure of finality, Logic urges Poliphilo to exit the labyrinth into the surrounding apple orchard. While the narration followed the course of the maze as if the protagonists were actually inside of it, they are able to move away before the moment of truth, as in a dream certain dangerous situations are avoided at the last minute. Ironically, here it is the figure of Logic that leads the dreamer away. When they rejoin their "consort" Thelemia (Will), Logic explains to her, "It was not enough for our curious Poliphilo to see, but I had to lead him through that material, so if he could not go there, at least he could understand and know it, with my interpretation" (1:119). The position of the itinerant with regard to the structure is, finally, ambiguous. A possible source for the water maze comes from one of Alberti's *Intercenales* on fate and fortune, like the larger frame of the *Hypnerotomachia*, a dream of beholding (this is most significant, since for Alberti, it is only when dreaming that the minds of men are completely free and capable of receiving such sweepingly panoramic images as the one he recounts).[15] The author falls asleep

[13] The image derives from the Kerver edition, 43r.

[14] Filarete, 1:450–52.

[15] Leon Battista Alberti, "Fatum et Fortuna," in *Opera Inedita et Pauca Separatim Impressa*, ed. G. Mancini (Florence, 1890), 136–43.

and finds himself on top of a mountain that could be reached only by a tortuous path (*uno tantum sed angusto erat calle pervius*) teeming with the shades of men who were plunged into a steady stream of water, only to emerge as infants. A narrator explains that the River is called *Bios*, and, interestingly, Alberti demands to have this translated as if he wished to preserve the Latinity of his dream. As in the *Hypnerotomachia*, the viewer learns of the topography of place and the disposition of various sinners from a *magister*, but also through a visual iteration. Just as the dreamer falls into complete identification with the image, seeming to be himself submerged in the river, he awakens.

The textual moment in the *Hypnerotomachia* also recalls the unicursal maze or the "life map" itinerary of the *Tabula Cebetis* (fig. 2), almost universally attributed to a Pythagorean philosopher of the first century AD, originally, too, in the form of a dialogue that inspired numerous pictorial renditions throughout the early modern period, including an Aldine edition in 1512.[16] In the dialogue, a group of pilgrims find themselves at a temple of Chronos where they confront a mysterious painting that is explicated for them by an "old man." The image is of three concentric circles figuring the course of human life: birth, the stage of moral choice, and the achievement of happiness. Various female personifications populate the circles and the pilgrims make various choices that either lead them on toward the center, the seat of *felicitas*, or cause them to remain lost within the walls. Again, as in the *Hypnerotomachia* labyrinth, they have to face wild beasts that may well devour them, but if they survive they are crowned. The structural similarities between the maze and the course of the Table of Cebes should be obvious. Both result from a kind of narrative ekphrasis, a point in a text where a figure explicates the itinerary through a difficult architectural and moral field so that it is as if the interlocutor were himself traversing the various circles. In the first instance the little boats follow a distinct path in a single direction where a devouring master—death as wolf—establishes absolute closure to the hypothetical narrative of the pilgrimage. In the second instance, the pilgrim wanders from figure to figure as if at a fair where brightly colored lights and spectacles distract him. There are a number of organizing principles structuring both of these examples. First, the frame that delimits the playing space—much like the confines of Poliphilo's dream—literally forms an architectural wall. Second, the alliance of the life cycle—whether understood in an Augustinian sense of definite ages, or as a cursus of individual moral choices—with motion within the space. Finally, the punctuation of space by massive personifications that hold their positions—the wolf, or minotaur in the labyrinthine plot, the moral virtues and vices in the *tabula*. A number of these Tables were adorned with mottoes from Virgil, and some even pictured the course of life as the course of hell (fig. 3, for ex-

[16] Reinhart Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis* (Berlin, 1973); Domenico Pesce, *La tavola di cebete* (Brescia, 1982).

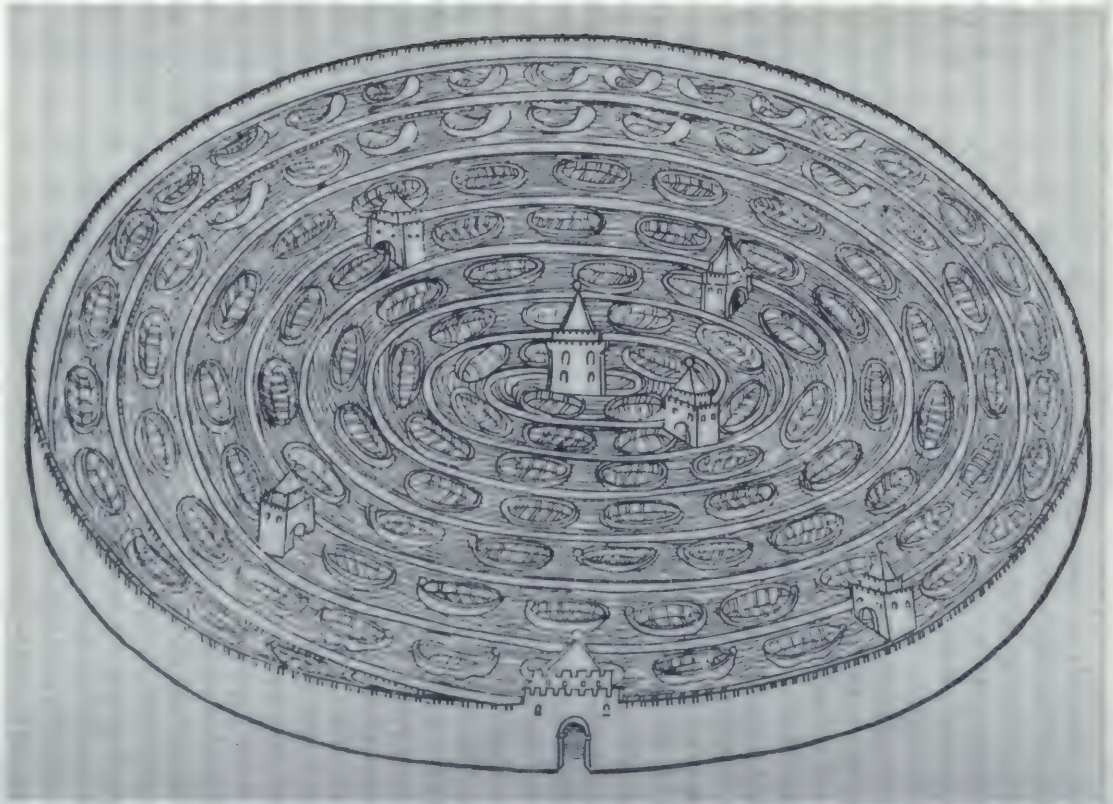


Fig. 1. Water maze from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499).



Fig. 2. One version of the *Tabula Cebetis* (Netherlandish, sixteenth century), with permission of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel.



Fig. 3. Table of life picturing the course of life as the course of hell, with permission of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.



Fig. 4. Inferno from *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.*

ample). It should be recalled that the Cretan labyrinth figures in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* precisely as an ekphrasis of a painting on the wall of the Sibyl's cave, just before Aeneas departs for the underworld.[17] Now the larger connection between the narrative of the labyrinth (circuitous paths) and the descent into hell included in the *Hypnerotomachia* makes further sense. In this particular episode (1:242–46), Poliphilo has been persuaded by Polia to gaze [*speculare*] at a number of different inscriptions in a ruined temple when he comes upon a sepulcher dedicated to Persephone and a picture of a gaping hole opening up to a cavernous structure, separated from his own spot by an iron bridge (fig. 4). He also confronts the damned, like Alberti in his "Fatum et Fortuna." The picture is so convincingly well-fashioned (*fabrefacta et exquisitamente perfecta*) that Colonna suggests even Parrhasio, from Pliny's quintessential text on painterly verisimilitude, could not have done better. Poliphilo's "exit" from the inferno is not by any difficult route (as in the traditional formula, *decensus averni facilis est*...). He simply states that such a spectacle aroused fear in him, and then he continues, "In this place [*loco*] I saw a square altar bearing an inscription." So Poliphilo moves on with new consciousness of his own subjection to the impetus of the text, much as in a dream when we attempt to consciously intervene to change a malevolent course of events and find we are powerless. These loci of hell link a certain kind of narrative strategy to the *ars memorativa* as a prudential faculty. The unicursal or circular itinerary inserted into a larger linear narrative works as a device of delay and speculation, but if its walls seem to trap or confound the pilgrim, he is transported out and beyond this place, and onto the next image in a series of memory loci. Once we distance Colonna's text from the narrative or prenovelistic forms of the vernacular tradition and ally it with Latin prose, we understand the truly schizoid quality of the grammar for an author who mediates between a narrative of progress and closure, and one of parataxis and fruitful anxiety that charges images so they may impress upon an active intellect.

Northwestern University

[17] The ekphrasis begins in Book 6, line 14, and ends at line 33.

"Ad grammaticos, cur scribat lascivius": *On the Poetics of Janus Secundus's* Epigrams

DAVID PRICE

Janus Secundus (1511–1536) is known as one of the most innovative and complex writers of amatory verse in the Renaissance. His fame began to spread during his brief life, became immense during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and has continued, as witnessed by numerous editions and translations, until this day.[1] Most conspicuous among his admirers are other poets. He was widely imitated—one thinks of Ronsard, Weckherlin, Fleming—and also revered by such luminaries as Goethe.[2] While his virtuosity and originality account for his appeal, he may have also spoken to later generations of poets in his sustained defenses of his *métier* as erotic poet. In the *Elegies*, he uses the ancient device of the *recusatio* to reject the need to compose heroic (or politically relevant historical) poetry.[3] In the *Basia* and, above all, in the *Epigrams*, he undertakes a multifaceted defense of eroticism and license in general. He often inscribes an audience offended by his licentious style into the *Basia*,[4] ultimately ironizing the relationship between the licensed poet and the audience wishing to impose a moralistic literary code.[5] The *Epigrams*, which form the most sustained commentary on art, ex-

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[1] For a bibliography of the editions and translations, see Alfred M. M. Dekker, *Janus Secundus (1511–1536)* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1986), 275–77.

[2] On Goethe's admiration of Secundus, see Georg Ellinger, "Goethe und Johannes Secundus," *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 13 (1892): 199–210.

[3] Clifford Endres and Barbara K. Gold, "Joannes Secundus and His Roman Models: Shapes of Imitation in Renaissance Poetry," *Renaissance Quarterly* 35 (1982): 282–86, discuss Secundus's *Elegy* 1.1 as an adaptation of Ovid's *recusatio* in *Amores* 1.1.

[4] A good example of this is the image of the "Matronaeque puellulaeque castae" in *Basia* 12.

[5] In my lecture, I also discussed the *Basia*. Space restrictions, though, have compelled deletion of the *Basia*-analysis. An expanded version of that discussion will appear in a forthcoming volume of the *Sixteenth Century Journal*.

emplify and espouse a similar concept of literature unfettered by moralistic poetics. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the defense of license engages the classical tradition, especially in the form of imitation of polemically self-apologetic works by Catullus and Martial. But all is not imitation, for in many works Secundus reflects deeply and independently on the nature of poetry and its relationship to ideology.

The extant corpus of epigrams was collected and organized by his two brothers, the editors of the posthumous *editio princeps*, into two books.[6] With slight additions by the later editor Petrus Scriverius, the first book now consists of seventy-six original compositions, while the second book comprises a collection of seventeen Latin renderings of epigrams from the *Anthologia Graeca*.[7] As one would expect, the original epigrams of Book I are stylistically and thematically diverse. The ancient models are Catullus, Martial, the *Anthologia Graeca*, and Ausonius; of the moderns, Michael Marullus exerted the greatest influence. Subjects range from imitations of Catullan sparrow-poems,[8] tributes to love and lovers,[9] encomiastic tributes to Charles V,[10] and panegyrics on Marullus as well as Andreas Alciatus,[11] to lampoons on undesirable women,[12] unusual sexual behavior,[13] and prostitutes ill-disposed to the poet.[14] The tone shifts frequently between encomiastic and invective. The most distinctive characteristic of the epigrams is that, with few exceptions, they deal with either love (and sex) or the arts.[15] As also occurs in the *Basia*, love (or making love) is closely connected to the subject of poetry (or writing poetry). "Ars amatoria" and "ars poetica" are, in great measure, synonymous.

Several poems critique the artistry of other poets, usually, though not al-

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[6] Though a new edition would be highly desirable, all my references are to Ioannes Nicolai Secundus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Petrus Burmannus and Petrus Bosscha (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1821), 2 vols. Dekker, *Janus Secundus*, announced the intention of correcting the Secundus editions by using the Bodleian manuscript MS. Rawl. G. 154, but these corrections have not yet appeared.

[7] Secundus's brothers, Nicolaus Grudius and Hadrianus Marius, did not include what are now, following Burmannus and Bosscha's numeration, 1.25, 1.26, and 1.58 in their edition of 1541; these poems were, however, printed in Petrus Scriverius's edition of 1619.

[8] *Epigrams* 1.7 and 1.8.

[9] *Epigrams* 1.3, 1.4, 1.16, 1.20, 1.52 (to lovers in church), 1.53, 1.55, 1.56, and 1.57.

[10] *Epigrams* 1.17 and 1.20.

[11] *Epigrams* 1.32 and 1.33 are tributes to Marullus; 1.23 and 1.59 are accolades of Alciatus.

[12] See *Epigrams* 1.5 and 1.76.

[13] See *Epigrams* 1.10, 1.70, and 1.72.

[14] See *Epigrams* 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.22 (to Neaera), 1.29, 1.34, and 1.35.

[15] Literature is the most prominent art, though several poems deal with paintings (1.39 [on Jan van Scorel], 1.42, and 1.71), medallions or sculpture (1.43 and 1.44), and architecture (1.45). Secundus, incidentally, was himself a sculptor of medallions; for a discussion, with illustrations, of his medallions, see Dekker, *Janus Secundus*, 245–68. Epigram 1.65, furthermore, seems to have been written for the presentation of a medallion.

ways, by applying stylistic criteria of erotic verse.[16] For instance, 1.31 valorizes the amatory elegy over heroic verses:

> Dum tu elegos dicis quae heroica carmina scribis,
> Dignus eras veros qui faceres elegos.

Consequently, it is not by accident that, in the literary-critical epigrams, Secundus accords the highest praise to Michael Marullus (1453–1500), the premier, albeit controversial, amatory poet of the preceding generation.[17] According to 1.31, Marullus is an inexhaustible treasury for poets, though it is his nugatory poetics—described in Catullan terminology—that, in an intentional inversion, give his work value. As becomes clear in 1.33, the classical style is required for such an accolade. Indeed, Marullus attests the validity of Pythagorean transmigration of the soul since "we see the complete mind of Tibullus enclosed in your body, elegant Marullus."[18] *Being* Tibullus, Marullus "embodies" the model of Renaissance imitative erotic verse.

But Secundian love, as is also true for Marullus's poetry, does not always resemble the gentle eroticism one might associate with Tibullus. Secundus's vigor resides in graphic descriptions of sexual desire[19] as well as purposeful descents to the level of obscenity. For example, with a tone of insouciance, he celebrates a *ménage à trois* between a married woman and two men (1.10); the sexual encounter can, furthermore, be repeated *ad libitum*, as the husband has been thoroughly duped:

> Marullus Variusque Septimillae
> Donavere toga nova maritum.
> Nunc ille ambulat huc et huc togatus,
> Et transit fora, porticus, tabernas,
> Vicos, balnea, fornices, popinas,
> Nec toto decies revisit anno
> Relictam dominis domum novellis.
> Securi modo saepe luce prima,
> Securi modo saepe sole sero,

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[16] Two critical poems which do not refer to amatory style, though, are the lampoons of a certain Bubalus (1.40 and 1.41). Epigram 1.41 concerns the poet writing about his own illnesses, a fairly common theme for humanist love-poets. In a clever but crude conceit, the diseased body becomes the source of bad poetry: "Bubalus aegrotat: Paean, succere poetae, / Ne, quotiens languet, tam mala verba vomat."

[17] For a biography of Marullus, see Carol Kidwell, *Marullus: Soldier Poet of the Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1989), though Kidwell is completely unaware of Marullus's impact on Secundus.

[18] *Epigrams* 1.33.5–6: "Cernimus en culti mentem remeasse Tibulli, / Corpore conclusam, culte Marulle, tuo."

[19] Schoolfield's exploration of Secundus's graphic ekphrasis of sexual desire must be credited with opening up an important approach to the understanding and appreciation of his style. See George C. Schoolfield, *Janus Secundus* (Boston: Twayne, 1980).

Securi medio die fruuntur
Marullus Variusque Septimilla.

With exaggerated rhetorical devices (climatic *accumulatio, anaphora*), Secundus emphasizes the subject of repetition and also, though without a specific source, suggests Catullan invective. The repetition of the first line in the finale, for example, is a common device of Catullus's obscene poems.[20] Similarly, Secundus puts the stamp of a classical style on his obscene tirade on the ugliness of the women of Bourges (1.76). He concludes it with an imitation of Tibullus's threats to punish Marathus's promiscuity:

His (i.e., ugly women of Bourges) tamen accumbunt
iuvenes, dignaeque videntur
Cum quibus extensa proelia nocte gerant.
Illos posse putem rabidae concumbere tigri
Inque cruentatas turpiter ire lupas. (1.76.7–10)

In the recasting of Tibullus, Secundus creates an even harsher image of indiscriminate sex.[21] The comparison of the women to "laupe" probably is intended to associate them with prostitution, though, above all, one is left with the intentionally offensive image of having sex with wolves. Other poems, too, are supposed to be equally offensive.[22]

Obscene sex functions not only as a device of the invective epigram, but also as Secundus's defense of poetic license. This can be seen most clearly in a group of epigrams which revile grammarians. In 1.18, grammarians represent, and are lampooned as, the source of a restrictive code of poetic decorum. One of Secundus's longest epigrams, it begins with an extensive invitation to Jerónimo de Zurita to visit him at a modest country estate. The invitation has Vergilian and, above all, Catullan echoes.[23] Zurita is to bring "quidquid habes facetiarum / Et quidquid salis, atque risionis" (1.18.21–22). Initially, in fact, the poem seems to be little more than an imitation of Catullas's humorous invitation of Fabullus to dinner (Catullus 13). While Catullus creates a light tone by inviting the guest to bring all the food (and, more importantly, wit), Secundus implores Zurita not to bring a grammarian, as that would spoil the rustic *locus amoenus*. Specifically, the grammarian must be excluded since he, as an audience, will reject Secundus's literary aesthetic. In typical fashion, Secundus concludes the poem, which

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[20] See Catullus 16, 36, 52, 57, and 112.

[21] The Tibullan source is 1.9.75–76: "Huic tamen accubuit noster puer: hunc ego credam / cum trucibus uenerem iungere posse feris."

[22] For example, he lampoons a lover named Ponticus in 1.70: "Attrectans digito mulierbria, laeserat ungue / Ponticus: hunc resecat dente: venustus homo est." The sarcastic "venustus," like the vivid and surprising image, is reminiscent of Catullus (see 22.2).

[23] Line 6 ("qua fagus patulis commata ramis") suggests, at least slightly, Vergil's *Eclogues* 1.1, and Bosscha associates the image of line 5 ("Si lenis tremula quies in umbra") with Vergil's *Eclogues* 5.5 ("sive sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras").

began with a charming and refined description of bucolic peace, with a sexual innuendo of an unnamed grammarian, narrated in the style of a *facetia*:

> Nam quidam mihi retulit poeta,
> Notae Grammaticum severitatis
> Noctes atque dies dolenter angi,
> Quod nec Grammaticum vocare doctum,
> Nec se Grammaticum vocare doctam
> In libri titulo sui venusti
> Possit, cum generis sit ipse neutri;
> Cui vates meus, ut gravi labore
> Iam tandem miserum senem levaret,
> Secure pater, inquit, eloqueris,
> Si te Grammaticosque masculinos
> Tecum, Grammaticosque femininos,
> Communesque simul, simulque neutros,
> Omnes, Grammaticum pecus vocabis. (1.18.32–45)

The ending (lines 42–45), with its strident repetitions, finds a suitably invective climax in the appellation "grammatical herd," the circumlocution which avoids the "gender problem" of the emasculated grammarian. While gender has obvious grammatical pertinence, the sexual innuendo discredits, with considerable irony, the implicit literary standard of poetry without sex. The invitation itself—until it turns at line 25 to the attack on grammarians—ingeniously evokes the antique style. Catullan and Vergilian reminiscences, not to mention the fluent hendecasyllabics, make the poem a model of humanist verse. Obscenity, which presumably accounts for the poem's unacceptability, emerges only when Secundus claims a distance between his poetry and the idea of decorum. The central idea is, in fact, present both in the initial image of bucolic withdrawal and the concluding invective assault on the grammarian. This curious interplay between imitation of antique style and rejection of the grammarian (presumably a source of philological/imitative poetry) indicates a salient characteristic of Secundus's poetic voice: He conforms to a rigid strictness of form (that of classical Roman poetry) but rejects the need to conform to an imposed poetic ideal. In this respect, it is important to note that Secundus often uses Roman sources in his obscene poetry. The sexual invective against the grammarian, for example, may be based on an epigram of Ausonius.[24] What Secundus ultimately does in an epigram such as this one is to ironize conventionality without, I would stress, superseding it.

Epigram 1.73 mocks the moralistic literary code of the "grammatici" with a similar display of obscenity. The poem opens, in the voice of the poet,

[24] See also Martial 1.35 for the motif of schoolmasters and obscenity.

with an earnest-sounding invocation to the grammarians to speak out, and thereafter devolves into a mock scholarly analysis:

> Dicite, Grammatici, cur mascula nomina cunnus,
> Et cur femineum mentula nomen habet?
> Sic ego: sic aliquis senior de gente verenda
> Retulit, attollens longa supercilia:
> Mentula feminei gerit usque negotia sexus;
> Inde genus merito vindicat illa sibi.
> Indefessus agit res qui sine fine virorum,
> Mascula non temere nomina cunnus habet.

The sustained mockery of the grammarian ("senior de gente verenda" and "attollens longa supercilia") sets the tone for the ironic "justification," as it were, of obscene diction. Serious words such as "merito" and "non temere," of course, only stress the incongruity of the analysis. The scientific language is humorous but also revealing, as the grammarian is unable, on his own, to express in frank terms the act of making love. He can only use euphemistic circumlocutions: "feminei gerit ... negotia sexus" and "agit ... res ... virorum." Nonetheless, the vulgar words "cunnus" and "mentula" can be mentioned unabashedly as they are but the *lemmata* of the scholarly gloss. Furthermore, Secundus heightens the sexual innuendo by implying that the grammarian, though unable to name it, has a vivid image of sex in mind.[25] The grammarian, albeit naively, describes copulation rather extravagantly, suggesting a kind of insatiability ("usque ... Indefessus ... sine fine").

Two often cited epigrams, *Epigrams* 1.24 and 1.58, defend Secundus's *Basia*. The first records opposition to the *Basia* from prostitutes (as representatives of the socially and sexually transgressive) and the second from schoolteachers (as arbiters of social and literary order). That prostitutes object to Secundus's writing, naturally, ironizes the self-defense.

> Casta quod enervi cantamus Basia libro,
> Versibus illudit fusca Lycinna meis;
> Et me languiduli vatem vocat Aelia penis,
> Quae Venerem in triviis porticibusque locat.
> Scilicet exspectant nostrum quoque noscere penem!
> Parcite turpiculae, mentula nulla mihi est.
> Nec vobis canto, nec vobis basia figo:
> Ista legat teneri sponsa rubis pueri.
> Ista tener sponsus, nondum maturus ad arma,
> Exercet variis quae Venus alma modis.

[25] See *Basia* 12 for a similar suggestion that the would-be puritanical audience is actually interested in sexually explicit poems.

As so often, an imitative aesthetic legitimates obscene or bawdy poetry. *Epigrams* 1.24 recalls Catullus's "languid penis" in 25.3 ("pene languido senis"); Catullus also concedes that his virility has been called into question on account of his soft poetry,[26] an innuendo Aelia voices against Secundus (line 3). More importantly, Secundus draws on Martial 3.69, which, especially when considered in conjunction with 3.68, is a defense of a sexually explicit poetry. Secundus's contrast of "castra ... basia" and "mentula" evokes Martial's sarcastic praise of a poet named Cosconius, who composed poems in "castis verbis" without any "mentula."[27] Cosconius's "words should be read by boys and little girls" ("At tua, Cosconi, venerandaque sanctaque verba / A pueris debent virginibusque legi"), while Martial asserts that he writes for the debauched or tormented lovers. (See lines 5–6: "Haec igitur nequam iuvenes facilesque puellae, / Haec senior, sed quem torquet amica, legat.") While Martial ironizes the chaste, but vapid author, Secundus directs irony at himself with the emphatic, but untenable, insistence that his *Basia* are free of obscenity. Moreover, Secundus associates poetry once again with sex. This is clear in the ironic claim "mentual nulla mihi est" (line 6) and the placement of the kiss-poems in an "*enervi* ... libro" (line 1).[28] And, of course, the conclusion professes an interest in eroticism, though here again literary style is suggested by the phrase "variis ... modis" (line 10).[29] Indeed, Secundus claims an innocent audience for his poetry (presumably one innocent of socially imposed sexual constraint), but attributes genuine eroticism to the reception of this poetry. His poetry will be stimulating, despite the women's charge of his impotence.

Epigrams 1.58, as indicated by its title, "Ad Grammaticos, cur scribat, lascivius" offers an explanation for his "carmina ... lasciva."[30]

> Carmina cur spargam cunctis lasciva libellis,
> Quaeritis? insulsos arceo Grammaticos.
> Fortia magnanimi canerem si Caesaris arma,
> Factave divorum religiosa virum,
> Quot miser exciperemque notas, patererve lituras!
> Quot fierem teneris supplicium pueris!

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[26] See Catullus 16.1–4: "Pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo, / Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi, / qui me ex versiculis meis putastis, / quod sunt molliculi, parum pudicum."

[27] Martial uses "mentula" in this epigram in the transferred sense of "obscenity," a meaning Secundus also exploits.

[28] Note that there is a pun here as "enervus" could mean "without a penis" or, at least, "unmanly."

[29] Such an association between sex and poetry in the concept of variation also occurs in the *Basia*. See, for example, *Basia* 10, esp. lines 18–22.

[30] This poem, which refers to the *Basia*, (with links directly to *Basia* 9, 12, and 14), was deleted from the edition of 1541. The Bodleian manuscript Rawl. G. 154, fols. 143–44, has the entire poem crossed out.

At nunc uda mihi dictent quun basia carmen,
Pruriat et versu mentula multa meo,
Me legat innuptae iuvenis placituris amicae,
Et placitura novo blanda puella viro,
Et quemcumque iuvat lepidorum de grege vatum
Otia festivis ludere deliciis.
Lusibus at laetis procul hinc absistite, saevi
Grammatici, iniustas et cohibete manus;
Ne puer ob molles caesus lacrymansque lepores,
Duram forte meis ossibus optet humum.

This is also a highly imitative poem; the diction ("lepidus," "otium," and, of course, "mentula") imbues a Catullan coloration, though the voices of other poets are also heard.[31] The poem's form, a modified *recusatio*, recalls ancient amatory poetry, especially the refusals of Ovid to write epic poetry. Unlike the ancient *recusatio*, Secundus's is not merely a vow of allegiance to the lighter (and consequently less significant) art of the lyric. Rather, his epigram claims liberty to write as he wishes. Recalling Horace's "odi profanum vulgus et arceo" (*Odes*, 3.1.1), Secundus impugns schoolmen: "I ward off insipid grammarians" (line 2). But, most distinctively, *Epigrams* 1.58 articulates Secundus's transgressive poetics with an image of the lower body: "The penis burns in my verse" (line 8). Once again, he claims that his works are intended for those interested in pleasure, be they boys, girls, or poets. Predicting the grammarians' opposition to erotic poetics (line 5), he requests seperation from a literary code of decorum and, furthermore, protests the grammarians' compulsion as a type of violence (lines 13–14). Whereas the "parcite" of *Epigrams* 1.24 (line 6) evokes a general opposition to his audience (one which is grounded on morality and irony), the conclusion to 1.58 claims detatchment from a specifically literary standard. In fact, he has cultivated the graphic style, he says, to preclude the incorporation of his poetry in the school curriculum, thus saving his own poetry from becoming a device of oppression. The grammarians, defined as the uncivilized ("saevi"), must stay away form his poetry (which, in accord with ancient amatory usage, he defines as literary games—"lusibus").

Taken together, the *Epigrams* illustrate that Secundus's poetics entails, in part, a complex mediation between ideals of stricture and license. Vivid descriptions of sexuality and massive use of obscenity imitate, in part, classical style. Because of the classical refinement, some epigrams could be said to envince a style of "refined crudity." (And, indeed, his latinity deepens the tensions and ironies of his transgressive poetics since only an elite audience can understand and appreciate the complexity of his imitative obscenity.) Moreover, Secundus cultivates the obscene, albeit humorously, to offend

[31] As Bosscha noted, line 9 recalls Propertius 1.7.13 ("me legat assidue post haec neglectus amator").

and discredit an audience seeking to impose a poetic ideology. This ideal of poetic license is, I think, an important source of the individuality of his poetic voice. Even at his most vulgar, he conforms to an imitative aesthetic. But, in a basic shift in the function of obscenity, he uses it to reject conformity to any (be it political or moralistic) ideological understanding of imitative literature.

University of Texas, Austin

Hugo Grotius's Ordinum pietas

EDWIN RABBIE

Abuse is an art. Nowadays, in our society of mutual admiration, it has regrettably declined somewhat, but in antiquity and, in imitation of that era, in the Renaissance it flowered as it had never done before. My old professor Anton Leeman used to point out with some eagerness how the better kind of humanists had the good habit of spending an hour or so reading Cicero's *In Pisonem* before embarking upon their own torrents of abuse, in order to get in the right mood. Something like that speaks volumes. One should keep this in mind when reading what follows here about another of those scholarly polemics of the seventeenth century, which may to us sometimes seem rather unsavory.[1]

Our story begins in the year 1611. Jacobus Arminius, professor of divinity at Leiden University, had died two years before, and the competent authorities, in this case the States of Holland, now thought they had found a suitable successor. Sad to say, this turned out to be wrong. Not only had Conradus Vorstius[2] already been rather controversial when he was a professor at Steinfurt, but his latest book, published in 1610 (which bore the attractive title *On God*[3]), cooked his goose. Experts came across the most

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[1] On the polemics surrounding *Ordinum Pietas* see especially C. van der Woude, *Hugo Grotius en zijn "Pietas Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae vindicata"* (Kampen, 1961), which is, however, very prejudiced against Grotius and the Remonstrants in general.

[2] On Conradus Vorstius (Cologne 16. VII. 1569–Tönningen 9. X. 1622) cf. H. C. Rogge, "Het beroep van Vorstius tot hoogleeraar te Leiden," *De Gids* 37 (1873): 2: 31–70; 499–558; J. C. van Slee, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 40 (Leipzig, 1896): 309–11; H. Y. Groenewegen, in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1914): 1342–44; C. van der Woude, in *Biographisch Woordenboek van Protestantse Godgeleerden in Nederland*, vol. 1 (Kampen, 1978): 407–10.

[3] *Tractatus theologicus de Deo, sive de natura et attributis Dei, omnia fere ad hanc materiam pertinentia (saltem de quibus utiliter & religiosè disputari potest) decem Disputationibus, antehac in Illustri Schola Steinfurtensi, diverso tempore, publicè habitis, breviter & methodicè comprehendens. Accesserunt etiam seorsim Annotationes, hactenus quidem imperfectae, nunc autem demum perfectae . . . ad uberiorem eorum exegesin, quae in*

horrible heresies in this work; I only have to mention the names of Socinianism, Pelagianism (not to forget Semi-Pelagianism) and Ostorodianism in order to give anyone the creeps even today. But the States of Holland (read: the Grand Pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt) were unwilling to drop the candidate, who had only been found after a long search, for the mere reason that a number of theologians alleged that he was a deviationist. At least they wanted to give him a chance to defend himself against his detractors.

Scripture, through the prophet Jeremiah, already points to the fact that evil originates from the north.[4] The truth of this statement was again confirmed at that time—the year was by then 1613. Vorstius's books found their way to the far north of the Netherlands, even as far as Franeker, where a warm welcome was prepared for them by the local professor of divinity, Sibrandus Lubbertus;[5] he avidly scrutinized them for anything which would not pass muster. And that was quite a lot. Lubbertus needed more than 800 pages in order to expose the—according to his own calculation—ninety-nine heresies of Vorstius.[6] At that point it might still have been possible to keep the matter private, but Lubbertus had devised a clever stroke, with which he tried once and for all to annul the appointment of his Leiden colleague: he provided his book with an extensive preface, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, a person who hated the Arminians' guts more than anyone else in England. And in this dedication Lubbertus stated in so many words that the States of Holland had not acted innocently or unknowingly when they tried to carry through Vorstius's appointment. They actually wished to be deceived by him and knowingly took in a Socinian for the education of their future preachers. Lubbertus's plan succeeded. Abbot did exactly what he had counted on: he informed the king of England, James I. Thereupon the king put his ambassador to work, and thus the matter became one of national and international politics.

The opinion has been defended[7] that Lubbertus was merely acting out of self-defense. The king, they say, had been sent barking up the wrong tree in the conflict about questions like predestination between the two factions in Dutch protestantism, Arminians and Gomarists, otherwise called Remon-

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Thesibus haud satis explicata esse videbantur. Auctore Conrado Vorstio . . . (Steinfurti: excudebat Theophilus Caesar, Anno 1610); cf. L. D. Petit, *Bibliographische lijst der werken van de Leidsche hoogleeraren van de oprichting der hoogeschool tot op onze dagen, Faculteit der godgeleerdheid, eerste aflevering (1575–1619)* (Leiden, 1894), 92–93 no. 3a; G. Richter, *Theophil Caesar, Drucker am Gymnasium illustre Arnoldinum zu (Burg-)Steinfurt* (Nieuwkoop, 1967), no. 74.

[4] Jeremiah 1.14.

[5] On Lubbertus (Langwarden ca. 1555–Franeker 11. I. 1625) cf. C. van der Woude, *Sibrandus Lubbertus, Leven en werken, in het bijzonder naar zijn correspondentie* (diss. Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, Kampen, 1963).

[6] *Sibrandi Lubberti Commentarii, ad Nonaginta novem Errores Conradi Vorstii* (Franekerae Frisiorum: Ex officina Vlrici Dominici Balck, 1613).

[7] By Van der Woude in his study mentioned above, n. 1.

strants and Counter-Remonstrants, which had dragged on for ten years already. The evil genius behind the king's siding with the Remonstrants—at least, this is the way it was felt then by a majority among the Counter-Remonstrants—had been Hugo Grotius, then thirty years old, judge advocate of the States of Holland and just about this time newly appointed pensionary of the city of Rotterdam, the rising star in Dutch politics. For in the months of April and May of the year 1613 Grotius had been in England as a member of a mission,[8] and there in a lengthy conversation (as was his usual way) he had enlightened the king about what he considered to be the true background of the conflict. During this audience he had not refrained from pointing out to the king that the Counter-Remonstrants were really Puritans of a sort—a type of people with whom at that time James was rather at odds. The monarch was so shocked by this revelation that he is reported to have exclaimed: "I am in Edinburgh, I am in Edinburgh!" Grotius worked on the king for as much as two hours, and finally managed to fool the poor man into believing that Calvin and Beza had entertained heretical opinions in the field of predestination. The king's counsellors had been brought round by Grotius, too, apart from the afore-mentioned Abbot, who kept on considering him an abominable Arminian. For these reasons it has been maintained by some scholars that after this cunning move on the part of the government, Lubbertus had every right to show the king his, that is to say the Counter-Remonstrant, side of the truth.

However—and this is something which is overlooked by those who regard the Remonstrants, especially Grotius, as the aggressors—Grotius's démarche had not been the first move in the game of chess being played to win the support of the English monarch. In the preface to an earlier publication of the year 1611,[9] Lubbertus had already testified to his dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical policy of the States of Holland. Although in this book all the details were not yet told and the readers had to guess for themselves against whom Lubbertus's torrents of abuse were directed, this will not have caused a lot of trouble for most of them. In this case, too, Lubbertus directed his eyes westward: those addressed were the council of the Dutch Protestant church in London.

Whereas Lubbertus's attack of the year 1611 had been phrased in guarded terms, this could no longer be said about the preface to the book against Vorstius. Here the States of Holland, the curators of the university, and the burgomasters of the city of Leiden were severely censured; they were accused of abusing freedom of religion in order to clear the way for heresies.

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[8] On Grotius's visit to James I, cf. J. den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt*, vol. 3 (Haarlem, 1966), 284–85; 288–92.

[9] *Sibrandi Lubberti De Iesu Christo servatore, hoc est cur et qua ratione Jesus Christus noster servator sit, libri quatuor contra Faustum Socinum* (In Academia Franekerana: excudebat Aegidius Radaeus, Ordinum Frisiae typographus, 1611).

Although he had already been appointed pensionary of the city of Rotterdam, Grotius once more put pen to paper in his rôle as judge advocate of the States and wrote a counterattack on Lubbertus, the *Ordinum pietas*, in full: *Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae pietas a multorum improbissimis calumniis, praesertim vero a nupera Sibrandi Lubberti epistola quam ad reverendissimum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem scripsit vindicata per Hugonem Grotium, eorundem Ordinum fisci advocatum,*[10] that is: *The piety of the States of Holland and Westfriesland, vindicated against the very base calumnies of many, but especially against the recent letter of Sibrandus Lubbertus, which he addressed to the most reverend archbishop of Canterbury, by Hugo Grotius, judge advocate of those States.* The title was as plain as day, and the contents are not to Grotius's credit, either, who willingly paraded as an irenic figure standing above the parties. After the book had been published, he indeed admitted in a letter to a friend (Gerardus Vossius) that he had been somewhat emotional when writing his book.[11]

No one, apart from the editors of Grotius's theological writings and one or two other eccentrics, nowadays still reads *Ordinum pietas*, and that is a pity, for certainly the first part, which relates to the question of Vorstius's appointment, is worth the trouble of perusal. For one thing, one can see there that Cicero's invectives were in Grotius's mind when he wrote his tract. It is a fine sample of polemics, in which all rhetorical means to cast a slur on the opponent are applied lavishly and with a great deal of verve. The author twists quotations, repeatedly applies the device of apostrophe and does not shun the indignant exclamation. The opponent is constantly belittled as he is time and again referred to by his first name—another favorite technique of Cicero's. The second and third parts are of a much more technical nature. They concern the defense of the orthodoxy of the Remonstrants and the right of the secular government to interfere in church politics. In these parts, too, a well-balanced display of abuse against Lubbertus is found, as a result of which the attention of any reader who threatens to doze off because of the abstruse character of the argument is quickly attracted again.

Since both the date of publication of Lubbertus's book and that of *Ordinum pietas* are known, we know exactly how much time it took Grotius to write his work. It cannot have been more than two months; the author worked so fast that did not even find leisure to divide his text into paragraphs.[12] Now it is well known that Grotius was a quick worker, but taking

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[10] Cf. J. ter Meulen and P. J. J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius* (La Haye, 1950) [henceforth *BG*], nos. 817–22. I am preparing a critical edition with introduction, English translation and commentary, to be published as vol. 2 of the series Hugo Grotius, *Opera theologica* (Assen-Maastricht: Van Gorcum).

[11] P. C. Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius.* Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, vol. 64 ('s-Gravenhage, 1928) [henceforth: *BW*], vol. 1: 271 no. 295 d. d. 27. x. 1613: "Fateor me commotiorem fuisse cum scriberem. . . ."

[12] Cf. *BW* I, 262 no. 283 d. d. 13. ix. 1613 to Johannes Wtenbogaert: "Partes libelli sepa-

into account the quantity of learning which is heaped up in the work one might easily be inclined to qualify this achievement as unbelievable. Such a conclusion would, however, be incorrect. As is well known, erudition in the seventeenth century, and at any rate with Grotius, expresses itself preferably by throwing about on a generous scale quotations from authors from classical antiquity. Consequently, this is something which in *Ordinum pietas* is done unremittingly, mainly in the second and third parts, that is to say, in the major part of the text. Grotius would have had to consult a well-nigh endless series of sources if he had collected all his quotations himself, as they are from classical authors, church fathers, other early Christian authors, medieval historians and theologians, and modern authors. This would indeed constitute a superhuman performance.

However, the situation is somewhat different. With some searching it can be proved that most of these quotations had already been collected by other great scholars before Grotius and that he only had to copy them from their work. I here take as an example the third part of *Ordinum pietas*, which is about government authority in ecclesiastical matters. From the large number of authors adduced to support the argument, I might mention the early church historians, Socrates, Eusebius, Sozomenus and Evagrius, the church fathers, Athanasius and Augustine, and the medieval authors, Nicholas of Cusa, Marsilius of Padua and Gregory of Tours. Proof of wide reading, indeed. But, among all those names, there figure two modern authors, Thomas Bilson (1546/47–1616, Bishop of Winchester)[13] and William Whitaker (1548–1595, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge).[14] Upon reading their works (not one of the most pleasant occupations one can imagine), one is surprised to find that all, or at any rate almost all, quotations from the afore-mentioned earlier authors are already cited in their works. He who wishes to practice science in an objective way can try to explain this remarkable fact by means of two hypotheses: 1. in reading church historians, resolutions of councils and medieval historians and theologians Grotius hit upon exactly the same examples as his predecessors. 2. Grotius cribbed his quotations from Whitaker and Bilson. I rather like the second hypothesis.

Furthermore, it is worth remarking that the authors whose works were pillaged by Grotius (if for convenience's sake we accept this hypothesis) were both Englishmen, whose works were printed in England. Other English books are also mentioned in *Ordinum pietas*. We know that Grotius was in London in the spring of the year 1613. We may safely assume that he bought those books there. But this may almost be taken as an indication that already at that time—even before Lubbertus's book was published—he

[13] *De Perpetua Ecclesiae Christi gubernatione . . . liber . . . primum anglice scriptus, nunc demum ab authore Thom. Bilsono . . . recognitus, auctus et . . . latine redditus . . .* (Londini: impensis J. Billii, 1611).

[14] *Praelectiones doctissimi viri Guilielmi Whitakeri, . . . in quibus tractatur controversia de conciliis contra pontificios imprimis Robertum Bellarminum, jesuitam, in sex quaestiones distributa . . . editae opera et cura Joannis Allenson . . .* (Cantabrigiae: excudebat J. Legat, 1600).

was planning to publish something himself in the field of the authority of government in ecclesiastical matters. There is, therefore, a good possibility that—at least as far as the third part of *Ordinum pietas* is concerned—Lubbertus's actions only offered a welcome occasion which enabled Grotius to put his oar in. I do not see why the same cannot hold true for the second part, too.

At the same time as the Latin text of *Ordinum pietas*, or at any rate shortly afterwards, two translations, into Dutch[15] and into French,[16] were published, in order to enable a large circulation among non-Latinists. About the French translation not much can be said, but the Dutch version is surely worth our attention. It becomes clear from Grotius's correspondence that it was made by Johannes Wtenbogaert, the leader of the Remonstrants and a personal friend of Vorstius, and at the same time one of the latter's most fervent supporters. Wtenbogaert corresponded with Grotius about the translation of certain terms and phrases; one letter of his and several of Grotius's answers have been preserved.[17]

Still in the year 1613 (at least, that is what the title-page says, which does not prove everything), but at any rate within a short time, a reprint of the Latin text[18] was published, but it was not characterized as such. The text of this edition is different in a considerable number of places from that of the first edition. The reactions to the first edition had been such that it had apparently also occurred to Grotius himself that by acting as he had done he had been pushing things too far. Instead of promoting unity the book had got across to the Counter-Remonstrants as a declaration of war. Up to that time nobody had really known Grotius for what he was: he seemed to be no supporter of Vorstius's appointment, he seemed to be not unfavorably disposed towards the Counter-Remonstrant point of view, he seemed to want to prevent an open conflict. But his pamphlet against Lubbertus put an end to all doubt: these were the words of a fierce Remonstrant and a champion of the hard line in ecclesiastical politics. A torrent of pamphlets against Grotius's work broke forth[19] (one of the first to be published was by Lubbertus himself[20]), in which he was accused of everything imaginable: quoting inaccurately, wrenching words from their context, interpreting ancient authors erroneously, misusing the authority of Melanchthon and

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[15] Cf. *BG* no. 823.

[16] Cf. *BG* no. 824.

[17] Cf. *BW* I, nos. 277, 282, 283, 285, 287, 288, 293.

[18] Cf. *BG* no. 818. The title is: *Ordinum Hollandiae ac VVestfrisiae pietas Ab Improbissimis Multorum Calumniis, simulque à nupera Sibrandi Lubberti Epistola, quam ad Reverendissimum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem scripsit, vindicata: per Hugonem Grotium, Eorundem Ordinum Fisci Advocatum* (Lugduni Batavorum: Iohannes Patius . . . , Anno 1613).

[19] Cf. J. ter Meulen and P. J. J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits sur Hugo Grotius imprimés au XVIIe siècle* (La Haye, 1961), nos. 227, 228, 231, 232, 235, 242, 246, 248, 255.

[20] *Sibrandi Lubberti Responsio ad Pietatem Hugonis Grotii* (Franequerae: Excudebat Rombertus Doyema, Anno 1614).

others, but, above all, rudeness against Lubbertus, who had been showered with invective, but who, after all, had done nothing more nor less than be honest about his own convictions.

Grotius's reaction was of a peculiar ambivalence. On the one hand he reacted to Lubbertus's answer with an anonymous pamphlet, sarcastically entitled *Bona fides Sibrandi Lubberti*[21] (*The good faith of Sibrandus Lubbertus*), which in fierceness of imputation measured up to *Ordinum pietas* in all respects; on the other hand he still tried as far as was possible to turn the tide by publishing a new edition. The change in the tenor of this reprint is already evident from the title. Whereas the first edition mentioned "improbissimae calumniae," "very base calumnies," among which "especially" ("praesertim") Lubbertus's letter was included, the attentive reader of the title of the second edition could not but get the impression that this letter was *not* necessarily included among the afore-mentioned "very base calumnies," for the word "praesertim" had been changed into "simulque" ("at the same time"). In the text itself, too, the edges have been more or less blunted. Here and there parenthetic clauses have been inserted, as to suggest e.g., that Lubbertus perhaps had only acted at the evil instigation of others; designations of the adversary such as "doctor umbraticus" ("cloistered pedant"), "noster rhetor παρατραγῳδῶν" ("our friend the bombastic orator"), "ridiculus professor" had been deleted; in a considerable number of places the sting had been taken out of the personal imputations by replacing the quasi-familiar designation "Sibrandus" by "zelotae quidam" ("certain zealots").

However, Grotius himself must have realized that the tide could not be turned anymore and that his reputation with the Counter-Remonstrants had been destroyed for good. *Ordinum pietas* marked the fiasco of his striving after unity in the Dutch church. Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius were able to maintain their ecclesiastical politics for exactly five years after *Ordinum pietas*, against an ever increasing resistance and supported by an ever declining majority in the States. Then, *das Militär* in the person of stadtholder Maurice intervened and the curtain fell for both of them. The result is well-known: the scaffold for Oldenbarnevelt and for Grotius life-long imprisonment. There were no more reprints of *Ordinum pietas* during Grotius's lifetime. A much more broadly based work on the authority of secular powers in ecclesiastical matters, *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*,[22] although substantially finished by 1617, was not printed during Grotius's lifetime. But that is another story.

Constantijn Huygens Institute, Department Grotius

[21] Cf. *BG* no. 839.

[22] Cf. *BG* nos. 894–904. A critical edition with introduction, English translation and commentary, edited by Dr. H.-J. van Dam, will be published as vol. 3 of the series Hugo Grotius, *Opera theologica*.

Zur lateinisch-deutschen Symbiose im späten Jesuitendrama

FIDEL RÄDLE

Das Jesuitentheater[1] war, wie jedermann weiß, eine Schöpfung des gegenreformatorischen Humanismus. Nicht anders als das neulateinische Drama der Protestanten ging es hervor aus dem Lateinunterricht der Gymnasien und hatte zunächst eine ausschließlich *schulinterne* pädagogische Bestimmung. Da die Fürsten und das mehr oder weniger einfache Volk gleichermaßen die kulinarischeren Formen dieses Theaters bald kennen und schätzen lernten, überwand es schon früh die engen Mauern der Schule und zog bei sich bietenden Gelegenheiten um in die großen Säle der Residenzen bzw. in die Aulen der Jesuitenkollegien (auch der Jesuitenuniversitäten) oder aber nach Möglichkeit auf die freien Plätze der Städte. Bei diesen oft pompösen Aufführungen ging es natürlich bald nicht mehr nur um die theatralische Weihe des Lateinunterrichts, es ging vielmehr um Repräsentation, um Unterhaltung und Belehrung des Volkes, um Werbung für die Schule bzw. den Orden als den ausdrücklich gemeinschaftlich handelnden Veranstalter, es ging um religiöse und im weitesten Sinne auch um politische Missionierung, wenn man das Wort Propaganda umgehen will.

Dies alles aber geschah paradoxerweise in lateinischer Sprache,[2] und das gilt nicht etwa nur für die Anfänge des Jesuitentheaters. Damals, also in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, war das Lateinische noch nicht fremd in der kulturellen und zumal in der wissenschaftlichen Welt, und was die

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[1] Die Resultate der in den letzten Jahrzehnten sehr intensiven Forschung auf diesem Gebiet sind zusammengestellt bei Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les Pays de Langue Allemande. Répertoire chronologique des pièces représentées et des documents conservés (1555–1773)*, I–II (Hiersemanns Bibliographische Handbücher 3. I–II), (Stuttgart, 1983/4).

[2] Vgl. Fidel Rädle, "Lateinisches Theater fürs Volk. Zum Problem des frühen Jesuitendramas," in Wolfgang Raible (Hrsg.), *Zwischen Festtag und Alltag* (ScriptOralia 6) (Tübingen, 1988): 133–47.

Societas Jesu angeht, so wirkten gerade in ihren ersten Jahrzehnten noch viele Jesuiten aus romanischen Ländern, hauptsächlich Spanier und Italiener, als religiöse Entwicklungshelfer in Deutschland. Daß es also etwa in Bayern unter Wilhelm V. lateinische Schauspiele gab, mußte und muß niemanden wundern. Aber: das Gebot, daß die Theateraufführungen der Jesuiten ausschließlich und rein lateinisch zu sein hätten, blieb unter später völlig veränderten politischen und kulturellen Bedingungen weiter bestehen, und es wurde bis zur Suspendierung des Ordens im Jahre 1773 nicht aufgehoben.

Die Jesuiten, deren Stärke es stets gewesen ist, die Möglichkeiten der Menschen, also auch ihre Grenzen, realistisch einzuschätzen und in jedem Fall pragmatisch zu handeln, haben früh erkannt, daß ihr Theater—außerhalb der Schule—sein Ziel im wesentlichen verfehlte, wenn es immer nur lateinisch blieb und die Volkssprache ignorierte oder gar ächtete. Sie haben auf verschiedene Weise versucht, sich in ihrem grundsätzlich lateinischen Theater der Volkssprache wenigstens als eines Hilfsmittels zu bedienen, um die elitäre und sozial rücksichtslose Exklusivität ihrer Dramen zu mildern.[3] Dazu gehört z. B. die erstmals für das Jahr 1597 bezeugte Einführung volkssprachiger bzw. bilinguer Programmhefte, der sog. Periochen, die sich offenbar gut bewährt haben. In unserem Zusammenhang wichtiger sind jedoch zwei andere—früh gescheiterte bzw. unterbundene—Versuche, zwischen dem lateinischen Reinheitsgebot des Ordens und dem populären Zuschauerinteresse zu vermitteln: zum einen die volkssprachigen Inhaltsangaben ("argumenta"), die—wohlgemerkt—innerhalb des agierten Stücks von eigens dafür eingesetzten Sprechern zu Beginn eines jeden Akts vorgetragen zu werden pflegten,[4] zum andern die volkssprachigen Intermedien, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts sehr beliebt waren. Diese Zwischenspiele leisteten freilich in der Regel nichts für das Verständnis des laufenden lateinischen Stücks, sie hatten vielmehr die Aufgabe, das gelangweilte Publikum, das kein Latein verstand, von Zeit zu Zeit durch eine anspruchslose, in der Regel komische Handlung bei Laune zu halten. Sie tendierten daher ganz von selbst, im Stile des deutschen Fastnachtsspiels, zu grober Komik, die eine ganze kostbare lateinische Aufführung kaputt machen konnte. Diese Gefahr komischer Depravierung wurde in Rom offenbar hauptsächlich der Volkssprache angelastet, und deswegen kam von dort das Verbot, das dann in der *Ratio studiorum* vom Jahre 1599 für alle Zukunft Geltung erhielt: es sollte nichts zwischen die Akte eingeschoben werden, das nicht lateinisch und anständig war: "neque quicquam actibus

[3] Vgl. dazu Jean-Marie Valentin, "Latin et allemand dans le théâtre Jésuite des pays germaniques," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis*, édités par Jean-Claude Margolin, (Paris, 1980), 571–83.

[4] Im Fuldaer *Acolastus* von 1576 (vgl. Valentin, *Répertoire*, wie Anm. 1, Nr. 124) heißt dieser Dolmetscher Brachymetaphrastes.

interponatur, quod non latinum sit et decorum."[5] Damit waren implizit auch die an sich unschuldigen und außerordentlich nützlichen volkssprachigen Inhaltsangaben im Stück eliminiert.

Dieser Gegenstand ist hier etwas ausführlicher erörtert, weil die groben Intermedien der Frühzeit für das Folgende als Kontrast bzw. als Analogie dienen können. Jetzt soll nämlich von einem Phänomen gesprochen werden, das aus der langen, fast tragischen Geschichte vereitelter Annäherung zwischen Latein und Deutsch auf der Jesuitenbühne herausfällt. Gemeint sind die Schauspiele, die Paul Aler[6] zwischen 1684 und 1713 in Köln mit großem Erfolg aufgeführt hat. Bei Aler und seinen Jesuitischen Nachfolgern am Gymnasium Tricoronatum finden wir das Deutsche überraschenderweise nicht etwa nur geduldet als Vehikel für barbarolektische Scherze oder zur eher denunzierenden denn komischen Charakterisierung einfacher Figuren (z. B. Bauern) oder als Element volkstümlichen Lebens in Gestalt inserierter Lieder (wie z. B. bei dem Wiener Johann Baptist Adolph),[7] vielmehr herrscht hier eine vollkommene Gleichberechtigung zwischen Latein und Deutsch[8]—oder sollte man vielleicht sagen: eine vollkommene *Harmonie*? Es handelt sich nämlich bei genauerem Hinsehen um Opern[9] bzw. Dramen mit reicher musikalischer Ausgestaltung, und die deutschen Texte, die hier so selbstverständlich neben den lateinischen zum Zuge kommen, sind grundsätzlich gesungene Partien, meist Arien.

Einige Beispiele aus den übrigens heute sehr raren Drucken Alerscher Dramen mögen den Sachverhalt belegen.[10] Das erste stammt aus einem

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[5] *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* (1586, 1591, 1599), ed. Ladislaus Lukacs S. I. (Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu V) (Romae, 1986), 371.

[6] Über Aler vgl. Valentin, *Répertoire* (wie Anm. 1) II:1019 und 1181f., und Walther Killy, *Literaturlexikon*, 1 (1988): 103. Durch die Nutzung zahlreicher Quellen von besonderem Wert sind Josef Kuckhoff, *Die Geschichte des Gymnasium Tricoronatum* (Veröffentlichungen des Rheinischen Museums in Köln 1.Bd) (Köln, 1931), 458–536, und Alfons Fritz, *Das Marzellen-Gymnasium in Köln 1450–1911.* (Köln, 1911), 123–39.

[7] Zu Adolph vgl. Franz Günter Sieveke, *Johann Baptist Adolph. Studien zum spätbarocken Wiener Jesuitendrama*, (Diss. Köln, 1965), und Walther Killy, *Literaturlexikon* 1 (1988): 53f.

[8] Im Vergleich zu Aler ist bei dem Münchener Jesuiten Franciscus Neumayr die Rolle der deutschen Sprache eher unbedeutend: die Tragödien in Neumayrs *Theatrum Politicum* (Augsburg und Ingolstadt, 1760) enthalten kein einziges deutsches Wort; in den beiden Fastnachtsspielen *Processus Judicialis contra fures temporis* (1735) und *Sepulchrum Concupiscentiae* (1732), die der Autor in der Praefatio (5) gleich selber als "Dramata minoris operae Ludis Saturnalibus data et tempori adaptata" gegen überhöhte Ansprüche absichert, gibt es nur jeweils ein deutsches bzw. deutsch—lateinisch gemischtes Lied; das *Drama musicum Tobias et Sara sive Nuptiae angelo paranympho auspicatae* (1747) enthält zwei "Scenae intermediae" mit deutschen Arien. Die deutsche Übersetzung des ganzen Stücks, die in der Ausgabe des *Theatrum Politicum*, 495–518, auf den lateinischen Text folgt, stammt von Ignaz Weitenauer (vgl. Valentin, *Répertoire*, wie Anm. 1, Nr. 5939).

[9] Die häufigste Bezeichnung ist "Drama musicum."

[10] Bemerkenswert bleibt, daß Alers Stücke jeweils zum Aufführungstermin mit dem kompletten Text, nicht etwa nur, wie sonst üblich, in Periochen gedruckt wurden. Nur zwei ausgewählte Dramen (*Bertulfus a Sultano captus per Ansbertam conjugem ope musices liberatus. Tragoedia*, 1701

1699 in Köln aufgeführten Mariendrama, das sich durch zahlreiche Gesangseinlagen und eine sehr kunstvolle, allegorisch-typologische Handlungsstruktur auszeichnet. In diesem Stück sind zwei berühmte dramatische Fälle von Verbrechen und Versöhnung einander parallel gegenübergestellt: einerseits der Mord des Absalon an seinem Halbbruder Amnon und seine Begnadigung durch den Vater David, andererseits der Pakt des Theophilus mit dem Teufel und seine Begnadigung durch die Fürsprache Mariens. Der vollständige Titel dieses Stücks lautet: *Regina Gratiae Maria in Absolone et Theophilo Parallelo Dramate Musico repraesentata.*[11] Der Text ist zum überwiegenden Teil lateinisch, die Dialoge im traditionellen klassischen Jambus geschrieben. Aber an den emotional ergiebigsten Stellen der dramatischen Handlung wird Musik eingesetzt, und die gesungenen Partien sind im Wechsel, ohne erkennbare Hierarchie zwischen den Sprachen, lateinisch und deutsch.

In der folgenden "Aria" beweint David den Tod des Amnon:

Ite moesti cordis luctus,
Tristes ite gemitus.
Lacrymarum ite fluctus,
Et ciete fremitus.
Corpus totum, os et genae,
Oculorum lumina,
Membra, sanguis, cor et venae
Abeant in flumina. (S. 8)

Nach einer ebenfalls endgereimten lateinischen "Aria" Salomons beginnt die dem alttestamentlichen Thema korrespondierende musikalische *Theophilus*-Handlung,[12] in der die Person des "Amor Marianus" zwei deutsche Arien von verschiedener metrischer Gestalt singt. Die erste lautet wie folgt:

1. Mit mir klaget / mit mir weinet /
Erd und Himmel ohne maß.
Sonn und Sterne nicht mehr scheinet /
Weinet ohne Underlaß.
2. Dan mein Pfleggind / (weint und klaget)
Hatt verdient der Höllen Glut.
Weil dem Himmel abgesaget /
Und veracht das höchste Gut. (S. 8)

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in Köln aufgeführt, und *Joseph a fratribus venditus a Deo Pro-Rex Aegypti destinatus. Tragoedia* vom folgenden Jahr 1702) sind auch in der Sammlung Alerscher Werke enthalten, die 1702 in Köln unter dem Titel *Poesis varia diverso tempore variis opusculis edita, nunc demum recognita et in usum commodiorem Studiosae Juventutis in unum collecta* . . . erschien. Die Gedichte dieser Sammlung sind übrigens zu einem beträchtlichen Teil akzentrhythmisch und endgereimt.

[11] Das Stück wurde zur Jahresfeier der Mariensodalität aufgeführt, deren Leitung Aler innehatte. (Benutzt ist das Exemplar der Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln, RhS h/40.)

[12] Die einander parallelen Partien bezeichnet Aler mit den Begriffen "Prolusio" und "Allusio."

Daran schließt sich unmittelbar die folgende "alia Aria" an, zu der Aler eine, wie üblich lateinische, Regieanweisung gegeben hat: "Scena muta. in qua Theophilus cinctus morte, justitia divinâ, Demonibus."

1. O Liebes Kind / wie wars so blind /
Als du Gott hast verlassen.
Als du mein Sohn veracht mit hohn:
Diß schmertzt mich ohne massen.
2. Ein Dunst der Ehr / und sonst nichts mehr
Die Sünd dir wird erwerben.
Und dan hernach wird Gottes Rach
In Abgrund dich verderben. (S. 9)

Der "verzweifelte" Theophilus "Theophilus desperabundus" antwortet singend:

Ach / ach / was hab ich doch gethon?
O weh der armen Stunden!
Als ich (ach weinet Sonn und Mon)
Der Hellen mich verbunden.
Es ist geschehn / kans nit umbgehn /
Von Gott bin abgewichen:
Für Leid und Schmertz / mein Seel und Hertz
Ist schier des Todts erblichen. etc. (S. 9)

Man sieht, wie im vorliegenden Fall die deutsche Arie des "Amor Marianus" die akzentrhythmischen und endgereimten lateinischen Verse der Arien Davids bzw. Salomos in ihren formalen Konstituentien unverändert übernimmt.[13] Hier wie in den übrigen Stücken sind die lateinischen Arien grundsätzlich nicht mehr konsequent metrisch, sondern akzentrhythmisch und mit dem offenbar hoch bewerteten, entschieden betonten Formspezifikum des Endreims versehen.

Einige wenige Ausnahmen von dieser Regel finden sich in Alers *Ansberta sive Amor conjugalis Tragoedia*, die in zweiter, vor allem um musikalische Partien stark erweiterter Auflage im Jahre 1711 in Köln erschien. In diesem rührenden Stück, das die treue Gattenliebe und die Macht der Musik zum Thema hat, singt am Ende der 4. Szene des dritten Akts der Chorus zwar zunächst metrisch gebaute Sapphische Strophen, aber Orpheus—ausgerechnet der klassische Sänger der Antike!—antwortet darauf in akzentrhythmischen und endgereimten *Stabat-mater*-Strophen:

Magne Pluto, ter benigne,

[13] Die hier von Aler gewählte Versform des *Pange lingua*—Hymnus ist seit dem hohen Mittelalter weit verbreitet, und sie spielt auch in der Geschichte der Sequenz eine wichtige Rolle. Vgl. dazu Dag Norberg, *Les vers latins iambiques et trochaiques au Moyen Age et leurs répliques rythmiques* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Filologiskt arkiv 35) (Stockholm, 1988), 111–15 und passim.

Sempiterna pace digne,
Digne mille laudibus.

Tuque consors ter serena,
Gratiarum mille plena,
Digna mille plausibus. etc.

Ein Vergleich zwischen der ersten noch rein lateinischen Fassung dieses Stücks, das bereits im Jahre 1701 in Köln aufgeführt wurde und unter dem Titel *Bertulfus a Sultano captus per Ansbertam conjugem ope musices liberatus* auch in Alers Sammlung *Poesis varia*[14] gedruckt ist, zeigt in wünschenswerter Klarheit, wie durch die Neuaufnahme von musikalisch komponierten Chören und Interludien[15] zum einen die akzentrhythmischen endgereimten lateinischen Partien beträchtlichen Zuwachs erfahren haben, zum andern aber eine große Anzahl deutscher Texte überhaupt erst in das Stück hineingeraten sind. Bei diesen deutschen Texten handelt es sich teils um Übersetzungen bzw. sehr freie Paraphrasen der lateinischen Arien—in diesem Fall sind die Texte typographisch einander parallel zugeordnet—teils um völlig selbständige Interludien ohne lateinische Entsprechungen.

Neu sind z. B. die folgenden musikalischen Erweiterungen der 3. Szene des ersten Akts, in der Ansberta durch Gottes bzw. der Götter Hilfe glücklich das Gestade erreicht.

	Canitur.	*Wird gesungen.*
Neptunus.	Silete fluctus.	Kein Welle sich wege /
Aeolus.	Ora compescant Noti.	Kein Sturmwind sich rege.
Simul.	Quiescat unda,	Das Wasser sey still;
	Vocis imperio meae.[16]	Dan das ist mein Will.

Aria	*Aria*
	Neptunus
Aura terris orta seris	Nur der Sudwindt lasz sich hören:
Aura Patre nata Veris	Doch das Meer soll er nicht stören:
Spiret almo flamine.	Dieses Schifflein treib er fort /
Haec petitam tangit oram	Mit lieblichem sausen /
Ad statutam navis horam	Mit freundlichem brausen;
Salva nostro numine.[17]	Dasz es komm am g'wünschten Ort.

[14] Vgl. Anm. 10.

[15] Auf dem Titelblatt steht: "Editio secunda, Priore emendatior. Accedunt Chori, et Interludia, perquàm eleganter musicè composita."

[16] Wie man sieht, sind diese vier lateinischen Zeilen nichts anderes als zwei gebrochene jambische Trimeter.

[17] Es handelt sich um die sehr populären *Stabat-Mater*-Strophen.

Zum Abschluß der Szene singt Aeolus in gleicher Weise wie Neptun am Beginn eine endgereimte lateinische Arie, der ebenfalls eine (rhythmisch allerdings ganz anders gebaute) deutsche Übersetzung an die Seite gestellt ist. So wird der ursprüngliche jambische Dialog dieser Szene musikalisch eingerahmt und in seiner dramatischen Wirkung stark relativiert, ja fast zugedeckt.[18] Unmittelbar danach folgt die "SCENA IV. Ludicra, germanicè et musicè composita," in der sich, nach alter Interludienmanier unabhängig von der Haupthandlung, zwei Jäger auf die Jagd begeben, wobei sie sich im Duett hänseln und mit mißverstandenen und verballhornten Begriffen der Aristotelischen Syllogistik ihre harmlosen Scherze treiben. Diese rein deutsche Szene wird durch eine lateinische (I, 5) unterbrochen, die wiederum in der Fassung von 1711 um eine neue Arie der geretteten Ansberta in zwei akzentrhythmischen und endgereimten lateinischen Strophen zusammen mit ihren deutschen Entsprechungen erweitert ist. Die erste Strophe (S. 10) lautet:

Haec est beata patria,	Diß ist das edle Vatterland /
Et plena suavitatis:	Erfült mit Lust und Freiden;
Hîc sola regnant gaudia;	Hie hat das Glück die Oberhandt/
Hîc aula faustitatis.	Und treibt hinweg all Leyden.

Nach dieser lateinischen Szene folgt die "Continuatio Musicae de Venatione," wozu eine offenbar pantomimische Jagd inszeniert wird. An deren Schluß besichtigt man die "Strecke," und der dritte Jäger kündigt eine in unserm Zusammenhang höchst interessante, nämlich deutsche Reimkunst betreffende meistersingerische Zeremonie an:

Venator tertius

Ein jeder was gefangen hatt brings her / und nens mit Namen:
Doch alles muß sich reimen fein; ders beste reimt soll Meister seyn.
Der aber nicht wol reimen kann / weh dem! dan er die Britsch soll han.
Die Verßen / 20. an der Zahl / werden hie außgelassen:

III. <*Venator*>

Ein schöne Reim fält mir da ein / was gilt sie wird die beste seyn.

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[18] In der ersten Fassung von 1702 singt Neptun immerhin zur Eröffnung der Szene zwei kurze akzentrhythmische und endgereimte Strophen, die Aler allerdings wieder durch seine metrisch klassifizierende Überschrift als antik tarnt:
Neptunus canit. Carmen est dimet. catalect. Anacreont.

Ave formosa Nympha,	Procelle detumescunt
Tibi plaudit haec lympha	Et Africi silescunt
Canitque: salva *(salve ed.)* sis.	Est strata Ponti vis.

Aria

Ich gfangen hab ein Häßelein;
Sein Blümbgen wie ein Roß so fein:
Die Löfflen schön; die Läuffer gschwind
Seynd Meister über Hund und Wind:
Die Kicker wie Crystall so klar /
Mein Häßlein hatt das Prae fürwar.

I. <Venator>

Das best Gesang / den besten Fang
Tragstu darvon: drumb hast die Kron. etc. (S. 11)

Mit diesen wenigen Zitaten ist belegt—und in Alers übrigen musikalischen Dramen läßt es sich vollends verifizieren—, daß in den Gesangspartien zum einen der Endreim[19] dominiert und damit das akzentrhythmische über das metrische Prinzip obsiegt und daß zum andern deutsche Texte in Gestalt von Arien—seien sie original oder nur aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt, wie auch in Form von selbständigen Szenen—zugelassen werden.

Paul Aler hat also in seinem umfangreichen Theaterschaffen zum ersten Mal, wie es scheint, drei entscheidende künstlerische Ausdrucksmittel, die nicht a priori zum neulateinischen Drama gehören, konsequent *simultan* eingesetzt: die Musik, die endgereimte lateinische Dichtung und die deutsche Sprache. Es ist offenkundig, daß diese drei Ausdrucksmittel einander gegenseitig stützen und bedingen, wenn nicht gar überhaupt erst ermöglichen. Zu diesem Problem bezieht Aler im Zusammenhang mit zweien seiner Stücke ausdrücklich Stellung. Am Schluß der bereits vorgestellten *Regina Gratiae Maria* schreibt der Autor, nach einigen Corrigenda (S. 19): "Caetera Lector corrige, et scito, quod in Ariis praecipue, major ratio Musicae, quam metri haberi debuerit." ("Das übrige mußt du selber korrigieren, lieber Leser, und wisse, daß vor allem bei den Arien der Musik stärker Rechnung zu tragen war als der Metrik.")

Die zweite einschlägige Äußerung findet sich in der Vorrede zu Alers *Josephus a fratribus venditus* aus dem Jahre 1702. Sie lautet (S. 335): "In rhythmis, qui canuntur, metrum aliquando negligere debuimus, ne Musicam turbaremus." ("Bei den endgereimten Gesängen haben wir gelegentlich das Metrum vernachlässigen müssen, damit wir die Musik nicht störten.") Etwas deutlicher und verständlicher wird das Problem noch durch die hier unmittelbar anschließende Stelle, die im übrigen den poesiegeschichtlich bemerkenswerten Fall eines Kompromisses zwischen metrischer und akzent-

[19] Aler gebraucht für endgereimte Dichtung den in der Poetik üblich gewordenen Terminus *rhythmi*. Zur Geschichte der *Rhythmus*-Poetik vgl. die soeben erschienene Arbeit von Inga Heitel, "Nicolaus Dybinus, 'Tractatus de rithmis. Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Rhythmik,' " in *Daphnis* 20 (1991), 487–504.

rhythmischer Dichtung beleuchtet. Aler fährt in seiner "Praefatio" fort: "Qui tamen Poeta est, facile videt, id studio a nobis factum, cum eadem verba, alio modo transposita, metrum conficiant. Verbi gratia in Prologo coegit nos Musica ante composita, ut scriberemus: 'Est hostis necatus',[20] cum alias scribere potuissemus: 'Hostis est necatus', et fuisset carmen Trochaicum Brachycatalectum. Et hoc praemonendum duximus, ne denuo Poetaster aliquis sua ignoratione nobis errorem quantitatis apud popellum invidiosè affingat. . . ." ("Wer allerdings etwas vom Dichten versteht, sieht ohne weiteres, daß wir dies mit Absicht getan haben, da ja dieselben Worte, anders arrangiert, ein richtiges Metrum ergeben. Zum Beispiel hat uns im Prolog die bereits vorher komponierte Musik gezwungen, 'Est hostis necatus' zu schreiben, obwohl wir sonst auch 'Hostis est necatus' hätten schreiben können, und dies wäre ein (korrekter) brachykatalektischer trochäischer Vers gewesen. Wir glaubten, darauf gleich zu Anfang hinweisen zu sollen, damit nicht erneut irgendein Poetaster uns in seiner Ahnungslosigkeit bei den Leuten einen Quantitätsfehler anhängt.") Die letztere Bemerkung bezieht sich auf eine der zahlreichen und lächerlichen Kölner Streitigkeiten zwischen dem durchaus schwierigen Aler und den mit dem Tricoronatum konkurrierenden Lehrern des Laurentianums, von denen einer (der "Poetaster") Aler verhöhnt hatte, weil er die erste Silbe von "Pyramus" fälschlicherweise lang gemessen hatte.[21]

Entscheidend an Alers Äußerungen ist jedoch, daß in seiner künstlerischen Konzeption musikalisches Recht metrisches Recht bricht und daß damit die endgereimte lateinische Dichtung ihre Legitimierung erhält. Im übrigen aber wird gerade aus diesen Zitaten deutlich, wie stark die Widerstände der klassischen Zunft gegen nicht-metrische Formen noch waren. Offenbar hat der kontrollierende Druck von dieser Seite Aler zu dem seltsamen Kompromiß geführt, in seinen *endgereimten* lateinischen Versen nach Möglichkeit klassische Metren der einfacheren Art, also Jamben und Trochäen, zu wahren.[22]

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[20] Das Beispiel stammt aus der Pars III des Prologs, und die Stelle lautet im Zusammenhang wie folgt:

Canitur
Musica est Tenor cum Tubis, et Chelybus.
Rhytmus non est metricus
Triumphe! plaudamus;
Et io canamus:
Jam victa est sors.

Est hostis necatus
Vel procul fugatus
Jam strata est mors. (342)

[21] Vgl. Kuckhoff (wie Anm. 6), 472.

[22] Gegebenenfalls setzt er demonstrativ die metrischen Termini über die betreffenden Stücke, z. B. zu Beginn des Prologs im hier verhandelten *Joseph*:

Und was sagt Aler zur Verteidigung der *deutschen* Partien, die er seinen lateinischen Stücken inserierte? Man sollte erwarten, daß sie für die Aristarche in Köln und auch in Rom eine weit gewagtere Zumutung waren als etwa akzentrhythmische lateinische Cantica. Das scheint jedoch nicht der Fall zu sein. Im Jahre 1710 verfaßte Aler eine *Ursula*-Tragödie, die ungeachtet ihrer Aufführung am Gymnasium vollständig in deutscher Sprache gehalten ist[23] und nicht nur in den Arien, sondern auch im Dialog Endreim hat.[24] Aler erinnert in seiner lateinischen Vorrede daran, daß er bereits 13 Jahre vorher eine *Ursula* aufgeführt hatte, die er nun, um seine Zuschauer nicht zu langweilen, vollkommen neu gefaßt habe. Zu dem offenbar auffälligsten Merkmal dieser Neufassung schreibt der Autor (S. 3): "Idiomate vernaculo usi fuimus, quo utriusque sexûs affectui consuleretur facilius: utque pios motus, quod unum spectare debet poesis dramatica, consequeremur certius, Musicam, animorum dominam, in subsidium advocavimus." ("Wir haben uns der Volkssprache bedient, damit auch die Frauen leichter zu ihrer Erschütterung kommen; um aber auch ganz sicher *fromme* Bewegungen auszulösen, die ja das einzige Ziel der dramatischen Dichtung sind, haben wir die Musik, die Gebieterin über die Herzen, zu Hilfe gerufen.")

Es mag sein, daß der selbstbewußte und pragmatische Aler, der nicht nur ein eingefleischter Theatermann, sondern auch ein hochbegabter Darsteller, Sänger und Musiker war,[25] darunter litt, einen großen Teil seines potentiellen Publikums durch die lateinische Sprachbarrière vom Theater ausgeschlossen zu sehen. Es mag auch sein, daß die ständige Konkurrenz mit den übrigen Kölner Schulen, zumal dem Laurentianum, zu flexibleren Lösungen

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Musica est Tenor solus cum Rittornello;
et carmen est Dimetrum, Jambicum, Archilochicum Acatalecticum.
Avete mundi lumina,
Et orbis parva numina,
Post inter astra cetera,
Futura magna sidera etc. (337)

[23] Bereits im Jahre 1708 hatte Aler eine durchgehend deutsche Tragödie über die Mutter der Makkabäer zunächst in der Marienkongregation und danach auch im Gymnasium bei der Preisverteilung gegeben (vgl. Kuckhoff, wie Anm. 6, 518).

[24] Ursula Coloniensis, Tragoedia, Ab Illustrissima, Perillustri, Praenobili, Nobili, Ingenua, Lectissimaque Juventute Celeberrimi trium Coronarum Gymnasii apud Patres Societatis Jesu Coloniae, Anno MDCCX. Die 25 et 27. Septembris, dum inter bene meritos literarum praemia solenniter distribuerentur, Theatro data. Authore P. Paulo Aler Societatis Jesu, SS. Theol. Doct. Gymnasii trium Coronarum, et Convictus Xaveriani Regente. Editio secunda, priore multo emendatior. (Exemplar erhalten in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Bavar. 4° 2194, II, 1.)

[25] Aler hat bei der Aufführung seiner zweiten *Tobias*-Tragödie (1709), ob seines Gesangs und Saitenspiels allgemein bewundert, persönlich die Rolle der Sara verkörpert; zwei Jahre später, als er die Ansberta spielte, wurde er für die erfolgreiche Gestaltung von vier Hauptrollen zwischen 1708 und 1711 ausgezeichnet; vgl. dazu Fritz (wie Anm. 6), 134.

drängte—sicher aber ist, daß es Aler nur mit Hilfe der Musik, der "Gebieterin über die Herzen," gelungen ist, die deutsche Sprache in einem solchen Umfang ohne Skandal auf dem lateinisch geborenen Jesuitentheater hospitieren zu lassen. Man darf wohl die These riskieren: Vor allem das populär gewordene neue Genos der Oper, das nicht, wie Tragödie und Komödie, von den Philologen eifersüchtig bewachte antike Wurzeln hatte, sondern ganz fern der Schule in den Volkssprachen lebte, ermöglichte und protegierte den Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache auf der Jesuitenbühne. Entscheidend ist dabei offenbar—und deshalb sind in diesem Beitrag gerade die nicht-metrischen lateinischen Cantica so ausdrücklich berücksichtigt—daß es stets um *gereimte* deutsche Texte geht. Gereimte Gesangstexte gehören genuin und charakteristisch zur Oper. Das lehren uns die Poetiken über diese schnell groß gewordene Gattung.[26] (Diese Poetiken sind übrigens zeitlich dem Werk Alers eng benachbart.) Es ist durchaus möglich, daß die im 17. Jahrhundert besonders gepriesene Eignung der deutschen Sprache für den "zierlichen Reim"[27] Aler die Entscheidung erleichtert hat. Reime also waren eine anerkannte Spezialität der deutschen Sprache und, wenigstens in der Theorie, kein Fall für das Lateinische, vielmehr ein Horror aller strengen Humanisten. So war es vermutlich nicht anstößig und übrigens taktisch ein kluger Schachzug des Dramatikers Aler, im Schutze der Musik und legitimiert durch das spezifische Gattungspostulat der Oper gereimte deutsche und lateinische Texte gleichberechtigt nebeneinander zu verwenden.

Es muß eingeräumt werden, daß der Begriff "Oper" Alers Stücke nicht in jedem Fall zutreffend erfaßt. Oft handelt es sich um traditionelle lateinische Dramen, die lediglich durch mehrere kompakte musikalische Blöcke erweitert sind. Derartige gesungene und auch getanzte Partien—meist am Beginn (als "Prologus" oder "Praeludium") und an zwei weiteren Stellen zwischen den Akten—finden sich seit der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts oft, zumal in den stark vom höfischen Milieu geprägten Jesuitendramen. Die musikalischen Partien werden, wie schon angedeutet, normalerweise dort in die Handlung eingesetzt, wo der affektive Ertrag am höchsten ist, also wo es zu jubeln oder zu trauern gilt.

Natürlich dienten aber vor allem die musikalischen Interludien nicht nur der Meditation der Handlung, sondern auch der Recreation des seelisch vielfach strapazierten Publikums durch Komik. Man darf sich hier durchaus der volkssprachigen Intermedien aus der Frühzeit erinnern, die seit 1599 so

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[26] Vgl. dazu Wilhelm Flemming, *Die Oper* (Deutsche Literatur. Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe Barock, Barockdrama Bd. 5), (Leipzig, 1933), bes. 18–34.

[27] Vgl. dazu die z. T. demonstrativ gegen das Lateinische gerichteten Äußerungen aus Philipp von Zesens *Deutscher Helikon* und aus Daniel Georg Morhofs *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie* bei Wolfgang Huber, *Kulturpatriotismus und Sprachbewußtsein. Studien zur deutschen Philologie des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Germanistische Arbeiten zu Sprache und Kulturgeschichte, Bd. 5), (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, New York, Nancy, 1984), 166–223, bes. 186 und 209.

der volkssprachigen Intermedien aus der Frühzeit erinnern, die seit 1599 so strikt verboten waren. Aber man wird dabei einen entscheidenden Wandel bemerken: Die volkssprachigen Intermedien von damals waren, ob der Derbheit ihrer Komik, die man der Volkssprache als solcher anlastete, zum Anlaß geworden für eine völlige Verbannung des Deutschen aus dem lateinischen Drama. Jetzt, 120 Jahre später, bot das lateinische Drama der deutschen Sprache erneut Freiräume an, sich—allerdings protegiert durch die Musik—auf der Bühne zu entfalten. In der Zwischenzeit hatte die deutsche Sprache und Literatur eine solche Verfeinerung erfahren und auch ein solches Selbstwertgefühl erworben, daß sie die Nachbarschaft des Lateinischen, das ja im Verständnis der Humanisten als Literatursprache seit bald 2000 Jahren stagnierte, nicht mehr scheuen mußte. Die Angst vor der Verbauerung des Theaters durch die deutsche Sprache war im 16. Jahrhundert noch berechtigt gewesen, nun war sie es nicht mehr. Die deutsche Sprache, bei Aler geschützt und geadelt durch die Musik, war konkurrenzfähig geworden, und ihre Auftritte auf der Bühne waren ästhetisch und geschmacklich nicht mehr die Niederungen, sondern insgeheim die künstlerisch opulenten Höhepunkte, auf die man sich als Zuschauer wahrscheinlich schon die ganze Zeit freute, während auf der Bühne noch lateinisch gesprochen und agiert wurde.

Georg-August—Universität Göttingen

Similes in Emanuel Swedenborg's Vera Christiana Religio *(1771)*

JONATHAN S. ROSE

Vera Christiana Religio (*VCR*), the last book published by Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), is his crowning work, written and published shortly before his death at the age of eighty-four. It aims to present a comprehensive Christian theology, everywhere building on a biblical foundation and at the same time arguing against both Catholic and Protestant contemporary interpretations of Christianity. The work comes as the last of eighteen titles from his theological period. *Vera Christiana Religio* is distinguished from its predecessors, however, by an abundance of similes.

Swedenborg's voluminous output over six decades falls into two distinct Latin styles, which one could call the informative and the poetic. The term "poetic" here applies not only to Swedenborg's poetry but also to his poetic prose, which can be distinguished from his informative prose most simply as follows: Grammatically the informative prose is hypotactic, more complicated, and involves more passive verbs, whereas the poetic prose is relatively paratactic, less complicated, and involves more active verbs. From the standpoint of diction, the informative prose employs a more limited vocabulary with a preponderance of abstract substantives and the verb to be; the poetic prose shows a great abundance and variety of concrete nouns and verbs of action. What ultimately distinguishes these styles, however, is their effect on the reader. The informative style appeals to what Swedenborg would call the rational mind, while the poetic style excites the imagination.[1]

[1] The following examples of the informative and poetic styles respectively were chosen more or less at random: "Apparet sicut Infinitum non possit conjungi finito, quia non datur ratio infiniti et finiti, et quia finitum non est capax infiniti, sed usque conjunctio datur, tam quia Infinitus ex Seipso creavit omnia, . . . quam quia Infinitus in finitis non aliud potest spectare quam infinitum a se, et quod hoc possit apparere apud finitos sicut in illis; sic datur ratio finiti et infiniti, non a finito, sed ab Infinito in finito; et quoque sic finitus est capax infiniti,

Swedenborg first published collections of poetry in the poetic style, producing as well panegyric and allegorical prose fables, which are being edited by Hans Helander.[2] He then turned to works on philosophy, anatomy, and metallurgy in the informative style,[3] but reverted to vivid poetical prose in *De Cultu et Amore Dei* (1745), on creation and the origins of man.[4] Shortly thereafter, Swedenborg reports experiencing a transformation of consciousness such that he was able to enjoy a virtually continuous experience of "the spiritual world," namely heaven, hell, and what he calls the world of spirits. At the same time, his focus shifted from philosophical and anatomical matters to theological and biblical matters, with his publications following suit.

The informative style dominates Swedenborg's ensuing theological works. Here and there, however, a more literary and poetical style surfaces as he inserts narrative accounts of his experiences in the spiritual world between chapters of measured biblical exegesis or doctrinal argument. Such accounts first appear between chapters in his largest theological work, *Arcana Coelestia* (1749–1756), eight volumes expounding an allegory of Genesis and Exodus. The interchapter material reports spiritual experiences which Swedenborg then extracted and republished as four smaller works in 1758.[5] In the next years of active publication, however, such experiences are hardly mentioned.[6] Only in his last three major works, *Apocalypsis Revelata* (1766), *Delitiae Sapientiae De Amore Conjugiali* (1768), and *Vera Christiana Religio* (1771) does Swedenborg include what he calls "memorabilia": more lengthy narrative accounts of his spiritual experiences. It is common for five or six of these paratactic, descriptive passages, each some eight hundred to a thousand words in length, to appear at the end of a chapter. In his theological works before *Vera Christiana Religio*, then, Swedenborg's poetical pen would only roam between chapters.

In *Vera Christiana Religio*, however, Swedenborg's poetical and informative

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non finitus in se, sed sicut in se, ab Infinito a se in illo" (*Sapientia Angelica De Divina Providentia* no. 54). "Assimilari etiam possunt illis, qui naviculam contexunt ex juncis et cannis, et conglutinant illam pice, ut cohaereat, et super illa se immittunt in pelagum, sed quod ibi conglutinatio picea solvatur, et illi suffocati aquis pelagi absorbeantur, et in fundo ejus sepeliantur" (*VCR* no. 342).

[2] Namely *Ludus Heliconius* (1714), *Festivus Applausus* (1714) and *Camena Borea* (1715).

[3] For example, his *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia* (1734) in three folio volumes subtitled *Principia Rerum Naturalium, De Ferro,* and *De Cupro et Orichalco;* the philosophical *De Infinito et Causa Finali Creationis* of the same year; and the anatomical *Oeconomia Regni Animalis* (1740) and *Regnum Animale* (1744).

[4] See Inge Jonsson, "Emanuel Swedenborg: Scientist, Poet, Prophet," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis,* ed. J. IJsewijn and E. Keßler (Leuven, 1973), 335–37.

[5] *De Coelo et Inferno, De Ultimo Judicio, De Equo Albo,* and *De Telluribus.*

[6] Between 1758 and 1766, Swedenborg includes no interchapter accounts of his spiritual experiences; the only work from the period to contain such material is the *Continuatio de Ultimo Judicio* (1763), comprising but ninety paragraphs.

styles appear side by side in the main text, as the doctrinal argument is graced with, among many other forms of imagery, an abundance of complex or Homeric similes, meaning similes with formulaic introduction which tell a story. Swedenborg calls them "similitudines" or "comparationes."[7] In the five hundred pages of text, I found some four hundred examples. Not included in this number are many instances of metaphorical language without an introductory formula, rhetorical questions involving some concrete comparison, illustrations from nature, biblical quotations which are not in simile form, and simple similes which lack a verb or participle implying action. The complex similes, and the abundance of imagery in general, differentiate *Vera Christiana Religio* from Swedenborg's other theological works.

A limited number of formulas introduce the similes. The most common is also the briefest: simply the word "sicut," or now and then "comparative sicut." Where a fuller introduction is needed the formula usually reads "comparari potest" with either the dative or "cum" and the ablative. "Comparari" in this formula is replaced occasionally by "assimilari," once by "aequiparari." Otherwise Swedenborg uses "similis" with the dative, or "illustrari potest per similitudinem" or "comparationem cum" with the ablative.

I call these similes Homeric, since they often give more information than would be required simply to communicate a parallel. For example, Swedenborg compares predestination to tyranny:

> Immanis fides, quod Deus praedestinet homines ad Infernum, comparari . . . potest cum crudelitate tyranni, qui populum sibi subditum dividit in turmas, et ex his quasdam tradit carnificibus, quasdam projicit in profundum maris, et quasdam in ignem. (*VCR* no. 488)

It would have been enough simply to liken predestination to the arbitrary choices of a tyrant. The three methods of execution seem superfluous.

Swedenborg's similes differ from poetical similes primarily in the fact that the first term of Swedenborg's comparison is almost always something abstract. If a voracious lion is the second term of a Swedenborgian simile, the first term compared with the lion will not be something concrete like a bloodthirsty warrior but instead the retained sins of a stubbornly impenitent man (*VCR* no. 524). In the majority of cases a given concept is illustrated with an average of two or three similes in a row, and sometimes as many as ten. Each simile may contain a number of alternatives, or even on occasion a smaller simile within the larger one. Quite often similes are paired to express a contrast between opposite abstract conditions. Unlike ordinary poetical similes, then, Swedenborg's similes are not a simple parallel between something concrete and something else concrete, but a complex relationship

[7] For the former term, see *VCR* nos. 117, 119, and 534; for the latter, 123; and for both, 367.

between something abstract and many things concrete. For example, reading the Word with pride rather than fear of God is compared first to children playing with a blindfold, who want to walk straight but who go off in the wrong direction, hit a stone and fall down; then to sailors navigating without a compass who steer their ship on the rocks and perish; then to someone walking across a large field in a dense fog who mistakes a scorpion for a bird and in trying to pick it up is fatally stung; then to a gull which sees a small part of the back of a large fish in the water, and flies down and fixes its beak in it, only to be pulled under and drowned; and finally to someone entering a labyrinth without a thread, who the deeper he goes the more he obliterates the way out (*VCR* no. 165).

Like the ones just mentioned, a number of the similes seem to have a warning function. A warning will not be stated in the doctrinal argument so much as implied through negative imagery. But the warning function is only a subset of the stated purpose of the similes, which is to afford their author an additional point of access to the reader beyond reasoned argumentation, and therefore to provide for a broader readership:

> Haec quoque illustrari possunt per comparationes, quod fit propter simplices, qui ex comparationibus melius vident, quam ex deductionibus analytice ex Verbo et simul ratione formatis. (*VCR* no. 131)

It is of interest that Swedenborg here uses "vident" to describe how one takes in the similes. It is indeed visual images and the emotions they evoke on which the similes concentrate. For instance, one simile describes a person on a mountain seeing a dense fog rising from the ground, hiding the fields, the towns, the cities, and finally enveloping him where he stands, so that he can no longer see anything, not even where he himself is (*VCR* no. 119). The simile evokes a richness of feeling, an emotional experience. This is not to say that the emotional experience is always pleasant or intriguing. Swedenborg often resorts to grotesque images, such as abscesses and boils emitting pus which eventually poisons the heart (*VCR* no. 524), or a bladder full of gall thrown into the air bursting and showering its foul-smelling contents on someone (*VCR* no. 258). Occasionally the similes even evoke a kind of slapstick comedy: in one case, horses are attached to a carriage only by means of the reins in the driver's hands, so that when the horses start off the driver is pulled from his seat leaving the carriage behind (*VCR* no. 451). Therefore, although they differ in some ways from similes in poetry, Swedenborg's similes nonetheless serve a poetic function, namely to heighten emotion.

It seems quite clear that in choosing his images Swedenborg followed his own doctrine of correspondences, a systematic language of metaphor relating the abstract and the concrete, and specifically applying to the relationship between the spiritual world and the natural world, the mind and the body, and the spirit and the letter of the Bible. Fully explaining Swedenborg's

doctrine of correspondences would require an introduction to his special terminology and lies therefore beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, accessible examples can be given: in the human body, the heart corresponds to love, the lungs to reason, the liver to usefulness. Elsewhere in nature, heat corresponds to love, light to truth, the seasons to the changes of state in the human spirit. And in the Bible, Abraham is a deep seated area of the mind, Isaac the rational faculty, Jacob the knowledge of facts, and Esau the emotions.[8] Swedenborg calls these parallels "correspondentiae" and "repraesentationes." He spills much ink elaborating the doctrine of correspondences, devoting whole volumes to elucidating parallels word by word between the outer form and the inner content of books in the Bible.[9]

In his similes, then, Swedenborg has a chance to craft his own images with correspondences in mind. For example, given that Swedenborg sees water as corresponding to truth, washing to purification, soot to falsity and excrement to evil, we can detect correspondences at work in the following simile:

> Quod homo seipsum purificare debeat a malis, et non exspectet, ut Dominus immediate hoc faciat, est comparative sicut servus incedens facie et veste conspurcatis fuligine et stercore accederet ad herum suum, ac diceret, Domine, ablue me, annon illi herus dicturus est, serve stulte, quid dicis, ecce ibi aqua, sapo, et linteum, suntne tibi manus, et posse in illis, ablue teipsum. (*VCR* no. 331)

The interaction here between master and servant reads like a parable in the New Testament, although it is not one. In other instances the similes are more openly supported by the doctrine of correspondences and biblical authority. Swedenborg in one case discusses love and freedom, and then adds: "sed hoc per comparationes illustrabitur; verum quia hae assumuntur ex naturalibus, erit Calor loco Amoris" (*VCR* no. 496). Swedenborg's occasional use of his own allegory of the Bible to explain a simile shows further that the similes are intentionally correspondent:

> Quod Dominus vindicaverit Mundum Spiritualem, et per hunc vindicaturus sit Ecclesiam ab universali damnatione, illustrari potest per comparationem cum . . . sponso aut marito, qui dum videt adulterum tentantem inferre violentiam suae sponsae aut uxori, illum aggreditur, et vel manum ejus gladio sauciat, vel crura et lumbos ejus plagis corripit, vel per servos suos ejicit in plateas, qui fustibus illum usque ad do-

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[8] Allegorization had, of course, been practiced through the millenia. Swedenborg's system, however, seems unique for enjoying such a detailed and all-encompassing exposition.

[9] In *Arcana Coelestia* (1749–56), Swedenborg devotes eight volumes to a thorough exposition of the books of Genesis and Exodus; and in *Apocalypsis Revelata* (1766), his second largest published theological work, he treats similarly the book of Revelation.

> mum ejus persequuntur, et sic liberatam in thalamum suum abducit: per Sponsam et Uxorem *etiam in Verbo* intelligitur Ecclesia Domini, et per adulteros intelliguntur violatores ejus. (*VCR* no. 122, emphasis mine)

In fact a statement in *VCR* regarding the more difficult allegories in Sacred Scripture could as easily apply to *VCR*'s similes themselves:

> Vera Sensus literae Verbi quoad partem non sunt nuda vera, sed sunt apparentiae veri, ac sicut similitudines et comparationes, desumptae ex talibus quae in natura sunt, ita quae accommodata et adaequata sunt captui simplicium et quoque puerorum; sed quia simul sunt Correspondentiae, sunt genuini veri receptacula et habitacula. (*VCR* no. 215)

It would be easy, then, to say that correspondences underlie the similes and can explain all the seemingly superfluous or Homeric details. As far as the reader is concerned, however, this creates more problems than it solves. In the simile of the tyrant above, what are the executioners, the depths of the sea, and the fire to which the tyrant doomed his people? In the simile of the filthy servant, what specifically do the face, the clothing, the soap, and the towel stand for? Is the primary effect of Swedenborg's similes to inspire his reader to unfold their correspondent meaning? I think not. I believe they function more like dreams. Drawing on our day to day experiences yet acting as a foil to the intelligible world, they speak to some darker, less reasoned quarter of the mind. To understand them fully is not possible, nor is it even necessary; they speak in a different language. Once they have made a visceral impact they have already done their work.

Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania

Regina, meretrix and libido: The Medieval and Renaissance Dido

NANCY RUFF

Ever since Virgil first placed her under the awful wing of his Fama, Dido has fascinated readers and writers who have retold and re-interpreted her story for centuries. But although Dido's legend is still well known today, the modern-day interpretation of the character has changed markedly since the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The main point of difference between the modern view of Dido and the medieval one is that nowadays we tend to sympathize with Dido as a tragic figure, "a grand heroine" to borrow Douglas Bush's phrase.[1] In the modern view, Dido is the faithful lover (often called in modern renditions "wife"), tricked by the gods and betrayed by Aeneas. The evidence for this view rests largely on the fact that Book 4 of the *Aeneid* is narrated almost exclusively through Dido's eyes and words—the moving poetry of her lamentation. It can be argued, however, that Virgil did not see her this way. His trademark was his ability to narrate action through the voices of various characters, sympathetic and otherwise. This practice does not prevent Virgil from offering judgment on his characters, although it renders that judgment more subtle than it might otherwise be. In the case of Dido, the method is particularly useful since, as Boccaccio noted in the *Genealogia*, Virgil needed a woman qualified to "generosi cuiuscunque hominis . . . animum irritare."[2] Virgil drew his Dido as Dido *regina* because only a queenly woman could make Aeneas put aside his duty for *amor*.

But the most important thing here is the fact that if Virgil was subtle in his condemnation of Dido, medieval and Renaissance commentators were

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[1] *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2nd ed., 1963), 99.

[2] *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, Vincenzo Romano, ed. (Bari, 1951), 14:xiii.

certainly not. Where modern critics see "ambiguity" in the moral character of Dido, medieval and Renaissance commentators saw none. Since it was a school text, a thorough knowledge of the *Aeneid* as well as of the commentaries would have been virtually universal among the literate throughout the Renaissance. Analysis of fiction of the period that alludes to Dido's story must consider that in the traditional view, the character bore no resemblance to the modern tragic heroine. Though many of us are aware of the general tenor of the early commentaries, which expounded the moral of Dido's story quite clearly, I suggest that a close look at them will heighten the sense of this important difference.

Servius's commentary, though written in the fourth century, remained especially influential to readers through the Middle Ages and Renaissance since it was the most often reprinted. Servius is usually dismissed as primarily a grammarian, whose comments offer little in the way of the more elaborate exegesis of later Christian moral philosophers and Platonic humanists. It is important, however, not to skip too quickly over this influential work.

Servius's interest in the mechanics of Virgil's composition has often been noted.[3] But it is also worth noting that careful attention to the grammatical and rhetorical construction of the *Aeneid* affects a reader's interpretation of the poem. Servius was aware, as many modern commentators are not, of Virgil's work as an artificially constructed creation. Virgil composed with an acute awareness of grammatical and rhetorical matters: such was the primary requirement for the new poetry of his day which stressed *ars* over *ingenium*. When we are aware that Virgil used the tools of grammar and rhetoric to shape his Dido, we are less likely to believe that he was in the end caught up in any romantic sympathy with her.

Servius's work is, moreover, not merely the rantings of a *grammaticus*. In fact, he gives some very blatant indications of the attitude which he found appropriate towards Dido and her story. In addition, his commentary frequently connects words in one context with similar ones earlier or later, a technique which serves to indicate that Dido's fate should come as no surprise and that it is entirely justifiable.

A comparison of Servius's introductory comment on Book 4 with a modern one reveals a dramatic difference in interpretation: R. G. Austin, in his excellent Oxford edition, introduces his readers to Book 4 as follows:

> . . . it is in this book that [Virgil] tells of the most real of human experiences, without romanticizing it or in any way hiding its painful wounds. His Dido and Aeneas are a woman and a man in love; and long after the tragic tale has run its course, the pity of it echoes through all Aeneas' life and actions, so that it is never possible to

[3] See John Leverett Moore, "Servius on the Tropes and Figures of Vergil," *AJP* 12 (1891): 157–92, for an exhaustive examination of the subject.

> think of him as any other but the man whom Dido had loved, and who, despite himself and despite his destiny, had loved Dido.[4]

Servius's comment, on the other hand, offers a very explicit—and, many would find it incredible—statement about how he feels it is appropriate to view the whole episode. Book 4, he says, is written:

> . . . paene totus in affectione, licet in fine pathos habeat, ubi ascessus Aeneae gignit dolorem.
> sane totus est in consiliis et subtilitatibus; nam paene comicum stilum habet; nec mirum, ubi de amore tractatur.[5]

Having read this as the introduction to one's school edition of Virgil's *Aeneid*, as centuries of Western students did, one is hardly likely to approach Dido's story as the modern student, who is warned that what follows is to be the tale of a tragic heroine. For Servius, and for those who gained their understanding of genre from him, love was a topic for the comic sock, not the tragic boot.[6]

Servius is also not completely silent on Dido's character. Even before their meeting in the cave, Servius implies that Dido is hard pressed to cover the true nature of her passion for Aeneas. Telling Anna of her growing love, Dido says "adgnosco veteris vestigia flammae" (*Aen.* 4, 23). Servius sees this as artful circumlocution on Dido's part:

> bene inhonestam rem sub honesta specie confitetur, dicens se adgnoscere maritalis coniugii ardorem. hoc est, quo mariti diligi solent; nam erat meretricium dicere 'in amorem Aeneae incidi'.

Here is an instance of the perspicacity of this commentator, so often dismissed as "merely" a grammarian of the decadence. Not only has he pointed out, for all the generations of readers that were his before the Romantics, that an admission of love would have been scandalous rather than endearing; he has also identified an early instance of the kind of self-decep-

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[4] R. G. Austin, ed. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; repr. 1963), ix.

[5] *Servianorum in Vergilii Carmina Commentariorum* (*Editionis Harvardinanae*, Lancaster, PA: American Philological Society, 3 vols., 1946–65), 3:247. I have used this edition for all quotations from Servius' commentary. I am using the older version of the commentary rather than the *Scholia Danielensis* since that version, although available in many editions during the sixteenth century, was not collected and uniformly printed until 1600. Hereafter I will refer to particular comments by noting the book and line number of the *Aeneid* to which they refer.

[6] Servius repeatedly recalls this general perspective throughout his commentary on Book 4. One example is his comment on Dido's "En quid ago?" (4, 534): "est autem comicum principium, nec incorgrue amatrici datum." In "Servius and the 'Comic Style' of *Aeneid* 4," *Arethusa* 14 (1981): 115–25, William S. Anderson disagrees vehemently with Servius and attempts to illustrate that *Aeneid* 4 has a tragic style. Anderson's attitude towards Servius's comments illustrates the difference between the modern view of Dido and the one that was current in the Renaissance.

tion of which Dido shows herself a master by the end of Book 4. The reader guided by Servius, then, saw Dido as a clever speaker and a woman who although queenly, was inclined to the meretricious.

Finally, Servius's commentary guides the reader to consider the work as a well balanced artifact, one that should not be judged through the emotions it evinces progressively on a first reading, but in which the judgment of the beginning should incorporate that of the end. By constantly referring one to another portion of the text where the same words are reiterated, or where an idea recurs, Servius exhibits—and promulgates—this kind of reading. For instance, Virgil's description of the cave scene in which Dido and Aeneas consummate their love ends with a description of Dido's subsequent attitude towards this formerly secret passion:

> nec iam furtivum Dido mediatatur amorem;
> coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam.
>
> (*Aen.* 4, 171–172)

Servius's note on "culpam" refers the reader "ut supra" to *Aen.* 4, 19, where, in a contrary-to-fact conditional statement, Dido has sworn that she will not give in to her *culpa*, that is, her passion for Aeneas:

> si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
> huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae.
>
> (Aen. 4, 18–19)

By drawing the connection between the two passages, Servius emphasizes the fact that Dido has broken a solemn oath and suggests that the end was inherent in the beginning of Dido's story, as she illustrates with her own words.

Another example of this method occurs in a comment on the same early speech, wherein Dido swears fealty to the shade of her dead husband:

> ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
> abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro.
>
> (*Aen.* 4, 28–29)

Servius points out that, in fact, Sychaeus is apparently not in the grave, but "insepultus est," since Dido has said (*Aen.* 1, 353) that he appeared to her in a dream. Again, this reference gives us the sense of the work as a whole, but it also serves to undercut Dido's vow to some extent. Servius might just as easily have referred to the dreams in which Sychaeus appears at the end of Book 4 (460–461), but the earlier reference shows that Dido is contradicting herself, and thus, by calling one's attention to it, Servius encourages in the reader a sense of wariness about her words from early in his acquaintance with her.

These examples should serve to show that Servius's commentary is not completely grammatical analysis; in fact it is quite revealing of the attitude with which a medieval or Renaissance student was most likely to approach Virgil's Dido. Considering its enormous influence, an understanding of this

commentary is tantamount to an understanding of how Renaissance writers saw Virgil.

In their determination to justify reading pagan works by finding in them truths of moral philosophy consistent with Christian doctrine, the medieval Christian commentators abstracted the figure of Dido to an even greater degree than Servius had. These writers went so far as to deny Dido any human character at all: she is no longer even *meretrix*. She came simply to symbolize a concept, she represents *libido*, the vice of concupiscence which youth must avoid.

In the fifth century, Fulgentius paved the way for such a view of Dido with his *Expositio De Continentia Vergiliana*. Fulgentius explains the fourth book of the *Aeneid* quite simply:

> Feriatus ergo animus a paterno iudicio in quarto libro et venatu progreditur et amore torretur, et tempestate ac nubilo, velut in mentis conturbatione, coactus adulterium perficit. In quo diu commoratus Mercurio instigante libidinis suae male praesumptum amorem relinquit; Mercurius enim deus ponitur ingenii; ergo ingenio instigante aetas deserit amoris confinia. Qui quidem amor contemptus emoritur et in cineris exustus emigrat; dum enim de corde puerili auctoritate ingenii [libibo] expellitur, sepulta in oblinionis cineri favillescit.[7]

Raised on such expositions as this, what reader would ever tend to feel compassion for Dido's fate? She is not even a character, only "passion aroused to evil ends." In the entire *Expositio*, in fact, Dido is mentioned by name only once. Mention of her is conspicuously absent from the plot summary of Book 1 and from Virgil's supposed explication of it, where the names of other characters, even some minor ones, such as the minstrel Iopas, are not only mentioned, but frequently etymologized.[8]

The twelfth-century commentary attributed to Bernardus Silvestris draws heavily on Fulgentius.[9] In this scheme, as in Fulgentius', Dido represents passion. In Carthage, "regnum habet Dido, id est libido."[10] Having given an elaborate physiological description of the cave scene, in which he connects the sexual intercourse between Dido and Aeneas with a "surfeit of humors" throughout nature, he writes:

> Itaque ducunt pluvie Eneam ad caveam iungiturque Didoni et

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[7] *Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii, Opera*, Rudolphus Helm, ed. (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1897), 94–95.

[8] Fulgentius, *Opera*, 93.

[9] Julian Ward Jones, "A Twelfth Century Interpretation of Vergil," *Vergilius* 28 (1982): 51–57 offers a useful discussion of this commentary's relation to others and its unique contribution to the tradition as a whole.

[10] *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Vergil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, ed. Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), 12.11.

> diu cum ea moratur. Non revocant eum turpia preconia fame quia iuventus libidine irretita nescit "quid pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non." (24, lines 22–25)

This passage signals the extent to which Dido has been deprived of a personality. The "bad reputation" which is Dido's problem in the *Aeneid*, is here transferred to Aeneas. While he is faulted with falling into the snare of passion, the fact that all the verbs applied here are in the passive voice indicates that he is a victim of a vice, not the cause of Dido succumbing to vice, as the more modern emphasis reads. Finally, in Silvestris' detailed explication of the sixth book, Aeneas' meeting with Dido in the underworld is explained as the rational spirit ("rationalibis spiritus") contemplating the nature of passion ("libidinis naturas") (95, lines 20–22).[11] Again and again, Dido is made synonymous with the concept she represents: *libido*.

Landino's line-by-line commentary, frequently reprinted in editions from the early sixteenth century, stays close to the traditional exposition of Dido as lust. In his note on *Aeneid* 4, 35, where Virgil describes how Dido's growing love encourages her to loose the bonds of shame ("solvitque pudorem"), Landino writes

> atqui contra Platonis.... Ait enim Plato. Pudorem et studium ab amore oriri.... Sed Plato de divino amore loquitur. Poeta ferinum describit.[12]

In his *Disputationes* the *Aeneid* is transformed to an allegory expounding the virtues of the contemplative life over the active. Carthage and Dido represent the active life, the desire for political power. Although the interpretation has changed markedly here from the tradition, the trend is ever more towards abstraction from character to concept.[13] Perhaps appreciating the dignity of Virgil's Dido, not to mention that of her historical counterpart, Landino allowed the character to represent something a little loftier than the *meretrix* of Servius and the *libido* of Silvestris, something corresponding to the *amor ferinus* of his own Platonic system. Nonetheless, by the time Landino had added his final twist to the accumulated interpretations of her story, Dido had been thoroughly transmuted into the symbol of a concept, and the concept is still a variety of cupidity.

Where does this journey through early Virgil commentaries lead? I hope it leads us to question those narrators in works such as Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* and *House of Fame*, who urge us to sympathize with Dido in their

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[11] In sharp contrast with this is the modern view, expressed by Austin, that Dido, far from being abashed, as Silvestris writes, is silent in disdain for Aeneas: "will have none of him" (xi).

[12] *Publii Vergilii Maronis Operae Cum Quinque Vulgatis Commentariis* (Venice, 1502).

[13] Craig Kallendorf, "Cristoforo Landino's *Aeneid* and the Humanist Tradition," *Renaissance Quarterly* 36 (1983): 519–546.

retelling of Virgil's story. Given the absence of such sympathy in the prevalent commentaries, which early readers knew as well as their Virgil, I suggest that such narrators who are now often heard as authorial voice would have in fact seemed quite outlandish to medieval and Renaissance readers. Such characters were as benighted as Augustine was when in his sinful youth, he tells us, he wept tears for Dido when he should have been weeping for his own soul.[14]

I shall conclude by pointing out what may be another instance of the assumed universality of the modern sympathy for Dido. There is a printing error in the booklet of abstracts for this conference. While my original text proclaimed that to early readers Dido was often a "bathetic" character, the printed version renders her a "pathetic" character. I suggest that no such slip could have been made by a scribe of the Renaissance.

Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

[14] "Quid enim miserius misero non miserante se ipsum et flente Didonis mortem, quae fiebat amando Aeneam, non flente autem mortem suam, quae fiebat non amando te, deus, lumen codis mei et panis oris intus animae meae et virtus maritans mentem meam et sinum cogitationis meae?" *Confessions* 1.13. This passage is oddly but frequently taken to indicate Augustine's sympathy for Dido: Austin, xvii; George Gordon, *Virgil in English Poetry* (Folcroft Press, 1970), 5; R. D. Williams, ed. *The Aeneid of Virgil, Books 1–6* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 334; R. S. Conway, *New Studies of A Great Inheritance, Being Lectures on the Modern Worth of Some Ancient Writers*, 2nd. ed. (London: John Murray, 1930), 151. Most of these and other references to the passage neglect to note its context. In the passage from the *Confessions*, Augustine was using the fact that he was more inclined to sympathize with such worldly characters as Dido than to read Scripture and consider his own sinfulness to illustrate his poor spiritual state in those days. Conway is the only one who notices the context, but his inference is still askew: "from [this] it is clear that that powerful and most human Bishop felt his reading of Dido's story to be one of the great experiences of his life."

Daniel Achrelius and Oratory

RAIJA SARASTI-WILENIUS

Daniel Achrelius is the foremost representative of Latin eloquence during the seventeenth century in Finland. He was a polymath and an enthusiastic scholar in constant search of new perspectives.

Achrelius was born in 1644 in Turku where he spent his entire life. His father was Erik Achrelius, a professor of medicine, who had come four years earlier from Sweden to the recently founded University of Turku. His mother, Margareta Rothovius, was the daughter of Isak Rothovius, bishop and vice-chancellor of the University.[1] Achrelius began to study in the faculty of arts at the University of Turku in 1662, distinguishing himself very early as a skillful writer and a splendid orator in Latin. He studied eloquence under the supervision of Martin Miltopaeus,[2] professor of eloquence, but—encouraged by his father—he was also deeply interested in the natural sciences. Achrelius graduated in 1672 after ten years of studies. The following year he was elected to the positions of secretary and assistant teacher at the university. In 1679 he became professor of eloquence, which chair he held until his sudden death in 1692.[3]

In the 1670s, Achrelius began to make his appearance as a writer by publishing several Latin orations. The audience for these printed writings consisted largely of academic circles, clergymen and members of the Court of Appeal. In some of his writings he made pointed remarks on institutions

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[1] P. A. Sondén, *Biographiskt lexicon öfver namnkunnige svenske män* (Uppsala, 1835) 8f.; L. W. Fagerlund—Robert Tigerstedt, *Medicinens studium vid Åbo universitet* (Helsinki, 1890), 13f.

[2] Martin Miltopaeus (1631–79) held the chair of eloquence at the University of Turku in 1660–79. His main work is an extensive handbook of rhetoric, *Institutiones oratoriae* (1669), see n. 15. See Johan Jakob Tengström, *Chronologiska förteckningar och anteckningar öfver finska universitets fordna procancellerer samt facultaternes medlemmar och adjuncter* (Helsinki, 1836), 130f.; Ivar A. Heikel, *Filologins studium vid Åbo universitet* (Helsinki, 1894), 66–69.

[3] Sondén 9–11; Tengström (1836), 140–43; Heikel, 72–83; Arvid Hultin, "Daniel Achrelius, en finsk vitterlekare i slutet af 17:de seklet," *Skrifter utgivna av Svensk litteratursällskapet i Finland* 9 (Helsinki, 1895): 257–97.

and authorities. For instance, he criticized the Church and clergymen for incompetence and ignorance in a consolation letter to a father whose son had died.[4] He also revealed the defects of the Turku Court of Appeal in a commemorative poem for one of its presidents.[5] It goes without saying that Achrelius got into trouble. He was dismissed from the University for one year and seriously warned not to use abusive language, and not to express careless opinions in the future.[6]

Achrelius regarded his work as a teacher to be very important. He hoped to improve and stimulate the instruction of Latin, which he found unsatisfactory at the time. Teaching methods were largely concerned with rhetoric, treating the ancient authors purely as stylistic models, whereas Achrelius wanted to pay attention to the contents of the texts as well.[7] In 1682 he applied for permission to give private lectures in history and political science, justifying his request by citing the poor state of rhetoric. According to him, strict limits between the various disciplines should be abolished. He advised the faculty of arts at Turku to follow the example of Uppsala and many other European universities. In this connection he also cites famous European philologists Vossius, Heinsius, Boecler and Scheffer, whose teachings had covered not only *exercitia styli* but also ethics, politics and history.[8] Two years later Achrelius actually got the chancellor's permission to act as a *praeses* at disputations of practical philosophy.

Achrelius acted as a *praeses* in sixty-nine disputations.[9] Besides philology, these deal with history, ethics, political and the natural sciences. Thirty-seven of them resulted in three different sets of serial dissertations which can be attributed to him with certainty.[10] We cannot establish with any degree of certainty the authorship of the rest of the thirty-two dissertations; some of them are probably written or coauthored by Achrelius himself. At least his influence is easy to recognize in the subjects chosen. There are, for

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[4] *Consolatio ad . . . Dn. M. Gabrielem Thauvonium, cum . . . filio, Carolo suo, . . . ad Coelos evocato, exequias iret* (1676); Toini Melander, *Personskrifter hänförande sig till Finland 1562–1713* (Helsinki, 1951), no. 677.

[5] *Finlandz Tårar* (1685), a Swedish poem in memory of Ernst Johan Creutz, Melander, no. 985.

[6] Carl Magnus Schybergson, "Per Brahes brevväxling rörande Åbo akademi 1. Per Brahes brev," *Skrifter utgivna av Svensk litteratursällskapet i Finland* 164 (Helsinki, 1922): 239, 247; Arvid Hultin, "Finlands svenska vitterhet 1640–1720," *Skrifter utgivna av Svensk litteratursällskapet i Finland* 65 (Helsinki, 1904): 188; *Consistorii Academici Aboensis protokoll V* (Helsinki, 1914), 480, 496f.

[7] See Arvid Hultin, "Bidrag till litteratur- och lärdomshistorien i Finland," *Skrifter utgivna av Svensk litteratursällskapet i Finland* 27 (Helsinki, 1914): 21ff.

[8] Johan Jakob Tengström, *Biskopen i Åbo stift Johan Gezelii den äldres minne* (Helsinki, 1825), 82f.

[9] Jorma Vallinkoski, *Die Dissertationen der Alten Universität Turku (Academia Aboensis) 1642–1828* (Helsinki, 1966), 1–11 (nos. 1–79).

[10] Vallinkoski nos. 1–21 were issued as *Contemplationes mundi* (1682), nos. 47–54 as *Oratoria* (1687) and nos. 57–64 as *Epistolarum conscribendarum forma et ratio* (1689).

instance, dissertations about magnetism,[11] peregrination,[12] nobility,[13] causes of corrupt courts of justice,[14] all favorite topics of Achrelius, which are often dealt with in his orations as well.

Achrelius wrote three textbooks concerning the theory of rhetoric. In 1687, a handbook of rhetoric was published, called *Oratoria sive manuductionum ad Romanam eloquentiam libellus*, in which he follows the classical pattern of rhetorical theory[15] and its division into *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio* and *pronuntiatio* (or *actio*).[16] His interest is focused primarily on diction and delivery. *Epistolarum conscribendarum forma et ratio*, which came out in 1689, guides us stylistically in letter-writing.[17] *Verborum Latini sermonis differentiae* (1692) is a manual of synonyms for schools and students. All of these books are quite concise and readable. They were meant to support extensive works on philology, especially those by German and Dutch scholars. Achrelius frequently refers to the famous European philologists and their works, making them better known in the remote University of Turku.[18]

Achrelius's interest in the natural sciences appears most clearly in his extensive textbook *Contemplationes mundi*, a systematic treatise on the natural sciences which was, in its own time, the most significant work in this field in Finland.[19] Regarding its sources and manner of representation, it differed from contemporary works on natural philosophy. Achrelius was accused of diverging from the acceptable pattern of thought and of introducing new ideas.[20] Curiously enough, a hundred years later he was also accused by Bishop Mennander of supporting Cartesianism.[21] In fact, *Contemplationes mundi* includes no more than one allusion to Descartes's books.[22] It is pri-

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[11] *Magnes rerum naturalium* (1689), resp. Daniel Hagert, Vallinkoski, no. 65.

[12] *De peregrinatione* (1685), resp. Peter Fogelberg, Vallinkoski, no. 43.

[13] *Disputatio politica de nobilitate* (1685), resp. Peter Fogelberg, Vallinkoski, no. 45.

[14] *De causis corruptae justitiae* (1683), resp. Abraham Falander, Vallinkoski, no. 41.

[15] His teacher, Miltopaeus, had discussed in his *Institutiones* (see n. 2) only *inventio* and *dispositio* leaving *elocutio* and *pronuntiatio* to be discussed in a later work, which never came out. He followed the practice established by Ramus, although he did not completely share Ramus's viewpoint (Miltopaeus 34, 42). Achrelius criticizes this system in the preface of his book: "Male faciunt qui inventionem & dispositionem Rhetori subducunt, & logico in totum adscribunt."

[16] *Memoria* was dropped from rhetorical theory during the sixteenth century; Melanchthon and Erasmus, for instance, did not include it anymore in their accounts of rhetoric. Cf. Quint. *Inst. or.* 3,3,4; Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966), 231.

[17] Erasmus's *De ratione conscribendi epistolas* seems to have served as the closest model for this book.

[18] Cf. Heikel, 83.

[19] For a summary of the contents, see K. F. Slotte, *Matematikens och fysikens studium vid Åbo universitet* (Helsinki, 1898), 45ff.

[20] The rector of the University had given a notice and later an order which strictly prohibited the professors and teachers from taking up the ideas of new authors or from propagating their own (*Consistorii Academici Aboensis protokoll I* [Helsinki, 1884], 54, 149).

[21] Hultin 1895, 272ff.

[22] He recommends (359) the readers who are interested in the relation of soul and body to consult Descartes's books *De passionibus animae* and *De homine*.

marily a compilation of the teachings of various famous contemporary scientists, like the polymath Jesuit scholar, Athanasius Kircher—to mention perhaps the most important of them.[23] The importance of *Contemplationes mundi* lies in the fact that Achrelius, for the first time in the University of Turku, deviates from current scholastic methods. At that time it was a daring, even dangerous deed. Lutheran orthodoxy, which dominated the intellectual atmosphere of the day, did not tolerate new ideas or methods. Hence, Achrelius is counted among those who were paving the way for the real breakthrough of the natural sciences in Finland, which was to happen during the first half of the eighteenth century.[24]

Although Achrelius was often blamed for his liberal views and his pungency, he was widely appreciated as an orator in the Latin language. His contemporaries respected him so much that sometimes a person, while still alive, would ask him to write a funeral oration for him after his death.[25] Achrelius represented the University of Turku on various festive occasions, like funerals, weddings, inaugurations and national days. Not all of his orations have survived.[26] We know of eighteen printed full-length speeches; six of them are different kinds of congratulatory writings[27] and the other twelve are funeral orations.[28] From the first period of the University of Turku (1640–1713) there are thirty-four full-length funeral orations extant. Thus, Achrelius's speeches represent about 35% of all the material. He composed congratulatory and funeral orations in honor of many prominent persons in Finland and Sweden, particularly in honor of the royal family,[29] several university professors[30] and members of the Turku Court of Appeal.[31] Achrelius was also the orator for the celebration of the University's fiftieth anniversary in 1690. For this occasion he composed his longest—and probably his best—oration called *Scientiarum magnes*.[32]

Scientiarum magnes is a paean to sciences and erudition. Besides the praise of different virtues this is the most prominent topic in all his orations.[33]

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[23] Hultin 1895, 275.

[24] Sven Gabriel Elmgren, *Översigt af Finlands litteratur ifrån år 1542 till 1770* (Helsinki, 1861), 115; Hultin 1904, 178.

[25] Hultin 1904, 185.

[26] At least three orations *Oratio in Victorias Regis Caroli XI* (Aboae, 1677), *Oratio in pacem Sueo-Danicam* (Aboae, 1679) and a panegyric on Per Brahe (1680) have been lost; see A. A. Stiernman, *Aboa literata* (Holmiae, 1719), 92. Elmgren 80.

[27] Melander, nos. 629, 640, 791, 907, 1039, 1177.

[28] Melander, nos. 551, 603, 760, 780, 891, 963, 977, 1116, 1190, 1262, 1302, 1327.

[29] See Iiro Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society, II. Classical Moral Philosophy and Oratory in Finland 1640–1713* (Jyväskylä, 1990), 90f.

[30] Most of the funeral orations written in Turku were addressed to professors and other members of the academic community. See Kajanto 1990, 148f.

[31] See Kajanto 1990, 123.

[32] Melander, no. 1177. Cf. Hultin 1895, 283.

[33] Cf. Kajanto 1990, 182.

Depending on whether the object of the oration was a representative of the Court of Appeal, church or university, Achrelius praises law, theology and respective sciences. Eloquence was obviously dearest to his heart; he emphasizes its significance as "fundamentum & basis omnis solidae eruditionis"[34] in most of his orations.

The language Achrelius uses is largely based on the model of classical Latin. He is, like most of his contemporary Neo-Latin writers, not a strict Ciceronian. He was a representative of the moderate school, which was also the common trend among the German and Dutch humanists.[35] Achrelius's concept of acceptable authors seems to span a considerably long period of literary tradition: he also felt free to use unclassical words if needed.

Achrelius's skillfully rhetorical orations represent *genus grande*, a conventional style used when extolling the virtues of a person who belongs to the higher classes of a society.[36] According to Achrelius's own words[37] the grandiose style requires splendid words, lengthy periods and decorative figures of speech in order to create a majestic and powerful atmosphere. And he does know how to do this in practice! He constructs long sentences loading them with emphatic rhetorical figures and tropes, using synonyms, giving the nouns a number of attributes, often using superlatives. Occasionally the form seems to be even more important than the contents. Although his style may have been pompous, it cannot be blamed for monotony: he is able to vary and adapt his words to suit each situation. For instance, the funeral oration for a fellow-student, Magnus Brochius,[38] is less lofty than the panegyric for King Charles XI.[39]

Achrelius makes extensive use of various kinds of rhetorical embellishment. The figures and tropes grow more forceful and more frequent in the most important parts of the orations. So, for example, the beginning and the end are often skillfully elaborated. Especially conspicuous is the frequent use of different kinds of figures. Tricolon (sometimes of increasing intensity) and anaphora are very typical of Achrelius's style. Alliteration, chiasmus, synonyms and antitheses also occur frequently. One of the most typical features of Achrelius's style is the abundant use of enumeration (*congeries*). The coordination of the items enumerated is largely asyndetic and unsystematic. Metonymies, similes and hyperboles are perhaps the most frequent of the tropes. The metonymies are in most cases not original, but derive from earlier and contemporary literature; a mythological name used in a meto-

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[34] *Oratoria*, 6.

[35] Cf. Emin Tengström, *A Latin Funeral Oration from Early 18th Century Sweden. An Interpretative Study* (Göteborg, 1983), 64.

[36] Johannes Scheffer, *Gymnasium styli* (Jenae, 1678), 142f. Cf. Tengström, 1983, 105f.

[37] *Oratoria*, 124.

[38] Melander, no. 603.

[39] Melander, no. 640.

nymical sense is the most typical example.[40] Achrelius's similes, often referring to nature and agriculture, are not especially original either. One of his favorite sources for similes is flora, which he evidently knew pretty well, owing to his interest in nature and natural sciences.

Allusions to, and quotations from classical literature are used to emphasize the author's message and to appeal to the emotions of the audience.[41] Sometimes Achrelius, merely for stylistic reasons, quotes verses from the ancient poets in order to cheer up the prose.[42] Allusions and quotations are used quite freely and out of the original context. Some of them are hard to trace back, as Achrelius usually does not give any indication of his classical sources. His texts are full of short reminiscences of a couple of words in length. They can either be chosen intentionally or used without design. References to classical mythology are usually a literary makeweight which does not necessarily have any profound meaning in itself. An exception seems to be the common classical concepts of *fortuna* and *fatum*. They provided a channel to discharge one's negative feelings and frustrations which could not be addressed directly to God.[43]

Achrelius's orations include a number of commonplaces, typical of classical or later literature. I would like to cite some examples. In accordance with the ancient topos of modesty, Achrelius complains about his defective and inadequate rhetorical style even though everyone is aware that his orations are skillfully elaborated.[44] He also complains about the current bad times. This ancient topos occurs especially often when Achrelius is pointing out the decline of erudition, and the poor state of eloquence in particular.[45] An ancient topos, which plays an important part in Achrelius's texts, is also the frequently cited opposition between *genus* and *virtus*.[46] This topos is used by Achrelius in order to persuade his audience of the qualities of the deceased person whose funeral oration he was reciting. In addition to these elements, the orations also include factual information; some of the funeral orations present many details and exact information about the deceased person's life. This is the case, for instance, in the funeral orations for Martin Miltopaeus (1679) and for Bishop Johannes Gezelius the Elder (1690). However, some orations include very few facts and could not serve as any kind of reliable source of information for biographical studies.[47]

Unfortunately we do not have any information about the delivery of

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[40] Cf. Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society, I. The Attitude to Classical Mythology and Religion in Finland 1640–1713* (Tammisaari, 1989), 34–37.

[41] Margareta Benner and Emin Tengström, *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin. An explorative study based on some texts from Sweden (1611–1719)* (Göteborg, 1977), 34–36.

[42] Achrelius himself composed Latin verses very seldom.

[43] See Kajanto 1989, 126–60.

[44] E.g., Melander, no. 551 (1), no. 603 (1f.), no. 640 (3), no. 1116 (4).

[45] E.g., Melander, no. 603 (14), no. 629 (7), no. 1327 (21).

[46] E.g., Melander, no. 760 (5), no. 780 (2). Cf. Kajanto 1989, 182f.

[47] Cf. Kajanto 1989, 181.

Achrelius's orations. The fact that he was, time after time, selected as the orator for different occasions by the university senate surely indicates clearly that his oral presentation must have been clear and enjoyable. Moreover, his father Erik is said to have been a handsome, witty man with a sonorous voice.[48] Perhaps these features, if true at all, had been inherited by his son. No portrait of Daniel Achrelius has survived and most evidently none was ever painted. But it is possible that his attractive appearance may easily have contributed to his great success as an orator.

Besides the full-length orations, we have plenty of Achrelius's shorter writings in Latin. Like the orations, they also represent literature for special occasions. There are 110 congratulations for respondents of dissertations, more than twenty other congratulations, letters of consolation and prose epitaphs. Except for a couple of poems,[49] his Latin production is written totally in prose. The few examples of poetry which we have are quite short, a bit clumsy and include incorrect prosody. These poems most likely did not please Achrelius's sense of style. Instead of Latin poetry, he frequently uses prose epitaph or lapidary style.

This new literary style,[50] which is neither verse nor ordinary prose, first came to Finland at the end of the 1660s. Thanks to Achrelius's interest it became more popular in the 1670s.[51] It seems that the new style fascinated those authors who for a change wanted to write something other than Latin prose and at the same time wanted to avoid metrical rules and restrictions.[52] This is particularly evident with Achrelius, who can—with good reason—be considered not only the establisher but the foremost representative of this style in Finland.[53] He might even have given some instruction in composing it in the style exercises he supervised at the university. In Finland lapidary style was in full bloom during the last two decades of the seventeenth century. It went out of fashion at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[54] In Finland, the lapidary style was strictly connected with the Latin language, thus the decline of the style is at least partly due to the de-

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[48] Melander, no. 551 (17).

[49] Achrelius's Latin poems are congratulations, written for respondents of dissertations: Vallinkoski nos. 6, 2026 and 3775. In his orations there are a couple of short pieces of poetry which cannot be identified and are probably written by Achrelius himself, for instance, Melander no. 1177 (65f.).

[50] For the history and development of the style, see John Sparrow, *Visible Words. A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art* (Cambridge, 1969) and Per Ridderstad, *Konsten att sätta punkt. Anteckningar om stenstilens historia 1400–1765* (Lund, 1975).

[51] See Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, "Latin Lapidary Style in Finland," *Arctos* 25 (Helsinki, 1992).

[52] Cf. Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition* (1949; repr. New York, 1971), 322.

[53] Cf. Ridderstad, 403.

[54] The same phenomenon is to be seen in Sweden, where the popularity of Latin lapidary style begins to decline as early as the 1690s, and the real fall comes in the 1710s. It should be pointed out, however, that specimens were still printed throughout the eighteenth century in both countries. Cf. Ridderstad, 403.

creasing popularity of Latin occasional literature. Vernacular lapidary style never gained widespread support[55] although in Sweden it became very popular in the eighteenth century. From the period 1665 to 1713, there were a little more than one hundred printed lapidary pieces in Finland; about twenty percent of them were written by Achrelius. He uses lapidary style most frequently for epitaphs but also for congratulations, dedications and academic invitations.

In order to give a picture of Achrelius which would do him justice, we must mention yet another of his preoccupations. It is surprising that a most prolific author of Latin eloquence was also the first academic person to write Swedish poetry. In fact, in Finnish literary history he is recognized as a poet who wrote in Swedish, whereas his writings in Latin are ignored altogether.[56] His posthumous reputation is especially based upon four extensive Swedish didactic verse collections dealing with history, moral philosophy and politics.[57] Moreover, Achrelius's contribution to Swedish occasional literature was impressive. He was actually the first professional writer of Swedish occasional poetry in the University of Turku. After Achrelius, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the popularity of Latin occasional literature began to decline and Swedish was used more and more.[58] Among other aspects of Achrelius's work, his writings would provide interesting material for a comparative study of Latin and vernacular literature at the time when they were co-existing.

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[55] This is the case in most European countries. See Sparrow, 138f.

[56] See Lorenzo Hammarsköld, *Svenska vitterheten. Historisk-kritiska anteckningar I* (Stockholm, 1818), 156f.; Tengström 1836, 141; Elmgren 118; Gabriel Lagus, *Den finsk-svenska litteraturens utveckling I* (Borgå, 1866), 52; Hultin 1904, 204f.; Olof Enckell, *Finlands svenska litteratur I* (Helsinki, 1968), 104–10.

[57] *Laus manus* (1690), *Profeten Daniels utläggning öfver konungens i Assyrien Nebukadnesars dröm* (1690), *Den stora monarkens öfver-Aegypten Konung Pharaos namnkunnige rådherres, patriarchens Josephs politie* (1692), *Moralia* (1692).

[58] One of the most prominent occasional writers in Turku after Achrelius, professor of poetry Torsten Rudeen, already wrote almost exclusively in Swedish.

Transformation und Substitution von Ovids Fasten *im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*

PAUL GERHARD SCHMIDT

Ovids Fasten standen und stehen im Schatten seiner anderen Werke. Sie werden seltener ediert, kommentiert und interpretiert als die Metamorphosen, die *Heroides*, die *Amores* und die in letzter Zeit viel diskutierten Tristien und die *Epistulae ex Ponto*.[1] Während die Exildichtung auch bei Schriftstellern der Gegenwart aufgrund ähnlicher Erfahrungen, der erzwungenen oder freiwilligen Entfernung aus der Heimat, Beachtung und Nachahmung findet,[2] werden die Fasten, wie es scheint, vor allem von einem Interessentenkreis eingehender studiert, von den Religionswissenschaftlern, die aus ihnen Nachrichten über antike Kulte gewinnen und sie zu rekonstruieren suchen. Auch vergangene Epochen waren an den Fasten nicht sonderlich interessiert. Im christlichen Mittelalter war der pagane Charakter der ovidischen Kalender—und Festdichtung ihrer Verbreitung abträglich. So steht die Zahl der erhaltenen Fastenhandschriften hinter der Zahl der Metamorphosenhandschriften zurück.[3] Über die Fasten heißt es denn auch in einem Autorenverzeichnis aus der Zeit um 1200 sehr distanziert: "librum fastorum non esse legendum nonnullis placet";[4] das ist nur eine von mehre-

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[1] Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers, "Poet und Exil. Zum Verständnis der Exildichtung Ovid," *Antike und Abendland* 34 (1988): 144–57; Jo-Marie Claassen, "Ovid's Poems from Exile. The Creation of a Myth and the Triumph of Poetry," *Antike und Abendland* 34 (1988): 158–69.

[2] Kurt Smolak, "Der verbannte Dichter (Identifizierungen mit Ovid in Mittelalter und Neuzeit)," *Wiener Studien* 93 (1980): 158–89.

[3] Franco Munari, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (London, 1957); L. D. Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 266.

[4] Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 1924 (repr. New York, 1960), 372.

ren abratenden Äußerungen über die als problematisch empfundene Dichtung. Dank der 'Interpretatio christiana' hatten Ovids Metamorphosen einen festen Platz im Lektürekanon der Schule gewonnen, den sie teilweise noch heute innehaben. Die Fasten dagegen sind weniger uminterpretiert als durch christliche Kalenderdichtungen ersetzt worden.

Der christliche Festkalender des Mittelalters ist ähnlich unregelmäßig und verwirrend wie der heidnisch-antike. Mit Hilfe mnemotechnischer Merkverse, der sog. *Cisiojani*, prägte man sich die Reihenfolge der Heiligenfeste ein. Neben diesen in großer Zahl verbreiteten Merkhilfen gab es umfangreichere Kalenderdichtungen, die nicht nur die Reihenfolge der Feste angaben, sondern in einigen Versen auch die wichtigsten biographischen Fakten über den Heiligen des betreffenden Tages vermittelten. So verfaßte gegen 1200 Alexander de Villa Dei, der Autor des *Doctrinale*, sein *Ecclesiale* in 2000 Hexametern. Dieser Kalenderdichtung wurde nicht der Erfolg seiner Versgrammatik zuteil, die allen Angriffen der Humanisten zum Trotz noch in vielen Drucken verbreitet wurde. Alexanders *Ecclesiale* wurde erstmals vor etwa vierzig Jahren durch den Druck zugänglich gemacht.[5] Es bietet zu den Festen der Heiligen nur wenige uninspirierte Verse über deren Biographie; es fällt nicht schwer, dem unpoetischen *Ecclesiale* auch für die Zukunft nur einen kleinen Leserkreis zu prognostizieren. Auch die *Laurea sanctorum* des Bamberger Schulmeisters Hugo von Trimberg gehört in diese Kategorie der metrischen Heiligenkalender;[6] die noch erhaltenen 18 Handschriften der als Schullektüre verwendeten Dichtung zeugen von dem Bedürfnis nach eingängigen Kalenderdichtungen. Mit etwa 400 Hexametern hat Hugo von Trimberg offensichtlich den passenden Umfang für ein Werk dieser Art gefunden.

Vielleicht wegen seiner großen Verszahl ist der *Liber festivalis* nicht verbreitet worden und bisher unbeachtet geblieben, den um die Wende vom 12. zum 13. Jahrhundert der Augustinerchorherr Alexander von Ashby in Northamptonshire verfaßte.[7] Es haben sich in Oxford drei Handschriften erhalten; auf die Editio princeps müssen wir noch warten. So läßt sich einstweilen nicht erkennen, wie groß der Einfluß Ovids auf den christlichen Heiligenkalender Alexanders von Ashby war.

Auf festerem Boden stehen wir bei der Untersuchung der Festkalender der Renaissance. Die *Fasti* des Baptista Mantuanus, 1516 als letztes Werk des Ordensgenerals der Karmeliter entstanden, liegen in mehreren Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts vor. Sein poetischer Festkalender teilt aber nicht annä-

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[5] L. R. Lind, *Ecclesiale by Alexander of Villa Dei*, with Introduction, Notes, and English Translation (Lawrence, 1958).

[6] Hermann Grotefend, "Laurea sanctorum, ein lateinischer Cisiojanus des Hugo von Trimberg," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* N. F. 17 (1870): 279–84; 301–11; Günther Schweikle, "Hugo von Trimberg," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin/New York, ²1983), 4: 268–82.

[7] Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, ²1969), Nr. 13254.

hernd den Erfolg seiner Eklogen und seiner Dichtungen auf die Jungfrau Maria;[8] in kürzeren biographischen Artikeln über Baptista Mantuanus werden seine *Fasti* nicht einmal erwähnt,[9] obwohl sie ihm den oft wiederholten, wenig originellen Ehrentitel eingetragen haben, ein christlicher Ovid zu sein. Im Versmaß folgte er seinem Vorbild Ovid nicht, denn er wählte den Hexameter, weil er ihn vermutlich als das adäquate Metrum für eine Lehrdichtung ansah. An vielen Stellen seiner Dichtung läßt sich aufzeigen, daß er außer Ovid noch anderen antiken Autoren verpflichtet war, so besonders Vergil. Für seinen Inhalt freilich war er auf nachantike Quellen angewiesen. Seine Heiligenviten folgen einer Legendensammlung, die sich fast zwangsläufig als Vorlage anbot, es ist die *Legenda aurea* des Jacobus de Voragine. Die *Fasti* des Baptista Mantuanus bieten damit einen weiteren Beleg für die erst in jüngster Zeit beachtete Tatsache, daß die Dichter der Renaissance zumindest materiell der vorausgehenden Epoche enger verbunden sind als dies die bisherigen Darstellungen erkennen lassen.

Trotz seiner unbestritten rechtgläubigen Einstellung erweist sich Baptista Mantuanus in seinem Kosmos der Kalenderheiligen mit der Kirchenkritik seiner Zeit vertraut. Er tadelt beispielsweise den Zölibat der Priester, der nicht von Christus begründet und gewollt sei, und er nimmt Anstoß an der Praxis des Fastens.[10] Am auffälligsten aber ist sein Bestreben, Kontinuitäten zwischen antiken und christlichen Festen aufzuzeigen, etwa den Karneval als Fortsetzung der Luperkalien zu verstehen. Wer seine *Fasti* aufmerksam liest, findet dort Gedanken vertreten, die erst Hermann Usener wieder zur Diskussion gestellt hat; es drängt sich die Vermutung auf, daß Usener die *Fasti* des Baptista Mantuanus kannte. Das Alterswerk des Karmeliters weist zwar gelegentlich weitschweifige Partien und Anleihen bei seinen eigenen Dichtungen auf, seine Lektüre ist m. E. aber noch heute aus kulturgeschichtlichen Gründen empfehlenswert und es wäre zu begrüßen, wenn man es durch zweisprachige Ausgaben zugänglich machte. Für diejenigen, die auf das Columbusjubiläumsjahr 1992 schauen, noch ein Hinweis: Baptista Mantuanus stellt bei der Behandlung des Pfingstfestes Überlegungen an, ob die Wilden Amerikas schon vor ihrer Entdeckung durch Columbus Kenntnis von Christus gehabt hätten. Er findet keine Beweise dafür, hat aber erfahren, daß sie wie wilde Tiere und sogar als Kannibalen lebten. Gott selbst, so meint der Dichter, habe in seinem Heilsplan beschlossen, sich ihnen zu offenbaren, indem er die Spanier zu ihnen sandte, um das Christentum unter ihnen zu verbreiten.[11]

Wie es einer echten Kalenderdichtung entspricht, werden von Baptista

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[8] Hans Trümpy, *Die Fasti des Batista Mantuanus von 1516 als volkskundliche Quelle.* Textauswahl, Übersetzung und Kommentar. Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica vol. 26 (Nieuwkoop, 1979).

[9] Erich Meuthen, "Baptista Mantuanus," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1957), 1: 1228.

[10] Trümpy (wie Anm. 8), 102f.

[11] Trümpy (wie Anm. 8), 105, Anm. 19.

Mantuanus auch astronomische Beobachtungen mitgeteilt und die Arbeiten der Jahreszeiten beschrieben. Zum 15. August, Mariä Himmelfahrt, wird der Winzer daran erinnert, daß im Blick auf die Weinlese des Herbstes nunmehr die Weinfässer, Kelter und Kufen in Ordnung gebracht werden müssen—jedoch nicht am Festtag der Gottesmutter, denn an diesem hohen kirchlichen Fest haben alle Arbeiten zu ruhen. Zum 16. August werden in 49 Versen die Verdienste des Pestheiligen St. Rochus geschildert.

Aus protestantischer Sicht hat in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts Nathan Chytraeus *Fasti ecclesiae christianae* verfaßt, über die es bisher m. W. noch keine Untersuchung gibt. Auch eine Monographie über ihn, der stets im Schatten seines älteren Bruders David stand, gehört zu den Desiderata der neulateinischen Forschung.[12] Nathan Chytraeus war von 1564 an Professor für lateinische Sprache an der Universität Rostock, er starb 1598 in Bremen. Von 1568 an verfaßte er seine *Fasti*, von denen er zunächst die Monate Januar und Februar separat im Druck erscheinen ließ, ehe er nach leichter Überarbeitung der ersten Teile allmählich Bände zu allen 12 Monaten des Jahres publizierte. Sicher ist sein Werk in Kenntnis der *Fasti* des Baptista Mantuanus konzipiert und fraglos steht es in Opposition zu ihm. Überraschend hoch ist freilich der Anteil der Heiligen, die in dieser protestantischen Kalenderdichtung gewürdigt werden. Aber das Erbe der alten Kirche war im 16. Jahrhundert noch so lebendig, daß Chytraeus unbefangen Eremiten der Wüste wie St. Antonius oder den heiligen Martin von Tours besingen konnte. Andererseits berücksichtigt er in seinem Kalender auch Gedenktage für eine Gruppe von Personen, die gleichsam zu Heiligen der neuen Kirche geworden waren. So feiert er die Geburtstage und das Wirken von Reformatoren und Wegbereitern der Reformation wie Erasmus von Rotterdam, Philipp Melanchthon und Martin Luther. In der Nachfolge Ovids berücksichtigt und erwähnt Chytraeus auch Ereignisse der Nationalgeschichte: Ausführlich würdigt er etwa Karl den Großen, Heinrich IV. und Otto III., der in Rom den Tod fand. Chytraeus ist aber nicht nur von Stolz auf die Geschichte seines Landes erfüllt, er preist auch hervorragende Dichter Deutschlands. So erwähnt er die Geburts—und Todestage von Conrad Celtis, Eobanus Hessus, aber auch von Stiegel und Micyllus. Der 'vates' kann in seinen Augen so viel Ruhm und Bedeutung für sich beanspruchen wie ein Heiliger. Hohe Wertschätzung von Bildung und Wissenschaft drückt sich auch in der Berücksichtigung einer weiteren Gruppe aus; es werden bedeutende Gelehrte—z. B. Mathematiker wie Regiomontanus—gepriesen. Man kann hier von einer Säkularisierung der Gedenktage im Zeichen des Ruhmgedankens der Renaissance sprechen. Chytraeus stellt den Herrscher, den Wissenschaftler und den Dichter auf die gleiche Stufe wie die Heiligen der Spätantike und des Mittelalters.

[12] Paul Gerhard Schmidt, "Antike Kalenderdichtung in national geprägter Umformung des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Fasti ecclesiae christianae des Nathan Chytraeus" (im Druck).

Der Autor, über den ich im folgenden sprechen werde, ist weniger bekannt als Chytraeus und im Vergleich mit Baptista Mantuanus ein Niemand.[13] Es handelt sich um Claude-Barthélemy Morisot, einen Juristen und Altertumswissenschaftler, der von 1592 bis 1661 in Dijon lebte. Sein Beruf als Jurist langweilte ihn so, daß er ihn bald aufgab; er lebte als Privatier seinen Neigungen, die den Altertumswissenschaften galten. Er stand in Korrespondenz mit vielen Philologen seiner Zeit und publizierte vorwiegend lateinisch. So schrieb er u. a. einen Schlüsselroman *Peruviana*, der gegen Kardinal Richelieu gerichtet war; unter dem Pseudonym Alitophilus ließ er 1625 eine Fortsetzung zu Barclays Roman erscheinen, der er den Titel *Veritatis lacrymae sive Euphormionis continuatio* gab.[14] Wegen seiner scharfen Angriffe auf die Jesuiten wurde das Werk rasch verboten. Ich habe kein Exemplar davon in der Hand gehabt, sondern verlasse mich in diesem Punkt auf die ältere Literatur. Neuere Arbeiten über Morisot gibt es nicht; man muß sich mit biographischen Nachschlagewerken wie Jöchers Gelehrtenlexikon behelfen.[15] Die Versehen und Irrtümer dieser Werke sind bekannt. In Zedlers Enzyklopädie findet sich etwa die Angabe, Morisot habe *Fasti christiani* verfaßt.[16] Das klingt nicht abwegig, es müßte sich dabei um ein Werk handeln, das an Baptista Mantuanus und Chytraeus anknüpft. Eher ist aber ein Irrtum Zedlers anzunehmen; seine Information ist vermutlich auf das seltene Werk zu beziehen, das 1649 in Dijon unter dem Titel *P. Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum libri duodecim* erschienen ist. Da wir nur Buch 1–6 der Fasten Ovids besitzen, läßt der Titel aufmerken. War Morisot ein ungewöhnlicher Fund gelungen? Vermutlich hat man in Bibliotheken gelegentlich nach einem zweiten Teil der Fasten gesucht. Diese Suche ist wohl nicht sehr systematisch und nicht mit der gleichen Intensität betrieben worden wie die jahrhundertelange, teilweise skurrile Jagd nach den verlorenen Dekaden des Livius. Immer wieder kursierten ja Gerüchte, daß der vollständige Livius in einem entlegenen Teil Europas aufgetaucht sei. Prämien für ihre Beibringung wurden ausgesetzt und weite Reisen unternommen.[17] An Buch 7–12 der Fasten Ovids war man offensichtlich weniger interessiert. Ich kenne nur ein einschlägiges Zeugnis. Im September 1504 schrieb Aldus Manutius an Conrad Celtis, nachdem er von zwei Versen aus Buch 7 der Fasten gehört hatte:

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[13] Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam, 1977), 90.

[14] Günter Berger, "John Barclay's Euphormio: Zur Rezeption eines neulateinischen Bestsellers in Frankreich," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 86 (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), 232.

[15] Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexicon* (Leipzig, 1751), 3:683f.

[16] Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Großes vollständiges Universallexikon* (Leipzig/Halle, 1739), 21:1684.

[17] Paul Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1961), 4:113.

> Cures praeterea accuratissime, ut habeas utimos illos Fastorum libros, quamquam ita sum videndi ipsorum cupidus, ut adduci non possim, ut extare eos credam. Nam versiculis illis duobus de mense julio non habeo fidem. Quare velim, si quos alios habeas, ad me mittas. Vale.... [18]

Da die Fasten nicht als Hauptwerk Ovids galten und das Fehlen der Bücher 7–12 im allgemeinen nicht als schwerer Verlust empfunden wurde, fanden Morisots Ergänzungen keine sonderliche Beachtung. Zeitgenössische Urteile über das Werk sind mir bisher nicht bekannt geworden, neuere gibt es wohl nicht. Morisot machte im Untertitel seiner Fastenausgabe deutlich, daß er nicht einen vorgeblichen Fund präsentieren wollte. Er deklarierte in sympathischer Offenheit: "sex posteriores libri a Claudio Bartholomaeo Morisoto Divionensi substituti sunt." Er war gleichsam in die Rolle Ovids geschlüpft und hatte als ehrbarer Fälscher die fehlenden Bücher suppliert; dabei bemühte er sich, keinen Anachronismus zu begehen, sondern so zu schreiben, wie Ovid es getan hätte. Für sein Vorgehen konnte er sich auf mehrere poetische Supplemente der frühen Neuzeit zu antiken Autoren berufen: auf die 13. Bücher zur Aeneis,[19] auf die Ergänzungen der Lücken in den Komödien des Plautus[20] oder auf die Supplemente zu Lucan von Thomas May.[21] Einige der Dichtersupplemente haben in den letzten Jahren neue Editionen gefunden. Morisots Fastensupplemente sind seit ihrer ersten und einzigen Auflage von 1649 m. W. bisher weder neu ediert noch kritisch gewürdigt worden.

Anders als Baptista Mantuanus und Nathan Chytraeus entschied sich Morisot für das elegische Distichon; er mußte sich für dieses Versmaß entscheiden, wenn er der übernommenen Rolle gerecht werden wollte. Ich habe keine Untersuchung seines Versbaus vorgenommen, insbesondere keine Statistik geführt über die Relation von Spondeen zu Daktylen in seinen Hexametern, auch nicht die Häufigkeit der Elisionen gezählt, noch die Versschlüsse untersucht. Bei der Lektüre seiner sechs Bücher gewinnt man auch ohne diese Werte rasch den Eindruck, daß die Verse sich glatt und flüssig lesen lassen, daß Morisot über große formale Gewandtheit und Sicherheit verfügte, ohne sich dabei sklavisch an den Sprach- und Formelschatz Ovids anzulehnen. Um einen Cento, um eine Klitterung von halben

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[18] Hans Rupprich, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* (München, 1934), Nr. 315, 568f.

[19] Paul Gerhard Schmidt, *Neulateinische Supplemente zur Aeneis.* Mit einer Edition der Exsequiae Turni des Jan van Foreest, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Leuven/München, 1973), 517–55; Bernd Schneider, *Das Aeneissupplement des Maffeovegio.* (Weinheim, 1985) (darin 136–38: Das Aeneissupplement des Pier Candido Decembrio).

[20] Ludwig Braun, *Scenae suppositiciae oder der falsche Plautus.* Hypomnemata 64 (Göttingen, 1980).

[21] Paul Gerhard Schmidt, *Supplemente lateinischer Prosa in der Neuzeit.* Hypomnemata 4 (Göttingen, 1964), 48. Eine Neuedition von Mays Lucansupplement wird derzeit in einer Göttinger Dissertation vorbereitet.

oder ganzen Versen aus den originalen Büchern der Fasten handelt es sich nicht, sondern um die eigenständige Schöpfung eines gelehrten und sprachlich vorzüglich gebildeten Verfassers, der auch Neologismen prägt und sich aufgrund seiner antiquarischen Studien so in die Materie eingearbeitet hat, daß er über kürzere Partien hin seinem Vorbild sehr nahe kommt. Seine Fasten verlocken dazu, eine Probe auf das Exempel zu machen und eine geschlossene Episode aus ihnen als angeblichen Fund eines authentischen Ovidfragments einem klassischen Philologen mit religionsgeschichtlicher Kompetenz vorzulegen. Man könnte dazu Morisots Partie über den 7. Juli auswählen; sie handelt vom Fest der Juno Caprotina, bei dem die römischen Sklavinnen eine bedeutende Rolle spielten. Aus verschiedenen antiken Quellen—aus Macrobius (*Sat.* 1,1,36ff.) und aus Plutarch (*Rom.* 29; *Camill.* 33)—läßt sich das Geschehen des Festes und sein Aition wie folgt darstellen: "Nach Abzug der Gallier wandten sich unter der Führung des Dictators von Fidenae die Nachbarn gegen Rom und verlangten die Auslieferung von Frauen und Jungfrauen. Eine Sklavin, Philotis, ging mit anderen Sklavinnen in der Tracht von Freien ins feindliche Lager. Dort wurde auf ihre Anregung hin ein Gelage veranstaltet. Von einem wilden Feigenbaum aus gab sie dann ein Fackelzeichen, worauf die Römer das trunkene und schlafende Heer überwältigten. Zum Dank wurden die Sklavinnen freigelassen, belohnt und durften die Tracht der Freigeborenen beibehalten. . . ."[22]

Zu Morisots Zeit waren die Fakten über die römischen Feste nicht so bequem zusammengestellt wie heutzutage, wo ein Griff zur Realenzyklopädie ausreicht, um sich über das Fest zu informieren.

Morisot mußte zunächst die für ihn relevanten Quellen durcharbeiten und aus entlegener Literatur, aus Glossen und selbst aus Inschriften, die Informationen über das Fest zusammenstellen—es war eine immense Arbeitsleistung, die allein für sich genommen ihm bereits große Anerkennung sichert. So hat er in seiner Beschreibung des Festes der Juno Caprotina wirklich alle einschlägigen antiken Nachrichten verwendet—was aber noch wichtiger ist, die Leichtigkeit seiner Dichtung ist durch die vorhergegangene Sammelarbeit nicht beeinträchtigt worden. Er versifizierte nicht eine von ihm selbst kompilierte Enzyklopädie römischer Feste, sondern er orientierte sich an dem Dichter Ovid, und zwar an dem Autor erotischer Dichtungen. Bei seiner Schilderung des Festes der Juno Caprotina stehen diese Aspekte im Vordergrund. So schildert er sehr ausführlich die Szene, in der die Sklavin Philotis sich schmückt; er beschreibt das Fest der Sklavinnen mit den Feinden Roms als eine Bacchusorgie, die bald in eine Venusorgie übergeht, wobei er unübersehbare Anleihen bei der *Ars amatoria* macht und bestrebt ist, Ovid in eroticis zu übertreffen. Auch mit der neulateinischen Liebesdichtung erweist er sich als vertraut.

[22] Werner Eisenhut, "Caprotina," in *Der kleine Pauly* (Stuttgart, 1964), 1:1046f.

Nicht nur für diesen Abschnitt, sondern ganz generell gilt für die Dichtung eine Wendung Morisots aus dem Caprotinafest: "lascivia regnat." Denn Ovid ist für ihn der tenerorum lusor amorum. Zugleich ist Morisot aber ein Dichter, der voll Bewunderung auf die *Aeneis* schaut, und deshalb hat er ein ausführliches Lob des vergilischen Epos in das Fastensupplement inseriert.[23] Vielleicht in der Nachfolge des Chytraeus werden Dichter und ihre Werke von Morisot bei verschiedenen Anlässen genannt, bei denen ihre Erwähnung sich nicht zwingend angeboten hätte. Die Klagen des verbannten Dichters Ovid hat Morisot so verinnerlicht, daß er mehrfach Appelle mit der Bitte um die Rückkehr nach Rom in sein Supplement aufgenommen hat. Aus den Tristien und aus den *Epistulae ex Ponto* übernimmt er zu diesem Zweck mehrere Halbverse und wendet sich an Personen wie Cotta, die wir als Empfänger von Ovids Briefen kennen. Wie es einem Bittsteller entspricht, entschuldigt er sich für das auch hier nicht genannte Vergehen, das zu seiner Exilierung führte, und wünscht an exponierter Stelle, am Ende seines Werkes, dem Herrscherhaus ewigen Ruhm.

An den Leser seiner Fasten hatte sich Morisot in einer Prosavorrede gewendet. Er nimmt darin Ovids Klagen über die Kälte Skythiens, über Krankheiten, Alter, die Entfernung aus der lateinsprechenden Umgebung und den Zwang, sich im barbarischen Getisch zu verständigen auf und erklärt, daß sein geringes poetisches Ingenium gerade dazu ausreiche, den Dichter Ovid in seiner schwächsten literarischen Phase nachzuahmen—eine captatio benevolentiae, der man Originalität nicht absprechen kann. Sie findet sich bei keinem anderen Verfasser von Supplementen.

Wenn die Fasten wirklich das dichterisch schwächste Werk Ovids sind, wenn Morisot ein dichterisch schwaches Kalender—und Festgedicht verfaßt hat, so wäre sein Fastensupplement Ovid kongenial und Morisot hätte das Ziel erreicht, das jedem Ergänzer vorschwebte—so ähnlich wie ein Ei dem anderen, ununterscheidbar vom Original zu sein.

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i. Br.

[23] *P. Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum libri duodecim*, quorum sex posteriores a Claudio Bartholomaeo Morisoto Divionensi substituti sunt (Dijon, 1649), Lib. 9, 636ff., 221f.

The Contribution of Humanist Poetics in the Netherlands to Critical Theory in the Early Seventeenth Century

PAUL R. SELLIN

Two great classicists—one of Flemish extraction, one native Dutch, both working in the Dutch Republic—tower above the development of European poetic theory during the seventeenth century, whether in Neo-Latin or vernacular literature. These are, of course, the renowned humanist polymaths Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), professor of poetry, politics, and history at the University of Leiden, and Gerardus Joannis Vossius (1577–1649), professor of rhetoric and history at Leiden, regent of the States' College of Theology, and later one of the founders of the University of Amsterdam (1631).[1] Despite their common religious and cultural background, these compatriots were intellectually quite different. Heinsius was analytic and differential in his approach to letters. He is thus remembered chiefly as a prolific editor and a keen interpreter of classical texts as well as an outstanding Neo-Latin poet in his own right, not to speak of his contributions to the vernacular. Vossius was an eclectic synthesizer, and he is known chiefly for his remarkable philosophical compendia which attempt to survey most of humane arts and sciences and reduce them to their essential heads.

At Leiden, Heinsius had studied at the feet of Joseph Justus Scaliger, the

[1] On Heinsius, see P. R. Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England: With a Short-title Checklist of the Works of Daniel Heinsius* (Leiden, 1968); Baerbel Becker-Cantarino, *Daniel Heinsius* (Boston, 1978); and (particularly for the development of his theories) J. H. Meter, *The Literary Theories of Daniel Heinsius: A Study of the Development and Background of his Views on Literary Theory and Criticism during the Period from 1602–1612* (Assen, 1984). On Vossius, see C. S. M. Rademaker, *Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649)* (Zwolle, 1967).

son of the renowned sixteenth-century Italian critic Julius Caesar Scaliger. Although he professed to revere both the Scaligeri, Heinsius was in method not a Scaligerian, at least not Julian.[2] On the contrary, he was an Aristotelian, and the tradition to which he belongs is that of the cinquecento editors and commentators on Aristotle's *Poetics* stemming from Robortello. Now Heinsius' contributions—his edition of Aristotle's *Poetics* appeared in 1610, his *De tragoediae constitutione* in 1611 and 1643[3]—to both the study of Aristotle's text and to critical theory and practice during the seventeenth century and thereafter is simply stunning. Almost single-handedly, he managed to break with the intellectual habits of the traditions he inherited, and by the time he was through, he had come very close to recovering something much like the essential meaning of the *Poetics* as we understand it today, even though the undertaking was anything but facilitated by the "corrupt" text of the *Poetics* commonly used in his time.

Heinsius's success consisted essentially of three elements that are of utmost critical importance. In the first place, his method of reading Aristotle was sound. As Bernard Weinberg pointed out in connection with Robortello many years ago, the traditional Renaissance commentary entailed a method of organization that renders it almost physically impossible for one to read the commented text as a whole.[4] Victorius's commentary on the *Poetics*, one of the chief texts on which along with Robortello's Heinsius relied,[5] illustrates the problem perfectly. That is, it literally divides Aristotle's Greek text into some 212 separate fascicles, each consisting of one or more Greek periods, followed by the Latin translation plus as many as five pages of abstruse commentary in small print on such diverse matters as readings, interpretation, translation, analogues, and authorities. Although faithful adherence to the text before him did enable Victorius to arrive at some sound interpretations of important passages, it nonetheless remains doubtful whether he ever arrived at a clear perception of the treatise as a general theory.[6] Heinsius, however, was fully aware of the difficulties inherent in the commentary method, and his rejection of it was overt. His concern, as the preface to his edition of Aristotle's *Politics* (1621) clearly shows, was with

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[2] Cf. Edith G. Kern, *The Influence of Heinsius and Vossius upon French Dramatic Theory* (Baltimore, 1949), 55, 64–65; Meter, 70–71, 79–84, 98–100, 107, 123–24, 214–15; Marijke Spies, "Scaliger en Hollande," *Acta Scaligeriana: Actes du Colloque International organisé pour le cinquième centenaire de la naissance de Jules-César Scaliger (Agen, 14–16 septembre 1984)*, ed. J. Cubelier and M. Magnien (Agen, 1986), 159–61.

[3] Sellin, *Heinsius*, Checklist, nos. 194, 196, 198.

[4] Bernard Weinberg, "Robortello on the *Poetics*," *Critics and Criticism Ancient and Modern*, ed. R. S. Crane (Chicago, 1952), 320, 348.

[5] Cf. Sellin, "Le Pathétique Retrouvé: Racine's Catharsis Reconsidered," *Modern Philology* 70 (1973): 199–215; J. M. Bremer and D. C. A. J. Schouten, "Hoe Aristoteles' Poetica een weg vond naar Nederland," *Spektator* 16 (1986–87): 272, who mention Robortello but not Victorius.

[6] Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1961), 1:461–66.

the *akolouthia*—that is, the "logical interconnections"—within a text.[7] The result was a tough-minded close reading of Aristotle's treatise with a special eye for the sweep of the argument as a continuous whole.

With respect to the critical traditions based on the *Poetics*, the result was a methodological revolution. For one thing, Heinsius's edition of the *Poetics* is much more "modern" than, say, Robortello's or Victorius's in its organization. The text is continuous and unleavened by glosses, the Latin translation runs in columns parallel to the Greek, divisions into chapters and paragraphs are clear, and every effort is made to prevent interruptions in the argument. Indeed, the notes are kept separate from the text, and they refer the reader back to the text, not the other way around. As for interpretation of Aristotle's doctrine, this is the function of Heinsius's famous *De tragoediae constitutione*, an independent essay, as it were, appended to the edition.[8] It does attempt to come to grips with Aristotle's argument as a unified structure and to interpret it in light of his philosophy as a whole.

More important, this procedure gave rise to what Heinsius considered his main contribution to the study of the *Poetics*: namely, the restoration of the text to its "right" order that had been disturbed by scribal incompetence in earlier centuries.[9] Taking as his clues transitional expressions, such as the closing of chapter eleven or the opening of chapter sixteen, he shifted the material on the quantitative parts of tragedy to chapter seven, and grouped all subsequent chapters strictly according to the sequence of headings posed in chapter six (i.e., the "qualitative" parts "plot," "character," "thought," "diction," and so on). To secure such consistency, he combined the discussion of the species of recognition in chapter sixteen with the treatment of peripety and recognition in chapters ten and eleven. At the heels of this conglomerate, he inserted Aristotle's observations regarding the pleasures and incidents proper to tragedy by subordinating all of chapter fourteen to the transitional closing of chapter eleven.[10]

By so doing, something conceptually startling emerged from Heinsius's perception of the treatise. As the word *constitutio* in the title of his essay indicates, Heinsius's approach had, evidently for the first time in humanist criticism, the effect of properly throwing emphasis on plot as the formal principle of tragedy to which all of its other parts were to be subordinated.[11] By

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[7] *Aristotelis Politicorum libri VIII. Cum perpetua notis Danielis Heinsii in omnes libros Paraphrasi* (Leiden, 1621), sig. *7[r].

[8] Sellin, *Heinsius*, nos. 196, 198; for an English translation, see Sellin and John J. McManmon, trans., *On Plot in Tragedy by Daniel Heinsius* (Northridge, 1971).

[9] For a translation of Heinsius's "Aristotle's Order," see the Appendix to *On Plot*, 155–66.

[10] Sellin, "From *Res* to *Pathos*: The Leiden 'Ordo Aristotelis' and the Origins of Seventeenth-century Recovery of the Pathetic in Interpreting Aristotle's *Poetics*," *Ten Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations*, ed. J. A. van Dorsten (Leiden/London, 1974), 72–78.

[11] Sellin, "The Proper Translation of *constitutio* in Daniel Heinsius's *De tragoediae constitutione* and Some Implications of the Word for Seventeenth-Century Literary Theory," *Acta conventus*

drawing a sharp, genuinely Aristotelian distinction between "plot" as "fable" and "plot" as a "synthesis of actions," Heinsius restored plot to its central position in Aristotle's conception of tragedy. What is more, this insight enabled him to connect *pathos* conceived as an object represented in tragedy with the emotions—pity and fear, or horror—that such objects produce in the human mind, and thereby to identify *pathos* as a means of producing like passions in the hearts of an audience. This in turn led to a very clear formulation of *pathos* as "emotion" experienced by readers and spectators of tragedy. Heinsius's discovery transformed emotion into a third part of tragedy, as it were—one that was not only as organic to the structure of tragic plot as peripety and anagnoresis, but also stood over these two elements, informing them and making them its ancillaries. In short, pity and fear could no longer continue to be viewed as merely quasi-rhetorical effects that tragedy sought to stir in an audience as concomitant or instrumental, but the fearful and the pitiful had to be incorporated in the tragic plot as formal qualities. Thus conceived as central to the plot, or *anima* of tragedy, *pathos* was transformed by Heinsius's thinking into nothing less than the organizing principle on which the unity of tragedy must be based. No wonder, then, that Heinsius could conceive of emotion as "the third and practically the most important part" of the plot, without an understanding of which, he maintained, the argument of the *Poetics* could not be comprehended at all.[12] After all, if plot is the soul of tragedy, then *pathos* is the soul of tragic plot. Indeed, such treatment of emotion was a development that went far towards anticipating what certain modern editors of Aristotle are after when, in the catharsis clause of Aristotle's famous definition of tragedy, they substitute the reading "through pathetic and fearful incidents" for the actual phrasing "through pity and fear."[13]

Such, then, is the nucleus of what I would call the Heinsian mode of "neoclassical" theory. As many others have pointed out, it had profound effects on the thinking and practice of any number of Neo-Latin and vernacular poets and theorists ranging from Grotius and Vondel in the Netherlands to La Mesnardiere and Racine in France, Martin Opitz in Germany, or John Milton and Thomas Rymer in England, and there is no point here in going into a dreary catalogue of spin-offs in the vernacular for the rest of the century. However, there are two points regarding Heinsius's achievements that I would like to stress before we leave him. The first relates to "pseudo-Aristotelian" habits of mind that—according to Herrick, Weinberg, and others—supposedly prevented Heinsius's predecessors from perceiving Aristotle aright. In itself, Heinsius's success in freeing himself from this pattern (if that is what it was) bespeaks an independence of mind that is quite remarkable. It has been recently suggested in connection with Scaliger that

[12] Sellin and McManmon, *On Plot*, 159.

[13] E.g., G. F. Else, *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 228.

what has been erroneously taken by historians of literary criticism to be "pseudo-Aristotelianism" springs not from the great critics of the golden ages of Greece and Rome but instead from a later, pre-Patristic Hellenic criticism fused with Donatus rather than with Plato, Horace, or Aristotle.[14] If this is so, then Heinsius's originality and the degree to which he managed to free himself from received tradition is astounding. The second relates to Horace and the tradition of the *Ars poetica*. Generally speaking, I think we conceive Horace's criticism as methodologically incompatible with, not to say opposed to Aristotle, so much so that the much-proclaimed "fusion" of Horace and Aristotle to which Professor Herrick pointed many years ago seemed neatly to explain why the Renaissance never got Aristotle right.[15] But although it is not generally recognized, Heinsius did much more than simply not succumb to the Horatianization of Aristotle. In fact, he completely turned the tables in this respect, and proceeded actually to Aristotelianize Horace. Specifically, in editing the *Ars poetica* during these very years, Heinsius thought he perceived in the text of Horace's verse epistle a set of transpositions analogous to those that had afflicted the *Poetics*. By introducing another set of transpositions into the *Ars poetica*, he converted it from an ur-paradigm of Horatian criticism into an Aristotelian document.[16] That is, instead of reading Aristotle in the light of Horace, he came literally to read Horace in the light of Aristotle. The question is, then, what happened to the Horatian critical tradition in the seventeenth century as a consequence of Heinsius's tinkering? Is the Horace of neoclassical criticism always the one we think he is? The answer is not yet clear, but the question is one that stands, I think, in need of asking.

Vossius's criticism is of an entirely different order. His *Poetical Institutions* (1647) belongs among the colossi of Renaissance theory, general treatises that "try to present a total conception of the art rather than to discuss an individual point or to elucidate some phase of ancient doctrine."[17] As in Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem*, more or less the cinquecento sire of the entire tribe, the endeavor is to gather together every available scrap of knowledge about the art of poetry and to present it in some orderly fashion. Vossius's work constitutes the only true superpoetics that the seventeenth century produced, if I am not mistaken, and it is one of the last humanist documents of its kind. What he seems to represent, at least to me, is a more or less final state of "Renaissance" monster poetics, purified and brought up to date just as new developments in philosophy and especially science are about to

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[14] Sellin, "Sources of Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* as a Guide to Renaissance Poetics," *Acta Scaligeriana*, 75–84.

[15] Marvin T. Herrick, *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531–1555* (Urbana, 1946); cf. Weinberg, "From Aristotle to Pseudo-Aristotle," *Comparative Literature* 5 (1953): 97–104, and *History*, 1:349–52, 2:797–813.

[16] Summarized by Meter, 100–105.

[17] Weinberg, *History*, II: 715.

sweep away the old. In the more than hundred years between Vossius and Scaliger, the humanist world had not gone unchanged. The significance of Vossius's work is that it reflects such alterations, modifies the antiquated poetics of the cinquecento, and brings it into line with, if nothing else, the improved philological sophistication that had developed in the course of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Perhaps one can say that, as Scaliger represents the *terminus a quo* of Renaissance poetic theory,[18] so Vossius forms a kind of *terminus ad quem*. He epitomizes literary theory just at the moment that the humanism of the sixteenth century ends as a dominant philosophy.[19]

Since neither time nor occasion serve to develop this idea further, let it suffice to say that in light of Vossius's stand on such matters as the classification of poetry and rhetoric, the sharp distinction between *res* and *verba*, the definition and parts of poetry and its genres (especially tragedy), the doctrine of decorum, and the ends of the art, Vossius's doctrine is in essence Scaligerian.[20] The difference is that, although he seems to incorporate Scaliger's method intact, Vossius simplifies, reorganizes, and modifies the thinking to accommodate developments in classical scholarship that separate him from Scaliger.[21] This is not to say that such differences are unimportant. In the first place, there is the matter of temperament. In Vossius's unpretentious appeal to simplicity and common sense rather than to showy esoteric erudition—qualities that I would call typically Dutch—he adopts a tactical posture that seems more akin to the late baroque or Restoration period than to the age of Scaliger. Reflecting the remarkable growth of Hellenic studies in the Netherlands that took place especially in the late sixteenth century, Vossius also redresses the balance between Greek and Latin literature that Scaliger weighted in favor of the Romans. Although Virgil and Horace remain enshrined in the temple,[22] their deification is not at the cost of Homer and Hellenic literature, as it was in Scaliger. Perhaps the most important difference is that whereas Scaliger relies on Platonic associations for his view of the relationship between words and things, Vossius tries to justify his stance in terms of Aristotle and Greek "science." One does not

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[18] Weinberg, *History*, II: 742–43. See also the original article: "Scaliger versus Aristotle on Poetics," *Modern Philology* 39 (1942): 337–60.

[19] Sellin, "The Last of the Renaissance Monsters: The *Poetical Institutions* of Gerardus Joannis Vossius, and Some Observations on English Criticism," *Anglo-Dutch Cross Currents in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, May 10, 1975*, ed. A. Lossky (William Andrews Clark Memorial Library; Los Angeles, 1976), 7–9.

[20] Spies, 157–69, traces the history of Scaliger's influence in the Dutch republic and briefly describes his impact on the works of Vossius in the course of the latter's career.

[21] Sellin, "Monsters," 9–21; cf. Spies, 166–68.

[22] Cf. Scaliger's own expression in Book Six, "Hypercriticus," the close of which bears the subtitle "Arae P. Virgili Maronis," *Poetices libri septem*, ed. August Buck (Faksimile-Neudruck der Ausgabe von Lyon 1561; Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1964), 345.

find in Vossius the language that Scaliger constantly uses when he calls words the "images," "shadows," or "imitation" of "things."[23] For Scaliger's "Platonism," perhaps we might say, Vossius often substitutes an amalgam of Aristotle better suited to the impulses of the mid- and later seventeenth century. To an age inclining more towards empiricism than mysticism, that is, Vossius offers a set of seemingly immutable "rules" founded on the authority of the ancients, buttressed by the rigorous inferences of the Stagirite rather than by the myths and doctrine of ideas offered by Plato. For Vossius the proper touchstone of poetry is "nature" represented in natural philosophy and the "science" of ethics, not in a golden world of ideals revealed by poets blessed with numinous powers such as Virgil's.[24] Indeed, Vossius's work prompts the question: What happened to "Platonic" critical methods and modes in the seventeenth century? Did they disappear from the critical landscape entirely, or did they re-emerge in forms that are not immediately recognizable? Are there, in fact, any critical documents in the old Socratic stamp that are of real significance to Latin criticism contemporary with or following Heinsius and Vossius?

At the same time, Vossius's system remains an anachronism. I used to think of Vossius as firmly reasserting at the very end of the Renaissance the peculiar fusion of Horace and Aristotle that historians of criticism are wont to think of as characterizing many of the sixteenth-century distortions of Aristotle.[25] If, however, my recent suggestion is correct that Scaliger's doctrine derives essentially from Donatus rather than Horace, Aristotle, or Plato,[26] then one begins to wonder whether Vossius's refurbishing of Scaliger does not raise some vital questions regarding the genesis and nature of neoclassical theory just as the Cartesian revolution was coming into its own. That is, on the very threshold of the Augustan age, Vossius managed to assemble one of the last great syntheses of Renaissance learning. But in so doing, he may have only promulgated anew not what we think of today as a main stream of cinquecento poetics, but an old-fashioned Euanthine (i.e., Donatian) criticism inherited from the fifteenth century, one gilded over with immense quantities of superficial Greek learning that makes it seem typically "Renaissance," "cinquecento," or proto-"neoclassical" but in essence may be less so than we think. Let us therefore conclude by suggesting that Vossius's chief contribution to seventeenth-century humanist criticism was to Aristotelianize Scaliger's explicitly anti-Aristotelian biases

[23] E.g., *Poetices libri septem*, 17–18, 55, 175 *et passim*.
[24] Sellin, "Monsters," 17.
[25] Ibid., 21.
[26] *ACTA Scaligeriana*, 82–84.

and thereby render his theory more acceptable to a later age. If this is true, then what he generated was not a "pseudo-Aristotelian" but a "pseudo-medieval" doctrine that many architects of the new age, ironically enough, absorbed in their youth as neo-"classical" orthodoxy.

Los Angeles, California

The Beginnings of Danish History in the Rerum Danicarum historia *of Johannes Pontanus*

KAREN SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN

Introduction

After the Lutheran Reformation in Denmark in 1536 and the consequent strengthening of royal power, the Danish government eagerly sought to promote the publication of a history of Denmark in Latin, in order to be able to present the long monarchical traditions of the country to an international public. Intertwined with this patriotic motive, however, was the ongoing rivalry with Sweden in these centuries, taking place not only on the battlefield, but also in historiography. In 1554, with the publication of Johannes Magnus's *Swedish History*, Sweden got its national epic in prose. Here the notion of Gothicism found its canonical form. The heroic history of the Goths, ancestors of the Swedes, was told in surprising detail, right from Noah's grandson—a long time before the classical world came into being. But Magnus was also violently anti-Danish. Denmark was, according to him, originally just a colony of criminals, sent into exile by the Goths. This of course gave rise to Danish accounts of these remote times, in which Denmark was either given a part in the Gothic triumphs, or alternatively, Denmark was seen as the home of the Cimbrians, and a Cimbrian history, just as long and magnificent as the Gothic history, was invented. The point of departure for all these speculations (which are usually referred to as Scandinavian Gothicism) was scattered information found in classical texts. But most of it was pure invention, especially the detailed accounts of Goths and Cimbrians many centuries before the birth of Christ.

Still, the composition of an entire history of Denmark to match Magnus's work, made slow progress. And not until 1631, after the unsuccessful attempts of several royal historiographers, did a Latin history of Denmark ap-

pear. In that year the Dutch-Danish philologist and royal historiographer Johannes Pontanus published the first volume, a folio in ten books, of his huge *Rerum Danicarum historia,* covering the history of Denmark up to 1448.[1]

Pontanus was an internationally renowned scholar, well versed in classical and more recent historical literature, when he was appointed historiographer by the Danish king, Christian IV, in 1618.[2] Born in Denmark in 1571 of Dutch parents, he studied, among other places, at the universities in Leiden and Rostock, and traveled in Italy and France. He became acquainted with various eminent scholars, including Justus Lipsius, Joseph Scaliger, Hugo Grotius, David Chytræus, and Isaac Casaubonus. Having studied medicine and philology, he gradually began to concentrate on historical work.[3] The last thirty-five years of his life, from 1604 to 1639, he spent in Harderwijk in Holland as a professor at the gymnasium, and here he also wrote his Danish history.

So how did this representative of Dutch humanism accomplish the task of writing a history of Denmark? How did he match Johannes Magnus's Gothicist views? To answer this, I shall here focus on the first three books of his work, in which Danish history until around 800 AD is treated. I will try to place them in the context of the history of learning, and to point out their ideological contents.

This was the first part of the history that Pontanus wrote, a fact that is not as trivial as it might appear. Two of his predecessors, Niels Krag and Claus Lyschander, had been commissioned not many years before, in 1594 and 1616 respectively, to begin with the recent history of the Reformation and then start from the earliest times. Furthermore, one would not expect any particular need for a history of the early Danish past, because a Latin history of Denmark already existed, namely the *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus, written about 1200. Here the long and glorious Danish past, from the eponymous King Dan to Saxo's own time had found its canonical form. Saxo's work was printed in 1514, and had since then been widely praised, particularly for its remarkable style. So, in a way, Denmark already had an entire national history, at least for the period up to 1200. Pontanus was nevertheless told to begin with the earliest times and proceed chronologically. I shall later suggest some of the motives that may have prompted his employers to give him this instruction. As we shall see, there were

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[1] The ten books of history are followed by a "Chorographia regni Daniæ" (a geographical description of Denmark). The second volume, dealing with the period from 1448 to 1588, was not published until 1740 (in E. J. de Westphalen, ed., *Monumenta inedita rerum Germanicarum II* [Leipzig, 1740], cols. 713–1230).

[2] The biographical information on Pontanus is taken from H. F. Rørdam, "Den kongelige Historiograf, Dr. Johan Isaksen Pontanus" in vol. 3 of *Historiske Samlinger og Studier* (København, 1898), 1–24, 440–92.

[3] He published editions of Valerius Maximus, Tacitus and Florus and wrote a history of Amsterdam (1611) and a history of the Franks (1616), etc.

scholarly as well as ideological reasons for wanting a new version of early Danish history. His employers were officially the Danish government—that is, the king and the privy council. It is fairly clear, however, that the initiative was taken by the chancellor, the learned Christen Friis (1581–1639), with whom Pontanus corresponded during the time of his engagement, not only about practical matters such as salary, but also about the contents of his history.[4]

The scholarly context

Let us begin with the scholarly aspects. The very first words of the work reveal some important reasons for rewriting the early Danish past:

> Those who have written about the first beginnings of the Danes—particularly Saxo Grammaticus and others who follow him—all agree that Dan was the founder of the people. I, however, putting these things aside or leaving them out for a short while, have found it better to begin with the migration of the Cimbrians from their home in their peninsula [Jutland]. These events are known from the greatest authors, whereas the other things—which are told instead, as being very old—largely resemble those traditions mentioned by the great author Livy, which belonged to the time before the foundation of Rome, or the time when it was about to be founded, and which were beautiful stories rather than facts based upon trustworthy historical proofs. Meanwhile, I have not wanted to omit to bring forward that which has historical worth, although these things so remote from our own time as well as antiquity in general have a right not only to our reverence but also to our tolerance.[5]

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[4] Twelve letters from Pontanus to Friis have been collected and edited by H. F. Rørdam in his biography of Pontanus.

[5] "QUI res Danorum à primis initijs ad posterorum memoriam literis consignatas tradiderunt, quos inter præcipuè Saxo Grammaticus alijque eum secuti, Danum gentis conditorem uno omnes consensu memorant. Nos, sepositis aut omissis paulisper istis, auspicium potius ab ipsa Cimbrorum è suâ chersoneso egressione faciendum censuimus; Quod ea maximis authoribus prodita, ista verò, quæ vicem eorum, ut vetustissima recitantur, ejusmodi multa sint, qualia esse quoque illa, quæ ante conditam condendamque Romam à scriptoribus sunt memorata, decora magis relatu, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis tradita, summus authorum Livius retulit. Interim tamen in medium adduxisse, quæ historiam præsertim spectant, haud omittendum existimavi, quamvis & aliàs antiquitati, & rebus illis à memoriâ nostrâ remotissimis, sua debeatur ut reverentia, sic etiam venia." (Book One, 1). Cf. Livy, *Preface* 6–7: "Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat." In translating the Pontanus passage I have borrowed from the Loeb translation of Livy when the two texts agree.

Here Pontanus manages to combine a thinly veiled distrust of Saxo with respect for the traditional, long and heroic Danish past. As he explains, his point of departure will be the solid classical accounts of the Cimbrians. Saxo's dubious stories will not be excluded, however, but will follow later. They are, as Livy says of the early Roman myths, "beautiful stories rather than facts based upon trustworthy historical proofs." Still quoting Livy, he then stresses the reverence and hence the tolerance with which these old myths should be regarded, and later, again using Livy's words, he declares that he will neither affirm nor refute these old stories.[6] Livy's elegant and shrewd reservations with regard to early Roman history are thus very appropriately adapted to Danish origins.

This skepticism as regards the first part of Saxo's work was not very controversial. During the sixteenth century critical voices had increasingly been raised against the credibility of Saxo. When one of Pontanus's successors as historiographer, Stephanus J. Stephanius (1599–1650), published his notes to Saxo in 1645, he prefaced the book with a catalogue of such critics of Saxo ("Saxomastiges")—among others Ludovicus Vives and Jean Bodin. Their distrust was chiefly caused by the many fantastic elements in the early part of Saxo's work. Similarly, Danish royal historiographers before Pontanus, such as Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542–1616) and Jon Jakobsen Venusin (died 1608), had expressed their lack of confidence in the early Saxo. But none of them managed to produce a positive alternative. Even in the eighteenth century we find historiographers who, despite their skepticism, nevertheless reproduce the tradition from Saxo.

What is remarkable about Pontanus, then, is that he succeeds in writing an alternative version of the early part of Danish history. He builds on material found in classical descriptions of the northern European peoples. Danish history in his version takes its beginning from the migration of the Cimbrians and the Teutons from their homes—Jutland and the adjacent isles —around 110 BC, to Noricum, Helvetia, and finally Italy where they are defeated by the Roman general Marius. This account, building on Plutarch, Strabo and many others, takes up the first twelve folio pages of the work. The rest of Book One, thirty folio pages, is a heavily abbreviated version of the first half of Saxo's work, leaving out all fabulous and mythological elements, and including, as Pontanus promised at the beginning, "only what has historical worth."[7]

Having thus paid his halfhearted respect to the traditional origins of the

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[6] "Quorum ego & nomina & facta etiam præcipua, secutus præsertim Saxonem, ità deinceps recensebo, non ut ea vel affirmare vel refellere sit animus . . ." (Book One, 11). Cf. Livy, *Preface* 6 (see note 5).

[7] More than once in his rendering of Saxo, he stresses the lack of correspondence between Saxo and the classics. Why does Saxo not mention the story told by Strabo, that the Cimbrians sent a kettle to Augustus as a sign of peace? The question is not answered, but, between the lines, the distrust of Saxo is manifest (22).

Danes, he can proceed in the next two books with his alternative, the account of the migrations of the Goths, the Vandals, the Angles and others in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, based again on the solid ground of "classical" authors such as Jordanes, Isidore, Bede, and others. In Pontanus's view, these peoples were all descended from the Cimbrians—and therefore belong to Danish history. Then from Book Four onward he can go on in a more traditional way. From that point there is a basic correspondence between Saxo and other medieval historians.

But what about the period preceding the Cimbrian migration and the battle with Marius? Nothing is said of it, in the alternative, "unsaxonian" part of Pontanus's work. Apparently there is no Danish history, in Pontanus's view, prior to these events. The last part of the work, however, is taken up with a long geographical and ethnographical description of Denmark (*Chorographia*), and in the introductory discussion on the name of Denmark (639–43) Pontanus expounds his view about the origins of Denmark and of Europe as a whole.[8]

His account of European beginnings is in fact quite orthodox, linking biblical history with the inhabitants of Europe. After the Flood, Noah's son Japhet went northwards, and his numerous descendants soon populated the whole of Europe, including Denmark. Pontanus is eager to emphasize that the Danes have inhabited their present territory since then.[9] Still, he abstains totally from giving further details about this remote period, in contrast to the many Scandinavian authors at the time, who, adhering to the notion of Gothicism, depicted the golden age of their Gothic and Cimbrian ancestors, a long time before Greece and Rome.[10] The lack of connection between Saxo's King Dan and the Bible was already in the late Middle Ages considered unsatisfactory. For instance, in the Rhyme Chronicle from the fifteenth century, where the Danish kings present themselves one by one, Dan's father claims to be descended from Japhet. And this need to adapt Danish beginnings to the generally accepted view of the history of mankind seems to have been felt by most Danish historians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Pontanus (although he does not criticize Saxo directly on this point).[11]

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[8] Originally, this should have served as an introduction to the history, but various circumstances, as he explains (638), postponed the printing of this chapter, and consequently it ended up as an appendix.

[9] This is how he interprets Tacitus's word "indigenae" about the Germans as a whole (642). Cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 2,1.

[10] In his treatment of Jordanes' description of Scandinavia, Pontanus ridicules (676) the Swedish historian Johannes Magnus, who in his *Historia de regibus Gothorum Sueonumque* (Rome, 1554) had added no fewer than thirteen Gothic kings before the first king mentioned by Jordanes.

[11] Closely related to this is another problem in Saxo, often commented upon by Danish and foreign historians before Pontanus: his lack of precise dates. The only fixed point in time in the first eight books is the birth of Christ, taking place in the fifth book. This fault gave

Pontanus's confidence in classical authors is, seen with modern eyes, amazing. Although he does discuss discrepancies between their accounts, thereby showing awareness of the possibility of error, they are *en bloc* "certi authores." The distance in space between them and the northern European peoples does not make him question the sources available to them. But once he rejected the early part of Saxo, he did not have much else to rely on. Archaeological finds were still few, and not the object of systematic investigation. It would take another 200 years before Danish history pre-dating the eighth century was termed prehistory—that is, before archaeological testimonies were given priority over literary accounts.

There was one other source, however, on which Pontanus, like his contemporaries, drew heavily: names, in particular place-names. Modern Danish place-names would often bear witness to the peoples who once inhabited them. Himmerland in northern Jutland is, for instance, according to Pontanus, a relic of "Cimbrerland." This subject, the possibility of etymological deductions about the early Danish past, seems also to have fascinated the Danish chancellor. It appears in a letter from Pontanus to Friis, in which Friis had suggested the "Dahi," a people (mentioned by Livy and others) living east of the Caspian sea, as ancestors of the Danes. Pontanus, while not outright rejecting the theory, politely points to the lack of evidence: "If only we had proof of a migration of the 'Dahi,' it might convince the skeptics," he says.[12] He reveals himself to be one of these skeptics in the History. Here (640) he rejects a number of older etymological theories concerning the name of Denmark, because they, including the one concerning the "Dahi," cannot be confirmed in classical sources.[13] Instead he prefers the "Danschiones," a people in Scandinavia mentioned by Ptolemy (2.11.34).

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room for many learned computations in the sixteenth century, and it was one of the explicit reasons why the Danish nobleman Arild Huitfeldt (1546–1609) published a short history (in Danish) which went from King Dan to Canute VI (København, 1603). Danish history had to be related to world history, chronologically as well as otherwise. Thus Huitfeldt, though wisely refraining from putting precise dates on the pre-Christian kings, nevertheless discussed various theories. In his alternative history, based on classical authors, Pontanus is able to date the events according to the birth of Christ, the foundation of Rome, and Roman consuls. In contrast, he does not even discuss the dating of the early kings in Saxo.

[12] "Nec displicet initio statim de Dahis Parthorum gente Magnificentiæ tuæ annotatio, si præsertim (quod et addit tua Magnificentia) linguam Parthorum respiciamus, tam multa cum lingua Danorum habentem convenientia. Quibus si modo accederet gentium commigratio, et simul transitus in has oras Daharum certa demonstratio, haud parum id momenti hæsitantibus adferret. Nam esse Japethi et Gomeri posteros Germanos Boreæque populos cum fateantur omnes, tamen a Danicis, aut Dacis, Dahisque repetendos ex gentium migrationibus argumentum vix suppetit." (Letter from Pontanus to Friis, Harderwijk 1627; edited by H. F. Rørdam, "Den kongelige historiograf . . . ," 484–95; previously edited by Ant. Mattæus in *Sylloge epistolarum*, no. XC, [Leiden, 1695]).

[13] The others are Saxo's King Dan; Dan son of Jacob, the patriarch; the Danaes, known from Homer; the Daci.

The ideological context

Pontanus obviously did not mind disagreeing with his employer in this matter. But what was the chancellor's opinion of his more drastic step, the alternative, "unsaxonian" early history? We have no means of knowing, but the fact that he delivered a double version of early Danish history seems to indicate that he did not feel free simply to leave out the traditional version. After all, Saxo's material on those legendary Danish kings and their deeds had been an important ingredient in the propaganda and self-esteem of the Danish monarchy during the sixteenth century. This leads us to an examination of the ideological content of Pontanus's work. How could his distrust of the canonical version of early Danish history be combined with his duties as royal historiographer?

Actually, his frank admission that the Saxo part was almost nothing but myths allowed him not only to express his point of view as a scholar, but also to make a point of propaganda. When Livy in his preface stresses the privilege of antiquity to mix divine things with human, he does so with special regard to great nations such as Rome. Pontanus, by adapting these words to Danish origins (and, of course, by actually including the legends), implies that Denmark is also a great nation with a right to claim supernatural beginnings.

The very way Pontanus renders the Saxo material likewise reflects his task as official historiographer. For one thing, he has arranged the material according to kings, each chapter covering the reign of one king. This was in fact quite uncontroversial and had been the ordinary procedure, at least since the late Middle Ages. And in an official work of history, commissioned by the king and intended to stress the long tradition of Danish monarchy, it was the obvious way to arrange the material. The age-old monarchy, however, has been even further stressed by Pontanus. Throughout, he has inserted genealogical trees of the Danish kings. The comments with which the first stemma, placed at the end of Book One, is accompanied, leave no doubt about the purpose. Here it is argued that in fact all Danish kings, from Dan to Christian IV, belong to only four families—evidence, it is implied, of the constancy and strength of Danish monarchy.

However, the alternative early Danish history also turned out to be well suited to emphasizing the magnificence of Denmark. The Cimbrian migration and threat to Rome was, in spite of the outcome, in itself impressive. As Pontanus says (at the beginning of Book Two, 58), these events demonstrate Cimbrian military power as early as a hundred years before Christ.

The glorification of Danish ancestors is even more clearly brought out in the next part of Pontanus's alternative history, Books Two and Three, in which he deals with the migration period. This, I think, reflects to some extent his dependence on his sources. In his presentation of the Goths, the Vandals, the Ostrogoths, and others, he is able to give a much more positive account than he did of the Cimbrians. Whereas his information about the

Cimbrian attack on Marius derived from Roman or Greek sources,[14] he now builds mainly on narratives written from the point of view of these peoples by authors from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, authors like Jordanes, Isidore, Gregory of Tours, and Bede. Again Pontanus makes an ideological point. The Cimbrians, he says (at the beginning of Book Two, 58), that is to say the ancestors of the Danes, were the progenitors of all these diverse peoples (the Goths, the Vandals, the Angles, the Saxons and others). Borrowing a tag from Jordanes, often used by Scandinavian historians, he calls the Cimbrian home the "officina gentium."[15] Finally, at the beginning of Book Four, he gives a propagandist twist to the standard argument on the use of history, the force of example: at the time of the Viking Age, the Danes were prompted by the "virtutis exempla" of their numerous ancestors—Cimbrians, Goths, Estonians, Saxons, Franks and others—to conquer new territories.

In a way this can be seen as a moderate version of Scandinavian Gothicism. Pontanus seems to have a better chronological understanding than the more radical spokesmen of this idea. He is aware that before the great migrations in the centuries after Christ, very little was known about the inhabitants of Scandinavia. By extolling their heroic conquests in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, he manages to combine a scholarly acceptable version with the demands of propaganda made on a royally commissioned national history. But, as we have seen, he does touch upon the biblical origins of the Europeans in the part of the work called *Chorographia*. This was not only the commonly acknowledged theory of European beginnings, it was also well suited to stressing the ancient origin of the Danes. Furthermore, Pontanus here delivers indirect support to Danish interests in the ongoing dispute with Sweden on the right to claim descent from the Goths.

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[14] Here Pontanus views everything with the Roman (Greek) eyes of his classical authors. He has not made any attempt to tell the story from the Cimbrian side. That is of course the most honest procedure, given the nature of his sources. But the consequences are, at times, paradoxical. Without saying so, he follows Plutarch's life of Marius very closely, almost like a translation. For instance, the words "Erantque res hac belli vicissitudine admodum lætæ, quum alius a parte Cimbrorum terror exortus est" (6) describe the *Romans'* relief and their view of the Cimbrians. These words sum up a longer passage at the end of chapter 22 in Plutarch's life of Marius. They are followed by Pontanus's close rendering of Plutarch's complaints of the vicissitudes of fate at the beginning of chapter 23.

[15] "Nam, antiquato Cimbrorum vocabulo, protulit mox idem hic tractus Rugos suos, Gothos, Vandalos, qui & Romam & imperium in totum pessundedêre. Atque illis vicissim aut obsoletis aut languescentibus, emersere ex eâdem continuo gentium officinâ Angli, Vitæ, Saxones; qui transgressi in Britanniam, obliterato vetusto gentis vocabulo, potissimam insulæ partem & nominis & potestatis suæ fecerunt, Angliam appellantes" (58). Cf. also the beginning of Book Three: "POST ergo Gothorum, Rugorum Vandalorum ac Longobardorum absolutam jam pene claritatis ac nominis periodum, emissi ex eadem hac veluti vagina ac promptuario gentium, sed alijs appellationibus, Angli, Vithæ & Saxones. Quorum Vithas Bedæ nominatos Chersonesum hodieque Cimbricam constanter sub Iutharum vocabulo retinere aliàs indicavimus" (79).

He seeks to prove that the inhabitants of Jutland were of Gothic origin by the etymological argument that the words "Iuthia," Jutland, and the inhabitants, "Iuthi," are from the same root as "Gothi" (653–54).[16] This and other etymological theories were another point of discussion in the correspondence between the chancellor and Pontanus. The chancellor seems to have suggested that the Danes and the Goths are in fact one and the same people, and in his answer Pontanus confirms this theory by referring to the supposed relation between the words "Iuthi" and "Gothi."[17] The interest which the chancellor seems to have taken in these matters may reflect the fact that they were considered ideologically important from an official point of view.

Conclusion

Pontanus seems to have fulfilled the expectations of his employers. We know from a letter from Stephanius to Pontanus that the reception in Copenhagen of his work was positive among "boni omnes," a vague phrase that may refer to both scholars and politicians.[18]

Let us try to sum up his accomplishments. He fulfilled his duties as royal historiographer by emphasizing in several ways the former magnitude and glory of Denmark, and at the same time he managed to give an account of early Danish history which was more acceptable from a scholarly point of view than was the tradition from Saxo or the more recent Gothicist ideas. The Danish government may have been surprised by Pontanus's nonchalant treatment of Saxo, but they seem to have been satisfied. The prestige of a work built on the solid traditions of Dutch humanism would easily have made up for the partial loss of the traditional account of Danish beginnings. The same goes for the absence of Gothicism from Pontanus's work. He does not seem to have cherished extreme Gothicist views, for scholarly reasons

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[16] Others before Pontanus had drawn attention to the similarity between the words "Iuthi" and "Gothi," for instance Jon Jensen Kolding in his *Daniæ descriptio nova* (Frankfurt am Main, 1594).

[17] "Gothos porro Danosque unam gentem esse haud absone adstruere Magnificentia tua conatur ex Vitungis populis, qui haud alii quam Vitæ aut Guthæ sive Guthones fuerint, quique hodie, I. pro G. posito, Jutones vulgo et Jutlandi appellantur. Et idem quoque haud leviter juvat, quod illi ipsi Vitungi Suidæ et aliis authoribus Juthungi nominentur, et populus intelligatur, qui a Borea veniens Istrum trajecit. Ambrosius in epistolis sæpius etiam eorum mentionem facit, nec aliter quam Juthungos nominat" (Letter from Pontanus to Friis, Hardervijk, Oct. 18, 1624; edited by H. F. Rørdam, "Den kongelige Historiograf," 483–84; previously edited by Ant. Matthæus in *Sylloge epistolarum*, no. XCV [Leiden, 1695]). These arguments on the identity of "goter" and "jyder" are also found in the *Chorographia*, 653–54.

[18] See Ellen Jørgensen, *Historieforskning og Historieskrivning i Danmark indtil Aar 1800* (Copenhagen, 1937), 157, where this letter is quoted from *Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis* IV (1843), 185.

and maybe also for the personal reason that he was to some extent a foreigner and did not have the patriotic urge to stress Denmark's superiority over Sweden throughout. Actually, the contemporary rivalry with Sweden is not very prominent in his work. His employers may originally have wanted him to strike a more polemical note, but again, they may have appreciated a national history based on great learning, by which the age-old monarchy could be included in the modern republic of learning.

Copenhagen

Martin Kromer in der Seegesandtschaft der Jahre 1569–1571. Einige Bemerkungen eines Literaturhistorikers

JERZY STARNAWSKI

Zur Seepolitik des Königs Sigismund August liegt bereits eine ziemlich umfangreiche Fachliteratur vor. Stanislaw Bodniak hat der als "Stettiner Kongreß"[1] bezeichneten Episode seine Studie gewidmet. Wir wissen auch, was für eine Rolle in der diplomatischen Tätigkeit von Jan Dymitr Solikowski, dem späteren Lemberger Bischof und einem hervorragenden Schriftsteller, der Seeangelegenheit zugekommen ist. Auf seinen Reisen als Seegesandter begleitete den Solikowski vor allem der Kastellan von Zawichost Piotr Kloczowski, ein wenig später auch Martin Kromer.

Über Kromer als "Verfechter der Seerechte" ist einerseits sehr alte, andererseits aber immer noch nicht befriedigende Fachliteratur vorhanden. Sie ist sehr alt, weil manche Zeugnisse beinahe von den Kromerschen Zeitgenossen stammen, gleichzeitig jedoch nicht zufriedenstellend, denn die Rolle des Koadjutors des ermländischen Bistums bei der Ausführung der königlichen Pläne im dem Jahren 1569–1571 ist bisher noch nicht mit dem Instrumentarium der zeitgenössichen Historiker und Literaturhistoriker untersucht worden. Im Jahre 1570 ist in Krakau eine "Wahrhaftige Historie vom jämmerlichen Abenteuer des finnischen Fürsten Johann und der polnischen Prinzessin Katarina" anonym herausgegeben worden und eben dort ein Jahr später (1571) wieder erschienen.

Der oben erwähnte Bodniak, Verfasser einer unveröffentlichten Kro-

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[1] Vgl. Stanislaw Bodniak, *Kongres szczeciński na tle baltyckiej polityki polskiej* (Der Stettiner Kongreß vor dem Hintergrund der polnischen Baltik-Politik); idem, *Polska a Baltyk za ostatniego Jagiellona* (Polen und das Baltische Meer unter dem letzten Jagielloner). "Pamietnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej" (Tagebuch der Bibliothek zu Kórnik) 1939–46, H. 3, herausg. 1946, S. 42–276.

mer-Monographie, entdeckte einen Brief von Tomasz Plaza an Kromer vom 22. Februar 1571, geschrieben in Krakau, in dem Plaza dem Vorgesetzten, Verwalter der ermländischen Diözese mitteilt, er habe ihm in der zweiten Ausgabe einen arcus triumphalis errichtet. Nach Jahren wurde die Feststellung von Bodniak in den Worten von Claude Backvis bestätigt: "Wozu denn lange Bedenken tragen; so schreibt man nur an den Autor."[2] Der gerade erwähnte arcus triumphalis berichtet darüber, wie der König "schickte / ... seine Gesandten des öfteren nach Rostock in den beschwerlichen Zeiten, ohne dabei Spesen von seinerseits zu scheuen" und hebt hervor, "vergeblich" war die Mühe der Gesandten ... bis die Zeit gekommen war, daß wiederum Hochwürden Martin Kromer, Koadjutor des Heilsberger Bistums, "eine in der Welt berühmte Person von vortrefflicher Verstandesstärke und ungewöhnlicher Gewandtheit" als Bote abgefertigt wurde. Weiter lesen wir darüber, daß Kromer "mit seinen Gefährten in Stettin" angekommen sei und seinen Auftrag friedlich abgeschlossen habe.

Am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde von Jacobus Augustus Thuanus (Jacques-Auguste Thou), dem Historiker seiner Epoche, welcher unter dem Datum 1570 einen von ihm als "Stetiniana conventio" bezeichneten Fakt registriert, bekanntgegeben, im Namen des polnischen Königs ("regis vero Poloni nomine") hätten sich "Martinus Cromerus, nobilis historiae patriae scriptor, et Demetrius Solicovius ..."[3] am Kongreß beteiligt. An einer anderen Stelle erwähnte derselbe Historiker unter dem Datum 1589 den Tod von Kromer, den er folgenderweise charakterisiert: "Warmiae in Borussia Episcopus, insignis rerum Polonicarum scriptor, qui patriam et consilio et monumentis editis plurimus iuvisset et illustrasset...."[4]

Die Tätigkeit des ermländischen Koadjutors als Seegesandter ist nur gelegentlich in den monographischen Studien über das Leben und das schriftstellerische Schaffen Kromers von den Autoren der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, z. B. von Anton Eichhorn[5] besprochen worden. Seit dem Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts war es allgemein bekannt, daß sich Kromer im Frühjahr 1570 als Gesandter nach Spanien begeben haben sollte; statt dessen ist er in Begleitung von Solikowski und Kloczowski als Bote nach Rostock geschickt worden. Ebenfalls bekannt ist die Tatsache, daß Kromer eifrig bemüht war, eine Entbindung von diesem Auftrag für sich zu erwirken, was ihm jedoch nicht gelungen ist.

Wir wissen, daß Hosius, der gerade außerhalb der Diözese weilte, mit der Beteiligung seines Koadjutors an der Seegesandtschaft unzufrieden gewesen

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[2] Vgl. Claude Backvis: Histoire vérèdique de la piteuse aventure du duc Jean de Finlande et de la princesse Catherine, *Revue des Etudes Slaves* 29 (1952): 16–33.

[3] Jacobus Augustus Thuanus: *Historiarum sui temporis opera* (1609), Sp. 938/1.

[4] Thuanus, *Historiarium sui temporis continuatio* (Francoforti, 1621), 313.

[5] Der ermländische Bischof Martin Kromer, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 4 (1869).

war: "Cardinalis noster ... male eum habet, quod in Sueciam legatus ablegaris"—(Briefwechsel zwischen Georgius Ticinius und Kromer vom 17. Dezember 1569),[6] und daß dieser sich von der Reise Krätze mitgebracht haben sollte "Intellexi te ex legatione scabiem reportasse in Prussiam, Cura valetudinem!—(Brief vom 25. März 1570).

Man wußte auch von dem auf Anregung des französischen Gesandten Charles (Carolus) Dançay hin zustandegekommenen sog. Stettiner Kongreß, welcher durch Sigismund August stark unterstützt wurde, denn der König hoffte, es zu einem für Polen günstigen Frieden zu bringen. Als Datum wurde der 1. Juli 1570 festgelegt. Daß Kromer mit Sicherheit spätestens im August 1570 in Stettin angekommen war, davon zeugt sein Brief an den Sekretär von Hosius, Stanislaw Reszka, abgeschickt von dort am 1. September 1570. Die Gespräche wurden erst im Dezember abgeschlossen—nach einigen Monaten Verhandlungen konnte am 13. Dezember 1570 der Frieden unterzeichnet werden, dessen Beschlüsse sich für Dänemark als besonders vorteilhaft erwiesen haben. Polen erlangte das Recht, die für es ungünstigen früheren Bestimmungen in bezug auf Narew und Livland als ungültig betrachten zu dürfen.

Die polnischen Gesandten haben Stettin am 15. Dezember verlassen; am 12. Januar 1571 erstatteten Kromer und Solikowski in Warschau vor dem König einen Bericht über den Kongreß. Wie aus dem Briefwechsel hervorgeht, hat sich Kromers Rolle als die eines Berichterstatters darin nicht erschöpft. Am 3. Februar 1571 schrieb ihm Georgius Ticinius "Intellexi te rebus bene confectis ex legatione rediisse, quod mihi non mediocrem attulit voluptatem ..."; eine Woche später, am 10. Februar, fügte er hinzu: "Crebriores iam abs te expectabo litteras, maxime quum ex legatione in Prussiam sis reversus."

Die Geschichtsschreibung des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts hat Kromers führende Rolle im Stettiner Kongreß vielleicht allzu stark hervorgehoben. Der am 12. Januar 1571 in Warschau erstattete Bericht wurde—trotz der im Text deutlich belegten Mitautorschaft des Solikowski—für einen Kromerschen Text gehalten.

Kromer soll dem künftigen Verfasser des Werkes "De legato et legatione" (1595), Krzysztof Warszewicki, eine Episode darüber erzählt haben, wie er mit einem "hervorragenden Würdenträger" dem Kaiser Ferdinand eine Botschaft von Sigismund August überbracht hatte. Während der Audienz bei dem Kaiser hatte man für die Gesandten zwei Sitze nebeneinander gestellt; auf die beiden hat sich der andere Mitgesandte gemächlich breitgesetzt, so daß Kromer hätte stehen müssen. Der Kaiser ist ihm zu Hilfe gekommen, indem er sagte: "Da ihr beide Abgesandte seid, habt ihr beide Platz zu nehmen." Diese Erzählung läßt Warszewicki mit einer Reflexion ausklingen, daß sich die Gesandten üblicherweise darum stritten,

[6] Georgius Axer (ed.), *Georgii Ticinii ad Martinum Cromerum Epistulae (a. 1554–85)* 21: 62, 69.

welcher von ihnen als wichtiger galt.[7] Ein Prestigekonflikt zwischen Kromer und Solikowski scheint aber kaum möglich gewesen zu sein, weil gerade Solikowski, der königliche Sekretär, jedoch noch nicht Lemberger Erzbischof, am 11. Februar 1571 (also kurz nach der gemeinsamen Botschaftsreise) auf Geheiß des Königs Kromer in Heilsberg zum ermländischen Koadjutorium ernannte und dabei die folgende, in der königlichen Urkunde enthaltene Charakteristik verlas:

> Cuius per annos plurimos atque inde a tempore Divi Parentis nostri tam in aula nostra quam peraegre apud summos orbis Christiani principes et monarchas doctrinam, prudentiam in gerendis rebus dexteritatem ac pietatem singularem perspeximus. Cuius etiam scriptis multis in lucem editis nomen Polonum patriaque nostra illustratur et honestatur.[8]

Die oben erwähnten mehr oder weniger bekannten Fakten verdienen eine Besprechung der Historiker; der Verfasser dieses Beitrags will lediglich einige Bemerkungen vom Standpunkt eines Literaturhistorikers aus beisteüern. Die folgenden Ausführungen werden auch nicht sehr umfassend sein, denn die Texte, auf die sie sich beziehen, sind eher spärlich und sie gehören nur am Rand zu Kromers schriftstellerischen Werk—sie sind ja keine literarischen Texte.

Die Urkunden der Seegesandtschaft, an der sich neben Solikowski auch Kromer beteiligt hatte, wurden vom Verfasser dieses Beitrags in folgenden Archiven studiert: in der Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris (Sign. Fonds Latins 6062), im Zentralarchiv der Alturkunden in Warschau (Sign. Liber legationum 19, Liber legationum 20), in der Czartoryski-Bibliothek in Krakau (Sign. 300). Die Pariser Quellen betreffen nicht Kromer, sondern allein Piotr Koczewski und Solikowski; anders die in den beiden genannten polnischen Archiven aufbewahrten Handschriften—hier liegen 25 Texte vor, bei denen Kromer Autor bzw. Mitautor war. Die Czartoryski-Bibliothek verfügt über sechs Texte mehr als das Zentralarchiv der Alturkunden; 19 Texte sind als Doppelstücke vorhanden.

Die insgesamt 25 Texte (in 18 Fällen ist Kromer Mitautor, in 7 Fällen Autor) bilden das Quellenmaterial, anhand dessen die Teilnahme des Koadjutors des ermländischen Bistums an den Seegesandtschaften der Jahre 1569–1570 rekonstruiert werden kann. Für die Geschichtsforscher sind nicht nur die oben genannten, sondern auch andere Texte, in denen von Kromer die Rede ist (also vor allem diejenigen, die an ihn adressiert waren)

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[7] Vgl. Krzysztof Warszewicki, *De legato et legatione*. Hier wurde die polnische Ausgabe benutzt, bearbeitet von Jerzy Zycki (Warszawa, 1935), 238–40.

[8] Zitiert nach: *Miscellanea Warmiensis*, Handschrift von Jan Nepomucen Kattenbringk aus dem 18. Jahrhundert in dem Sammlungen des Archivs der ermländischen Diözese in Olsztyn, Sign. (Bischofsarchiv) H. 19, 5: 77–79. Vgl. J. Starnawski, Cromeriana nova, *Eos* 77 (1989): 101–10.

Quellenstoff. Die sind allerdings spärlich im Vergleich mit einer großen Menge von Zeugnissen aus derselben Zeit, welche Solikowskis Tätigkeit als Gesandter dokumentieren. Kromer hat sich ja erst Ende 1569 der Gesandtschaft angeschlossen. Der Literaturhistoriker soll sich einer anderen Aufgabe zuwenden: er sollte versuchen, einen—wenn auch kurzen—Blick vom Standpunkt eines Philologen auf die Kromerschen Texte zu werfen. Wenn man das beabsichtigt, kommen allein jene 25 Texte in Frage; die an Kromer geschriebenen oder auch von ihm handelnden Texte werden hier nur berücksichtigt, soweit sie zu Vergleichs zwecken herangezogen werden können.

Die von Kromer benutzte Titulatur (auch in den Briefen, die er nur mitverfaßt hat) stimmt mit den Erfordernissen des damaligen diplomatischen Protokolls überein. So wird der Monarch als Sacra Regia Maiestas Dominus Dominus clementissimus oder als Serenissimus Potentissimusque Princeps ac Dominus Dominus clementissimus, manchmal als longe clementissimus tituliert. An den eigenen Monarchen schrieb man noster. Briefe an Sigismund August in polnischer Sprache werden etwa folgenderweise eingeleitet: "Eure Durchlautige Majestät, König und Herr, Euer Liebden." Eine solche Titulatur wird eingehalten, wenn der König gemeint ist. Der in den Briefen erwähnte Kardinal Hosius wird als Dominus noster Cardinalis tituliert. Kirchen—und Staatswürdenträger (selbstverständlich nicht die höchsten) werden als Briefadressaten "Magnifici et Generosi Domini, amici observantissimi" oder such "Spectabiles et Famati Domini," "Illustres Domini" tituliert. Der König wendet sich an die Gesandten mit folgenden Worten: "Venerabiles et generosi devote ac fideles nobis dilecti" oder "Venerabiles devote et nobiles fideles nobis dilecti." Konkreter Einzeladressat, beispielsweise gerade Kromer, wird folgenderweise angesprochen: "Reverende sincere nobis dilecte."

Die Einleitungs—und Schlußformeln folgten ebenfalls den allgemein gebräuchlichen Mustern. Im Kopf eines in lateinischer Sprache verfaßten Briefes an den König wandte sich Kromer an den Monarchen: "Servitutem meam perpetuam Sacrae Maiestati Vestrae Regiae venerabundus inprimis defero." Blieb der Briefautor in keinem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis von dem Adressaten, so stand am Anfang geschrieben: "Salutem et benevolentiam nostram, Reverende ac Generose amice, mihi sincere dilecte, commendo." Lateinische Briefe an den König ließ Kromer mit einem Satz ausklingen wie etwa: "Quam (d. h. Maiestatem Vestram Regiam) ut Deus Optimus et Maximus diutissime sospitem et incolumen nobis servet cum tota hac dioecesi sedulo oro" (Brief vom 14. Juli 1570) oder auch kurz gefaßt: "Maiestatem Vestram Regiam diu salvam et incolumem esse optamus" (geschrieben von Kromer und den übrigen Mitgliedern der Delegation am 9. September 1570). Schluß eines Briefes an den König, in polnischer Sprache am 7. Dezember 1569 abgefaßt, unterzeichnet von Kromer und Solikowski, lautet: "... wir empfehlen untertänigst uns selber und unsere geringen Dienste dem Gnaden Eurer Königlichen Majestät unseres Liebsten Herrn."

Fast identische Sätze finden sich im Brief vom 27. Dezember desselben Jahres (außer von den beiden oben genannten auch von Koczewski unterzeichnet). Selbstverständlich lautete die Schlußformel anders, wenn der Brief an einen Kameraden oder Genossen geschrieben war. Der königliche Gesandte Charles Dançay beendete seinen auf den 31. Dezember 1569 datierten Brief an Solikowski, den ebenfalls königlichen Gesandten, mit den Worten: "Ego me Magnificentiae Vestrae permanenter commendo." Und hier die Beendigung des Kromerschen Briefes an den Vizekanzler Krasiński vom 22. Juli 1570: "Prospiciat quaero Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima tranquillitati securitati et existimationi meae."

Es ist allgemein bekannt, daß das klassische Latein lange Zeit keine andere Formel als "tu" kannte. Kirchen—(aber auch Hoflatein) hat schon in der Renaissance reiche Titulatur hervorgebracht. Die Datierung der Briefe (auch noch zu Kromers Zeiten) stützte sich oft auf den römischen Kalender—in dem hier besprochenen Briefwechsel ist es jedoch nicht der Fall; es werden ausnahmslos Daten von der Art "septima die mensis decembris" angegeben. In lateinischer Sprache vorliegende Briefwechsel unserer berühmten Bischöfe, Diplomaten und Dichter der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts wie z. B. Cricius oder Dantiscus liefern dagegen zahlreiche Beispiele für die Abweichung von der Form der Stadtnamen. Briefe von Kromer oder Solikowski, deren Gegenstand Seeproblematik ist, enthalten kein einziges Beispiel dieser Art.

Die von einem Kollektiv geführte Korrespondenz wird manchmal individuell gefärbt; dafür gibt es eine deutliche Begründung. Und so schreibt Solikowski allein seinem französischen Genossen vielleicht als einem, den er im Laufe vieler Jahre seiner Tätigkeit als Gesandter besser als die anderen kennengelernt hat. Auch Kromer schreibt allein an den preußischen Fürsten Albrecht als bester Kenner der Sache, auch der Grenzfragen zwischen Polen und Preußen. An den König schickt er nur dann allein Briefe, wenn er in Ermland weilt, obwohl in seiner Residenz in Heilsberg gerade vor dem gemeinsamen Zug nach Rostock andere Mitgesandten anwesend waren.

Briefe, in denen die Stellungnahme eines Monarchen einem anderen oder auch den dazu befugten Delegierten mitgeteilt werden sollte, Berichte an den eigenen Monarchen, sind meistens sehr sachlich und informationsreich. Ungewöhnliche Sachlichkeit zeichnet beispielsweise den am 27. Dezember 1569 von Kromer und Solikowski in polnischer Sprache regidierten Bericht aus, welcher aus Rostock an den König abgeschickt wurde. Ebenso knapp und bündig ist der lateinische Brief von Kromer und Solikowski, eine Woche früher auch von dort aus gesandt:

> Serenissime Rex V, Domine Clementissime,
> Quas litteras heri a Serenissimo Sueciae Rege Daniae accepimus earum exempla S/acrae/ Maiestati V/estrae/ R/egiae/ cum his mittimus. Itemque responsum nostrum. Non patitur ille rex quicquam

in se desiderari. De induciis tamen verbum nullum. Sed responsum eius et oratoris Gallici ad nostras expectamus post dies aliquot. Inde, de re tota certius aliquid cognoscemus. Ferunter Sueci commissarii cum his navigarent tempestate Gdanum appulsi esse indeque huc contendere optaverimus simul autem optaverimus nos ad pacificationem prosequendam melius instructos esse ut aliquod tamen Maiestati V/estrae/ R/egiae/ dignum operae praetium faciamus. Quod, restat, Deum precamur ut Sac/ram/ Maiestatem Vestram Regiam in hunc instantem novum annum et multos deinceps salvam incolumem florentemque servet.

Datum Rostochii, 20 die Decembris Anno Domini 1569
Martinus Cromerus
Joannes Demetrius Solikowski

Ganz anders sieht der am 16. Oktober 1570 aus Stettin an den König gerichtete Bericht der vier Gesandten aus—er ist in polnischer Sprache abgefaßt, sehr umfangreich und enthält viele wesentliche Details über aktuelle Seeangelegenheiten. Auch der Stil ist diesmal nicht so trocken, die Sätze nicht so kurz und prädikatlos wie in dem gerade zitierten lateinischen Schreiben—andererseits aber sind es auch nicht allzu lange mehrgliedrige Satzgefüge. Die Boten erwarteten von dem König vor allem konkrete Weisungen. Der als eine Rahmenkomposition konzipierte Brief bietet zwischen dem einleitenden und dem abschließenden Satz detailierte Ausführungen darüber, zu welchen Aufgaben die Gesandten jener königlichen Hinweise bedürfen.

Wenn wir heutzutage den Briefwechsel eines hervorragenden Autors oft als einen organischen Teil seiner schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit zu betrachten pflegen, scheint es uns ein verlockender Versuch zu sein, in den Interessenbereich der Forscher einige Briefe, die ausschließlich von Kromer stammen und etliche andere, die unter Mitwirkung des ermländischen Koadjutors und Seegesandten entstanden sind, einzufügen. Auf diese Art und Weise tragen wir dazu bei, einen Schriftsteller besser kennenzulernen, dessen Textkanon bisher noch nicht endgültig gesichtet und klassifiziert worden ist.

Uniwersytet Lodz

Accent-marks in Neo-Latin

PIET STEENBAKKERS

Accent-marks were once thought of as an integral part of Latin orthography. It was primarily in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the practice of putting diacritics (acute, grave, circumflex and diaeresis) in Latin texts was in vogue. In spite of its ubiquity in that period, the phenomenon has so far received little scholarly attention. This paper deals with diacritical *marks*, i.e., "accents" as part of Neo-Latin orthography.[1]

1. A description of the diacritical system

The most frequent mark is the *grave accent*. It generally occurs on the last syllable of many adverbs and on some conjunctions. In this way these forms are distinguished from homonyms or homographs.[2] Thus, adverbs ending in *-e* (*longè*), *-o* (*verò, modò*), *-a* (*unà*), *-um* (*verùm, multùm*) and adverbial comparatives ending in *-ius* are marked as differing from the inflected forms that have the same ending. The same goes for the conjunction *quòd* and the adverb *quàm*, which are distinguished from their pronominal twins by the grave. In addition, the grave accent is to be found on the single-letter prep-

[1] An extended version of the present article will be published as part of my Ph.D. thesis (Groningen, 1994; working title: *Spinoza's "Ethica" from script to print*). On accent-marks in medieval and humanistic manuscripts and in early printing see my article "Aldus en de accenten" (1993). My study of diacritics is a spin-off of editorial work in Neo-Latin, carried out in the University of Groningen, on a grant of NWO, the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research.

[2] By "homonyms" I shall understand words (or forms of the same word) *spelled and pronounced* in the same way but differing in meaning or function (e.g., *quod* pronoun and conjunction, *fructūs* genitive singular and nominative/accusative plural); by "homographs" words (or forms of the same word) *spelled* in the same way but differing in pronunciation and in meaning or function (e.g., *hic* pronoun and *hic* adverb; *causă* nominative and *causā* ablative).

ositions *à* and *è*. As a general rule, we might say that *the grave is the mark of the indeclinable forms*.

Taking a closer look at the arguments adduced for the convention of putting the grave mark *differentiae causa*, in order to differentiate homographs and homonyms, we find that they fall into two groups: there are those who think of it as a merely orthographical phenomenon, and those who think that it implies a different pronunciation as well. The difference between the two points of view is that the former offers a rigid and the latter a lenient interpretation of the Penultimate Law, as it is called nowadays. This law states that the position of the accent in a Latin word depends on the quantity of the penultimate syllable: if it is long, the accent falls on the penultimate, if short on the antepenultimate (cf. Allen 1989, 83). According to the lenient interpretation, then, there were exceptions to this law. In this view, a Latin polysyllabic word could and should be accented on the final syllable, when there is a risk of confusing it with a homonym. It might seem odd that the final syllable is accented with a *grave*. This is because some influential Latin grammarians (among them Donatus and Priscian) simply applied the rules of Greek accentuation to Latin. According to Greek practice, an oxytone word—i.e., with an acute on the final syllable—kept the acute only when standing by itself or when followed by a short pause, before punctuation. In the flow of the sentence, however, the acute of the final syllable would be substituted by a grave.

Justus Lipsius may be cited as an advocate of the rigid interpretation of the Penultimate Law. In his *De recta pronunciatione Latinae linguae dialogus* of 1586, the French humanist Marc Antoine Muret is represented as elaborating his opinions on pronunciation and spelling to Lipsius during their meeting at Rome in 1570. At one point in this dialogue Muret sneers at the apparently quite popular assumption that the Latin accent can occasionally shift to the ultimate syllable. He criticizes Latin as pronounced in his days: "Cùm enim *Serò, Palàm, Doctè* efferunt, sic efferunt quasi esset *Seró, Palám, Docté*. . . . idq́ue necessarium, vt effatu discernas à *Séro, Dócte*" (Lipsius 1628, 60). Here Muret rightly remarks that such a pronunciation is absurd and he refers to the unambiguous statements by ancient grammarians (e.g., Quintilian) that the ultimate syllable of a Latin word is never accented.

Our *second mark*, the *acute accent*, occurs quite frequently, although it is normally applied for a single purpose only, viz., to mark words compounded with the enclitics *-que, -ne, -ve*. The idea behind this is that the enclitic suffix supposedly causes the word stress to be shifted to the last syllable of the main word. The acute accent has nothing to do with the quality or quantity of the vowel over which it is placed. Yet it does provide a cue for pronunciation, by indicating the position of the word accent.

When it comes to distinguishing homonyms or homographs, the acute accent on words compounded with enclitic particles has a modest part to play. In fact, only very few forms are involved, notably those of *quisque* and the well-known pair *ítaque/itáque*, and certain compounds with *-ne*, which might

be mistaken for an ablative singular ending of the third declination (e.g., *imaginatione*). In general, though, there is no danger of confusing such compound words with other forms.

The acute has no fixed position: it is placed either on the accented final syllable of the main word, or on the enclitic itself. A very popular notation for the suffix *-que* (and its abbreviated form *-q;*) is to put the acute accent on the letter *q*.

The *third diacritic*, the *circumflex*, is found exclusively over long vowels. (There is one exception, to which I will presently return.) In its prevailing application (on case endings) the circumflex is a relatively late phenomenon, surfacing only in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It also persisted the longest: it even occurs occasionally in fairly recent editions and dictionaries (e.g., in Lewis & Short), in order to mark an ablative of the first declension.

The circumflex has, in the main, a twofold function. First, it distinguishes between homographs that differ in pronunciation by the length of the vowel. It is most frequently found over the endings of certain cases: ablative singular of the first declension (*curâ*, as opposed to *cura*, nominative); genitive singular (and, less systematically, nominative and accusative plural) of the fourth declension (*fructûs*, as opposed to *fructus*, nominative singular). Similarly, among the pronouns we find *eâ, ipsâ* as opposed to *ea, ipsa*, and by analogy also *hâc*, even though this has no corresponding form with a short vowel. A number of other words that differ from one another in vowel length are also distinguished by means of the circumflex, e.g., the adverb *hîc* as opposed to the pronoun *hic*, verb pairs such as *pendêre* and *pendere*, and other homograph forms, e.g., *quôque*, ablative of the pronoun, as opposed to *quoque*, adverb. Usage differs considerably from author to author and from printer to printer.

The second function of the circumflex, and one that is attested since the beginning of the period under consideration, is to indicate syncope, especially in the contracted variants of the perfect tense: *nôrunt* for *noverunt*; *creâsse* for *creavisse*, and so forth. Under this heading, too, the archaic brief forms of the genitive plural of the second declension are to be subsumed, e.g., *deûm*, beside *deorum*. Formerly, these forms were assumed (on Cicero's authority: *Or.* 155) to have resulted from contraction. According to the present state of knowledge of Latin prosody, the vowel of this archaic ending was short (Allen 1989, 74). This particular category, then, would constitute the single exception to the rule that the circumflex marks long vowels. But notwithstanding Priscian's categorical statement that all vowels before final *-m* are short (*Inst. gramm.* 1.6.30), Latinists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries probably thought of the quantity of this particular ending as long. We can infer this for example from Erasmus's dialogue on pronunciation, where he lists the genitives *diuûm, deûm, numûm* and the accusatives *díuum, déum, númum* among the examples of forms distinguished by quantity (Erasmus 1973, 98). From the point of view of the system of diacritics, however, the question of quantity is not of overriding importance. Once again, *differentia* is decisive:

marked with the circumflex, the ending would be recognized immediately as genitive plural, not accusative singular.

Finally, the circumflex is also used very generally and very early to mark the interjection *ô*.

The *fourth mark* to be considered, the *diaeresis*, is something of an outsider. It is hardly ever discussed by grammarians or writers on orthography. Yet the diaeresis is to be treated on an equal footing with the three other signs: it is applied in the same period and in the same texts as acute, grave and circumflex. We find it in words like *aër* and *coëgi*, to prevent reading a diphthong. The sign, also known as *puncta diaereseos*, is a syllabic accent (i.e., it separates syllables), reaching back in form and function to the ancient Greek τρῆμα.

2. *Rationale of the system*

The system of diacritics as we find it in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in full bloom, is heterogeneous with regard to its principles. It distinguishes between homographs, but it does not do so comprehensively and systematically. It distinguishes between homonyms and therefore also often between parts of speech, especially by marking adverbs, but this function is not applied in a consistent fashion and it is far from being comprehensive. The diacritical system sometimes offers a cue for pronunciation, by signalling shift of stress or by marking a long vowel, but it certainly is no general guide to pronunciation. Nor does the system seem designed to be comprehensive in these respects.

What, then, *is* the purpose of this system? I would suggest that it serves *to offer the reader clues to grasp the overall structure of a Latin period on sight.* In order to achieve this, the system need neither be comprehensive nor consistent. All it must do is follow certain conventions with which the reader is familiar and which provide, scattered over the sentence, information about stereotypic grammatical and syntactical particulars. That will suffice, even if this information is inconsistent and incomplete.

That the diacritics were meant to enable a reader to grasp the structure of a period on sight is confirmed by witnesses who were keenly interested in them by virtue of their profession: the correctors working at the printing-press. I shall quote two instructive examples. The first is a poem, *Orthographiae Latinae querimonia*, by Cornelius Kilianus, lexicographer and corrector in Plantin's shop. Kilianus urges that diacritics are to be used only when required by the matter itself or in doubtful cases, as well as to prevent the reader from getting stuck:

> Hisce nec vtantur, nisi cùm res postulat, aut cùm
> Tollendi causa dubij, haerentemque iuuandi
> Lectorem, in primis censebitur esse necessum. (Kilianus 1972, 765)

My second example is a remarkable booklet, with the title Ὀρθοτυπογραφία, published in Leipzig in 1608. It is the first manual for correctors professionally employed by the printing houses, and at the same time the first stylebook for authors, telling them how best to prepare their copy for printing. The work is written by Hieronymus Hornschuch, himself a corrector, who is very much in favour of using accents, "ut primo statim intuitu sensus ex parte deprehendatur." For, he continues, "I do not think there is anyone who at times in his reading has not had trouble with the word *eadem* (usually found at the beginning of a sentence), or has not noticed that others have difficulty when listening; because it could not be grasped instantly whether the middle vowel was to be pronounced long or short" (Hornschuch 1972, 33).

3. Historical outline

I will now give a concise and simplified account of the historical unfolding of the system described above. The survey will deal with *three sources* on which scholars and printers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drew in constructing their own system: Greek accentuation, the Roman *apex*-system, and medieval conventions.

Of these three, the first had the largest impact; in fact, our *first source, Greek accentuation* was the constant model for Latin from the days of Varro onwards. The influence of the other two sources consists in modifications to this basically Greek heritage. Aristophanes of Byzantium, an Alexandrian librarian of the early second century BCE, is generally credited with the introduction of diacritical marks in Greek. Originally the system was applied on a limited scale only: in editions of Homer and other classical poets it offered visual guidance in places where the reader might conceivably be led astray (Laum 1928, 99–118; 451). It distinguished between homographs and marked word-boundaries—Greek texts were written in *scriptura continua* at that date. The principal work on Greek accents was written in Rome under Marcus Aurelius (and reputedly at his request) by Herodian. Of this comprehensive work, Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας, only fragments have come down to us. By the time of Herodian, the original system had already been expanded to include quantity-marks and breathings as well. The addition of the πάθη (signs of juncture and disjuncture: hyphen, apostrophe and "diastole") is a fourth-century development. The system originally initiated by Aristophanes was applied less and less consistently and it was finally replaced by another system, using the same diacritical marks in a different manner. The new system of accentuation was shaped by Byzantine scholars, notably Theodosius of Alexandria (fl. c. 400). This is the method we still use in accentuating Greek texts.

The Romans were well acquainted with the Greek accents. Their terminology concerning accentuation consists entirely of calques from the Greek:

accentus from προσῳδία, *acutus* from ὀξεῖα, *gravis* from βαρεῖα, *flexus* or *inflexus* or *circumflexus* from περισπωμένη. But it should be noted that the passages in classical Latin literature (Varro, Cicero) where these terms are used in treating Latin accentuation deal with pronunciation, not with orthography. The classical Latin authors have no inclination to imitate the Greek accents in writing. There are only some vestiges of them to be found in Latin texts, and these are extremely rare.

The treatment of accents by Latin grammarians depends entirely on Greek models. The beginning of this tradition has come down to us only in a piecemeal fashion. The tradition as we know it may be said to begin with Aelius Donatus, whose chapter "De tonis" had a considerable impact on the further history of accentuation in Latin. From Donatus onwards, the accents are dealt with by numerous grammarians. The most elaborate treatment is to be found in the *De accentibus liber*, a work traditionally attributed to Priscian. We know neither the author nor the date of composition of this influential text. Some scholars believe it goes back to Priscian himself or even to an earlier author, while others are convinced that the work is of a very late date. From the eleventh century onwards, Priscian slowly began to supplant Donatus as the primary grammatical authority. Thanks to its spurious attribution, the *De accentibus liber* shared in the rising popularity of this grammarian from Constantinople, a tendency brought out also in the sharp increase in the number of manuscripts after 1100. The work was included, as a matter of course, in the editio princeps (1470) and in the further twelve or so incunabula containing Priscian's works.

I will now turn to the *second source*: the Roman *apex*-system. The Latin alphabet has relatively few letters and must therefore be used efficiently. This frugality is one of its strengths: it accounts at least in part for the unrivalled dissemination of this alphabet. On the other hand, it necessitates the introduction of diacritical marks, when distinctions are to be represented for which the existing letters do not suffice. Already in classical Latin the limited supply of letters, more particularly of vowel signs, made itself felt. Crucial in this respect is the fact that *vowel length* is phonemically significant in Latin, i.e., it serves to distinguish between different words. The earliest notation of long vowels in Latin was *gemination* of the letter. Around 100 BCE, a new notation was introduced, viz., a graphic symbol over the letter, to indicate that it was to be read twice. This sign, *geminationis nota* or *signum geminandi*, was later called *apex*. Its form varied: a slanted line, sometimes straight, but more often curved. This compact way of denoting gemination had obvious advantages, especially for inscriptions, and the *apex* was very generally used during well over two hundred and fifty years (Oliver 1966).

Neither the origins nor the disappearance of the *apex*-system have been explained satisfactorily. It was not until the nineteenth century that its function was properly understood. After its disappearance there were no attempts to revive it, despite its advantages. Being extinct and unknown, the system cannot have contributed directly to shaping the diacritical system we

are examining now. There is, however, an important indirect link, viz., Quintilian. He argues that it is nonsense to put the *apex* over every long syllable, since most cases are self-evident. Only where homographs are involved, the *apex* has a role to play (*Inst. or.* 1.7.2–3). The three examples mentioned by Quintilian are noteworthy: *mālus* "apple tree" against *mălus* "bad man," *pālus* "stake" against *pălūs* "marsh," and the *distinction between nominative and ablative.* This last distinction is precisely the favourite use of the circumflex from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onwards. Evidently, scholars of that period interpreted Quintilian's remarks in terms of the diacritical system then current and they saw fit to develop their system accordingly. They did so by introducing the circumflex to denote the ablative ending of the first declension, and, by analogy, the genitive singular and nominative and accusative plural of the fourth declension.

Can we pinpoint the beginning of this practice? The earliest occurrence that I am aware of—but please note that this reflects my personal reading rather than any systematic research—is in a collection of Lipsius's critical works of 1585: *Opera omnia quae ad criticam proprie spectant.* The book was published by Plantin and it contained some new material—prelims and endpages, introductory matter, laudatory poems, and book two of the *Electa*—besides reprints of five treatises previously published. A most intriguing detail in this collection is that it consistently prints the ablative in *-â* with the circumflex in all the new material, whereas this accented ending is just as consistently absent throughout the material that had already been published earlier. We probably witness here, within this single book, a change in Plantin's house-style. The compositor presumably had in front of him two different sorts of copy: older, printed material, with unaccented ablative endings, and new, handwritten copy, with *-â*. In view of the close collaboration between Lipsius and the *Officina Plantiniana*, it is not inconceivable that this change in house-style was inspired by Lipsius himself, whose interest in this particular aspect of orthography is also confirmed by a passage in his *De recta pronunciatione Latinae linguae dialogus*, published only a year later (Lipsius 1628, 60).

From its earliest appearance, the diacritical system included accents on three single-letter words: a grave on the short forms *à, è* of the prepositions *ab* and *ex*, and a circumflex on the interjection *ô*. This practice derives from *medieval writing conventions*, our *third source* to be considered. Manuscripts from the ninth century onward sometimes mark the prepositions *a* and *e*, as well as the interjection *o*, with an oblique stroke, much like the acute. These three single-letter words could easily be misread as prefixes. Even after the so-called Carolingian reform of writing, which reintroduced the systematic division of words after centuries of *scriptura continua*, the practice with regard to prefixes and prepositions remained unsettled. They were either separated from or linked to the following word; the latter being the more common option. The oblique stroke to denote a preposition was in that case still a useful device. Humanistic writing continued this tradition. So did the early

printers, but with a difference. Influenced by the Greek system, the prepositions receive the diacritic that marks them as indeclinable, the grave; and the interjection is spelled with the circumflex.

4. Accents in early printing

Does the Neo-Latin practice of accentuation derive from an earlier system, like the ones found occasionally in medieval or humanistic manuscripts, or was it a reinvention, prompted by the advent of printing? Scholars and printers may well have introduced the system after having seen instances of accentuation in medieval manuscript sources, assuming that the practice was of ancient lineage. Renaissance scholars who went hunting for manuscripts tended to overrate their age, sometimes dating them to Roman times—the notorious *codices vetustissimi* invoked by early editors of classical texts. Even if the system can be shown to derive from manuscript practice, it should still be emphasized that its introduction in printing was a deliberate act. It required the casting of special letters, that were unknown in the early stage of the development of the printing press. Diacritics interfere with the many abbreviation-signs that characterize early printing. Even after the system is firmly established, it is practically never applied in texts printed in black letter. Its appearance seems to be closely linked to the roman and italic printing types.

The earliest occurrence of accent-marks in a printed book that I have been able to trace so far is in the first entirely Latin work published by Aldus Manutius: his edition of Pietro Bembo's *De Aetna* in February 1496 (dated 1495, Venetian style). It already contains the full system of diacritics with the exception of the circumflex on the ablative, which is a later development. As I have argued elsewhere (Steenbakkers 1993), there are good reasons to suppose that Aldus was in fact the pivot in the development of the system of diacritics. After 1496, when he started using the new roman type cut for him by Francesco Griffo, Aldus used the marks discreetly but fairly consistently throughout his career as a printer. A more detailed description of the accentuation in the early Aldines would reveal that the period from 1496 to 1500 was one of experimentation, showing a variety of diacritical signs and printing techniques. These experiments may well indicate that Aldus was indeed pioneering. In this period, Aldus also printed some works with very few or no accents in the Latin. After 1500, however, Aldus's system seems to have taken its final shape. His renowned series of classical Latin texts in octavo, the *libelli forma enchiridii*, are also provided with these diacritics. The series was immensely successful: the books were easy to handle, beautifully printed and issued in a large number of copies. Their influence on the subsequent history of the typographical presentation of Latin can hardly be overestimated.

My conclusion is that the accent-marks were either introduced by Aldus

himself, or at any rate were ensured wide diffusion and acceptance in the following centuries by his example and authority.

5. *Obsolescence*

It is a curious fact that from the second quarter of the eighteenth century diacritics rapidly vanish from printed Latin texts. The process is very uneven, but by the end of the century accents appear to be the exception rather than the rule. With hindsight we can perceive that it was humanistic research into classical Latin which brought about the downfall of this unhistorical orthography. The movement *ad fontes* and the scrutiny of ancient inscriptions made humanists keenly aware of the examples they had to follow in reforming their spelling and pronunciation of Latin. The first to raise principal objections to the use of accents was Aldus Manutius the Younger, grandson of Aldus Pius Manutius and son of Paulus Manutius. In 1561, at the age of fourteen, he published his *Orthographiae ratio*. This is the very first entry: "A, PRO AB, *sine accentu scriberem, tum ex antiqua consuetudine, tum etiam, quia Graecae linguae potius, quàm Latinae uidentur accentus conuenire. . . . confirmant nostram opinionem Quinctilianus, libri, lapides omnes*" (Manutius the Younger 1561, fol. 4r). This guide to spelling was very influential, especially in the shortened version entitled *Epitome orthographiae*, which was first published in 1575.

The next serious attack came from Claudius Dausquius (or Dausqueius), whose *Orthographia antiqui novique Latii* first appeared in Tournai in 1632. The book was hardly noticed until a monumental reprint was issued in Paris in 1677, under the title *Orthographia Latini sermonis vetus et nova*. It contained several chapters on the accents, arguing that the practice was unclassical, for both Greek and Latin; that the system was insufficient and incoherent, since it discriminated only between a very limited number of words and forms in an inconsistent fashion; and that the context offers enough guidance in ambiguous cases (Dausquius 1677 I, 141–45; 147–49; II, 1).

Despite the pertinent criticisms launched by Manutius the Younger and Dausquius, the practice of printing and writing diacritics in Latin continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apparently, schoolmasters and printers were influential enough to perpetuate the habit, notwithstanding scholarly resistance. The arguments put forth by Dausquius against the diacritical system—falsification of historical spelling, inconsistency, insufficiency, redundancy—were repeated and corroborated in Cellarius's *Orthographia Latina* (1700, 62–70) and in Walchius's *Historia critica Latinae linguae* (1729, 300–306).[3] In the eighteenth century, the diehard practitioners of

[3] This is the *editio nova*; there is nothing on the subject in the first edition of this work, which appeared in 1716.

the diacritical system finally began to give way, cornered, as it were, by these repeated attacks. Another factor that may have contributed to the decline is the gradually decreasing importance of Latin as the common language of scholarly communication. As Latin became more and more the province of specialists, there was a growing aversion toward the convention of placing accent-marks. Classical scholars deemed it schoolmasterly and amateurish. One paradigm of Latinity was replaced by another: the baroque image of Latin was ousted by a more austere successor, one that banished accents, capitals and other superfluous ornaments from the texts.

Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht

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The Conceptual Background of the Controversy between Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Etaples

ANDREA STEENBEEK

Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Etaples broke off their friendship for a while because of a difference of opinion which developed into a polemic on paper about the translation and interpretation of Heb. 2:7. Where Erasmus translated "you [God] have made him [Jesus] for a little while lower than the angels,"[1] Lefèvre translated "you have made him a little less than God."[2] What was the difference in their concepts of Jesus that made them fight so fiercely?

First I will convey the context of this quotation from Hebrews and briefly point out the philological aspect of the translation problem; then I will give a survey of the controversy between Erasmus and Lefèvre and draw a picture of their christologies that is clearer than the one that emerges directly from the controversy. Finally, I will say something about the background of their christologies.

By way of elucidation I should say the following about the context of Heb. 2:7. In Heb. 1 and 2, the author, who is by the way unknown, appeals to his readers to remain faithful to the gospel that is preached to them. The sublimity of Christ was the argument given by the author for this purpose. After suffering and dying to release people from sin and death, Jesus has been taken into heaven. He was granted a position far above the angels and has been crowned with honor and glory.

In this argument about the height of the enthroned Christ the author says in Heb. 2:7, using a quotation from Ps. 8:6, that Christ reached his glory after God had made him a little below the angels. The dispute between Erasmus and Lefèvre focused on this phrase.

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[1] *Novum Instrumentum*, (Basel, 1516), 134.

[2] *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* . . . , (Paris, 1512), fol. 58v.

The translation problem is as follows: this passage, Heb. 2:7, is a quotation from Ps. 8:6. The translations of Erasmus and Lefèvre are both possible as far as the original Hebrew of this psalm is concerned. The difference of opinion pertains to the translation of the Hebrew words "m^{e}'aṭ" that can signify "for a little while" as well as "a little," and "elohim" that can be translated both as "God" and "angels." The original Greek of Heb. 2:7, however, is ambiguous only in the case of "βραχύ τι," "for a little while" or "a little." "Αγγέλους" cannot, of course be translated as "God" but only as "angels," "messengers" and so on. Lefèvre nevertheless translated "You have made him a little less than God." Erasmus preferred: "You have made him for a little while lower than the angels."

Now I will give an overview of the controversy. The dispute began in 1509, with the publication of Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium* which contained a note on Ps. 8:6.[3] Here he translated "elohim" as "a Deo," "below God." He did this contrary to the tradition, for only Jerome had done this before.[4] Lefèvre preferred the *Psalterium Hebraicum* as a rule, probably because of his great admiration for Jerome and the importance that he saw in using the original text, in this case the Hebrew. Jerome had always done this in the *Psalterium Hebraicum*.

In this passage, however, Lefèvre had yet another argument for following the reading of the *Psalterium Hebraicum*: the dignity of Jesus. The thought that Jesus was humiliated below the angels was intolerable to him. The *LXX* had rendered the word "elohim" in Ps. 8:6 into "παρ' ἀγγέλους." Lefèvre explained that this "error" of the interpreters of the *LXX* was due to their defective insight. They had not understood that this passage referred to Jesus. They thought it referred to the ordinary man and were afraid of giving him too much honor. With lots of biblical passages as references, Lefèvre tried to discredit the claim that the incarnate Jesus was deeply humiliated. He read passages in the context of Ps. 8:6 (and Heb. 2:7), which had traditionally been interpreted as references to the enthroned Christ, as referring to the incarnate Jesus, e.g., "You have crowned him with honor and glory and have set him over the works of your hands." According to Lefèvre the earthly Jesus still had full possession of the divine dignity. He did indeed descend a little below God, but he was not humiliated below the angels.

Lefèvre assumed that Hebrews had originally been written by Paul in Hebrew and subsequently translated by an interpreter into Greek. He stated already in 1509 that the interpreter had followed the *LXX* in making the same mistake by rendering "elohim" into "ἄγγελοι." Paul himself had of course intended "elohim" to mean "below God." At the end of this annotation in the *Quincuplex Psalterium* Lefèvre made the appeal: "mendas codicum eluite," "remove the errors of the codices!" It is noticeable that Lefèvre

[3] Sc. on fols. 14v and r.

[4] Sc. in his *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, *CCSL* 72, ed. P. Antin (Turnhout, 1959), 191.

followed a way which was unorthodox in those days: not only did he consider the *LXX* reading as erroneous, he also denied the correctness of the New Testament canonical text of Hebrews.

The next important event was Lefèvre's note on Heb. 2:7 in the first edition, in 1512, of his translation and commentary on Paul's letters.[5] This is a much shorter annotation. Lefèvre referred in it to his note in the *Quincuplex Psalterium* and said that he did Paul's intention justice by substituting the "ab angelis" of the Vulgate of Ps. 8:6 for "a Deo." Again he showed the sublimity of the incarnate Jesus by quoting passages that the tradition considered as referring to the enthroned Christ.

At this point in 1516 Erasmus raised issue with Lefèvre's interpretation by his note on Heb. 2:7 in the *Novum Instrumentum*.[6] Although he admitted that Lefèvre had an advantage by having Jerome as an authority, Erasmus clearly stated that the translation "a Deo" was wrong. It had to be "ab angelis." By Erasmus's reading, Jesus was not merely humiliated below the angels, on the contrary, he was humiliated below the most abject of men. He was already humiliated simply by becoming a human being, because the human bears no proportion to the divine. In addition, Jesus had been humiliated still further by all the suffering he underwent on earth. As support for his interpretation, Erasmus quoted Ps. 21:7: "I am a worm and no man, a shame to mankind and despised among the people," interpreted as a prophecy about Jesus in his misery.

Due to the gravity of Jesus' suffering the interpretation "a little" for "βραχύ τι" (or "m^{c}"aṭ" in the psalm) was very problematical in Erasmus's view. He suggested that "βραχύ τι" be translated temporally, by "for a little while," as a solution, following Chrysostom[7] and Theophylact.[8] Jesus had been terribly humiliated but only for a little while. Apart from this Erasmus mentioned that those passages "You have crowned him with glory and honor and have set him over the works of your hand" refer to the heavenly Christ, not to the earthly Jesus.

In response to Lefèvre's supposition of a translation error in Hebrews, Erasmus accused Lefèvre of blaming the whole ecclesiastical tradition for having used a wrong, even impious reading of Ps. 8:6 and Heb. 2:7. Erasmus also drew attention to the fact that authoritative writers of the early church had named Luke as the translator of Hebrews.[9] Luke had been inspired by the Holy Spirit and could not have made these mistakes.

Quite soon thereafter Lefèvre's furious reaction came as a note on Heb. 2:7 in the second edition of his translation and commentary on Paul's let-

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[5] *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* . . . , (Paris, 1512), fol. 233v.

[6] Sc. on 585–86.

[7] *Enn. in Ep. ad Heb.*, ad *Heb.* 2:7, Migne *PG* 63, 38 B1–7.

[8] *Exp. in Ep. ad Heb.*, ad *Heb.* 2:7, Migne *PG* 125, 208 B12–C9.

[9] E.g., Clemens Alexandrinus cited by Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 6, 14, 2.

ters, published between November 1516 and July 1517.[10] Lefèvre emphasized first of all that it was impossible that Jesus was humiliated below the angels, because for angels, even for the beatific angels, the real possibility existed of sinning and being punished for it.[11] Apparently, in Lefèvre's view, Jesus always remained far above the regions where evil had its influence and Jesus could not have had a position on the same level as or below beings that had the merest possibility of coming into touch with sin. Lefèvre clearly stated that Jesus had indeed been placed a little below God but only by his becoming a human being, not because of the misery he underwent on earth. As Lefèvre put it: "... imminutio ipsa provenit quia cum humanitate est et in eadem hypostasi cum creatura,"[12] "... his humiliation occurs just because of his being clothed with humanity and in the same person with a creature."

On the contrary, according to Lefèvre, that misery meant a heightening, "exaltio."[13] It was on the cross that Jesus' sublime divinity appeared. The suffering which made Erasmus call Jesus "abject," made him in Lefèvre's opinion "exalted." The misery itself meant the exaltation. Also during Jesus' stay on earth it was evident, according to Lefèvre, that Jesus was far superior to all other beings. He performed miracles to show that his divinity was unaffected.[14] He remained God.

Further Lefèvre emphasized that "βραχύ τι" in Heb. 2:7 and "m^{e}at" in Ps. 8:6 absolutely could not be translated temporally, because then the degree of Jesus' humiliation was left open and it must be clear that Jesus had been humiliated only a little. In Lefèvre's view Chrysostom and Theophylact interpreted "βραχύ τι" temporally due to their ignorance of Hebrew. They had no other choice than to use the *LXX* which read "παρ' ἀγγέλους." That awful image, of Jesus humiliated below the angels, had to be as short as possible and so they interpreted "βραχύ τι" temporally, by "for a little while."[15] Lefèvre called Erasmus's assertion that the earthly Jesus had been humiliated below the most abject of men "impious, unworthy of God and Christ, opposed to the Holy Spirit and sticking to the letter that kills."[16]

As concerns the quotation from Ps. 21, "ego autem sum vermis et non homo" ("I am a worm and no man"), that Erasmus cited as a prophecy about Jesus in his misery, Lefèvre rejected the christological interpretation, arguing that Jesus was humiliated as far as that only in the eyes of his ene-

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[10] *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ... (Paris, 1516/7). The note on Heb. 2:7 can be found on fols. 225v–229v.

[11] Ibid., fol. 226r.

[12] Ibid., fol. 227v.

[13] Ibid., fol. 227v.

[14] Ibid., fol. 228v.

[15] Ibid., fol. 228r.

[16] Ibid., fol. 226v.

mies, the pharisees and scribes. Such a depiction of Jesus' situation in his passion had nothing to do with reality.[17] Moreover, it was not allowable to say about Jesus that he was not a man, because he was in fact the most real man, the true image and likeness of God, and not as miserable as other people are. If it is true that Jesus said "I am a worm and no man," it referred to his future body, the Christian congregation.[18]

Erasmus had to react to this "disputatio" of Lefèvre, if only because of the insult of "impiety." This was a most vile imputation, particularly at this time, when he was very vulnerable as a result of his publication of the *Novum Instrumentum*, by which he had already caused so much religious indignation. His answer came in an apologia[19] and appeared to be sufficient. Lefèvre never reacted.

Erasmus explained how unreal it is to think that Jesus would not have been humiliated by his suffering on earth, that he would have been made only a little less than God, and that he would have been humiliated solely by his incarnation. According to Erasmus, Jesus was first of all humiliated by his misery, not by his incarnation.[20] For Lefèvre the misery itself meant the exaltation; for Erasmus the exaltation is the reward for Jesus' exemplary attitude during his suffering. Chronologically, this reward came together with the enthronement, after Jesus' passion.[21]

Jesus' suffering was terrible, but all the more admirable was his attitude during that misery: loving, merciful and forgiving toward his fellow human kind, and obedient to God. Erasmus thought he added to Jesus' glory if he emphasized the misery that Jesus endured for our salvation.[22] In Erasmus's view it is clear, moreover, that Jesus himself wanted people to think of him as he then was, in those humiliating circumstances, because he showed himself to the people in that quality.[23] It is evident that Erasmus more than Lefèvre came close to the intention of the author of Hebrews.

M. Mann argued in *Erasme et les débuts de la réforme française (1517–1536)*[24] that the subject of the controversy did not really affect Erasmus, in contrast to Lefèvre. She wrote: "During that dispute it is Lefèvre who believes himself to be fighting for the purity of faith; Erasmus knows quite well that faith does not depend on that question and that he only fights for the maintenance of his reputation. . . . Evidently the question is not as serious for Eras-

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[17] Ibid., fols. 226v–227r.

[18] Ibid., fol. 227r.

[19] First published in *Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad eximium virum Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem cuius argumentum versa pagella demonstrabit* (Leuven, Martens, 1517).

[20] *LB* (Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Clericus (Leiden 1703–1706) vol. 9, cols. 32 B–C, 33 B, 27 F–28 A, 33 F–34 A.

[21] Ibid., col. 33 C.

[22] Ibid., col. 32 A.

[23] Ibid., col. 32 E.

[24] This book was published in Paris, 1934. See 34–37.

mus as for his adversary . . . the truth, according to Erasmus, lies somewhere else; in the morality, in faith that brings about more than [can be found] in the abstract idea that is in question . . . for him [Erasmus] it means only an exegetical problem. . . . "

This is not correct. Of course Erasmus wanted to defend his reputation against Lefèvre's accusations, especially against that of impiety. But it was certainly very important for Erasmus that the true translation and interpretation of this passage, Heb. 2:7, was well known. Erasmus, after all, founded his ethics and thus his ideas about the imitation of Jesus on the deep humiliation of Jesus and his admirable attitude therein. Erasmus used the necessity to defend himself to argue, as he often did, for a better world, where Christians, by the imitation of Jesus and in obedience to his commandments, would associate with each other in the right way.

Now I will try to give a more exhaustive description of the christologies of Erasmus and Lefèvre. I will begin with Lefèvre. Jesus is pictured by Lefèvre as a sublime, exalted transcendent God, even during his incarnation. It was necessary that he remained God when he was on earth, because, as Lefèvre wrote in his commentary on Phil. 2: "neque . . . Dei patris gloria esset filium habere qui Deus non esset"[25] ("it . . . would not be to God's honor to have a son who is not God").

Sometimes Lefèvre even gave Erasmus the impression that he was not thinking of Jesus' nature as human but only as divine.[26] This was not the case, but for Lefèvre the difference between the earthly Jesus and the Christ before and after his incarnation was only the human form in which he appeared on earth. Jesus' might and glory were on earth still divine, he was made only a little less than God himself because he had become a human being.

From Lefèvre's "disputatio," discussed above, it becomes evident that Lefèvre thought that the use of words such as "abject" or "deeply humiliated" to describe Jesus, implied an accusation on moral grounds. This emerges from his argument against the translation "ab angelis," ("below the angels") as well as from his torrent of abuse against Erasmus's use of the word "abject" for the earthly Jesus.

Erasmus understood where Lefèvre's problem lay: "fortasse deiiciendi verbum tibi contumeliam sonat"[27] ("perhaps the verb 'humiliate' for you sounds like an insult"). Erasmus obviously did not intend to imply that Jesus had sinned or was a criminal, and as to whether Lefèvre actually suspected Erasmus of this, I offer no opinion. At the least, Lefèvre inferred that it is not permissible to speak about Jesus in the way Erasmus did.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that as a result of the foregoing

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[25] *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* . . . (Paris, 1512), fol. 175r.

[26] *LB* 9, cols. 33 A–B.

[27] Ibid., col. 34 E.

Lefèvre did not emphasize the example of the humble Jesus. On the contrary, he wrote in his commentary on Phil. 2: "formam servi induit ut nobis esset verae humilitatis exemplar"[28] ("he took on the shape of a slave to be an example of true humility for us"). Jesus' humility was an essential point for Lefèvre. In his commentary on Eph. 2, Lefèvre emphasized his conviction that the "humility" of Jesus was at the same time the exaltation of human nature, which has been raised from death in the person of Christ.[29] In his commentary on the gospels, at Matt. 26, the passage where it is narrated that Jesus prayed that the cup of his suffering might pass from him, Lefèvre strongly emphasized Jesus' words: "not my will, but thy will be done." Lefèvre also stressed Jesus' humility in praying: he threw himself down prostrate. Lefèvre called this a sign of very deep humility.[30] Herein, however, Lefèvre saw no real injury to Jesus' dignity.

An aspect of Lefèvre's christology to which Erasmus certainly did not subscribe is the image of the triumph of the cross, as referring to Jesus' passion.[31] Lefèvre's picture of the incarnate Jesus is always that of a person who is sure of his ground and who lets his divine might and position shine. This does not seem to be wholly consistent with Lefèvre's emphasis on Jesus' humble attitude, but this is in Lefèvre's view a superior humility; he called Jesus a "sacratissimus martyr."[32] Jesus Christ who is God came to the earth in the form of a slave to be for the people an example of true humility. This was not Christ's only reason for descending to earth. Again and again Lefèvre emphasized that Jesus through his passion brought about the salvation of people. Like Erasmus, Lefèvre strongly stressed Jesus' own wish to suffer in order to save people from sin and death.[33]

In his commentary on Phil. 2, Lefèvre wrote about the relation of the two natures of Christ. I paraphrase: How would Christ who was really God and who connected the human form with the divine, not have been a man in God's image and likeness? Being a man he was the most authentic man, just as God had intended in creating man according to his image and likeness, but not as poorly as we are: Jesus was not a common man. Being a man he was really God.[34]

Now I will turn to the christology of Erasmus. As discussed above, Erasmus wanted to make Jesus an ethical example. He pictured Jesus as being

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[28] *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ... (Paris, 1512), fol. 175r.

[29] Ibid., fol. 164v.

[30] *Commentarii initiatorii in quattuor evangelia* ... (Cologne, 1541), fol. CC.

[31] *Quincuplex Psalterium* ..., ad Ps. 9, (Paris, 1513), fol. 13r. See also Lefèvre's letter to Guillaume Parvy [Paris] 1509 in: E. F. Rice, *The prefatory epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples and related texts* (New York and London, 1972), Ep. 68, 205–8. And ibid., the preface of Lefèvre's edition of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, Ep. 20, 66.

[32] Ibid., Ep. 21, 71.

[33] *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ... (Paris, 1516/7), fol. 227v.

[34] *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ... (Paris, 1512), fol. 175r.

very human, as a person who, moreover, had been more deeply humiliated than the most abject members of human kind. Erasmus emphasized the misery of Jesus, because Erasmus thought that Jesus' perseverance in such circumstances encouraged people to imitate his example all the more.[35] According to Erasmus, Jesus was not primarily humiliated by his becoming a human being, as Lefèvre believed, but by the suffering he underwent.[36] Erasmus's christology stresses in addition to the ethical example of Jesus' mode of life, the image of Jesus as a teacher. It is in this role that Jesus during his life on earth gave the people the ethical commandments found in the gospels.[37] Also according to Erasmus, Jesus' humility is consciously exemplary. Jesus has revealed himself in his deep humility and he wants the faithful to think of him as he was in those circumstances, destitute but obedient to God and to his commandments and always merciful and forgiving towards his neighbors.[38]

Nothing can be found in Erasmus's christology about Jesus as a superior man, as in Lefèvre's christology. Erasmus wrote about Jesus in his paraphrase on Rom.,[39] "... he ... was clothed with the same flesh with which other sinners are clothed ..., he walked among sinners as a sinner. Nay, among criminals he was crucified as a criminal."

Erasmus acknowledged that the incarnate Jesus had a divine nature at the same time, that he was God and that his divine dignity was not decreased, but Erasmus considered this of minor importance and more appropriate to contemplate in the afterlife. Then one will see Jesus in his glory. After all, Christ himself will show that glory only later.[40] As said before, Erasmus thought that in this life he attributed most to Jesus' glory by emphasizing as much as possible the misery Jesus endured for the salvation of humankind.[41] That misery was moreover necessary for salvation: "o rem horrendam si tam certo verum est quam tu [Lefèvre] firmiter asseveras, Christum nec paulum nec multum ab angelis fuisse deiectum!"[42] In other words, if Jesus had been humiliated only a little on earth he would not have suffered enough to save people from sin and death. The thought of the triumph of the cross, "Christus victor," for the incarnate Jesus, cannot be found in Erasmus's writings. On the contrary: for Erasmus that image would surely be contrary to the idea of Jesus' peacefulness and humility, see e.g., the *Querela pacis*.[43] Erasmus did not idealize Jesus' passion

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[35] *LB* 9, col. 34 D.

[36] See above, n. 20.

[37] E.g., in his *Paraclesis*, in *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. H. Holborn (München, 1933), 140–42.

[38] See above, n. 23.

[39] *LB* 7, col. 801 A.

[40] See above, n. 23.

[41] See above, n. 22.

[42] *LB* 9, 26 D–E.

[43] Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1969–) vol. 4, 2, pp. 68–69, lines 203–33.

and hence did not appeal to the imitation of the passion. Erasmus did not consider Jesus' passion as his exaltation. The exaltation is the reward afterwards, in the shape of the enthronement, because of Jesus' exemplary attitude in suffering.[44]

Contrary to Massaut in "Mystique rhénane et humanisme chrétien d'Eckhard à Erasme,"[45] I do not see that Erasmus wrote about mysticism in a prescriptive sense. Erasmus taught primarily a practical, ethical Christianity. In this context his aim is a better world, not the communion of the faithful with Christ. So I cannot make sense of Massaut's assertion that, in Erasmus's view, Christians must be directed at the enthroned, as Massaut calls him, the 'spiritual' Christ and not at the earthly Christ. What is more, I consider it a misrepresentation to read Erasmus as saying, as Massaut does, that Christians become identical with Jesus through the birth of Christ in them via the Holy Spirit. Erasmus indeed wrote that Christ is born in the faithful via the Holy Spirit and of course that they can only become one with Christ via the Holy Spirit, but it is necessary for their salvation that they live according to Jesus' commandments and his example. The latter is very essential for Erasmus and cannot be omitted when describing Erasmus's ideas about *christiformitas*, which is what Massaut intended to do.

Finally, I will go into the backgrounds of the christologies of Erasmus and Lefèvre. As regards their background and education Erasmus and Lefèvre had much in common. Both were obviously well acquainted with the pagan classical authors, with the church fathers and the scholastic tradition. Both came in contact with the Modern Devotion and were key figures in the humanistic movement. Lefèvre gave the impression, more than Erasmus, of having been influenced by the Modern Devotion, as can be seen from the following opinions: the longing to imitate the passion of Jesus and the idealization of that passion,[46] the appreciation of the monastic life,[47] and the attention to mysticism evident in Lefèvre's preparation of numerous editions of mystical writings. He got much inspiration from mystics, as Hughes clearly explained in his biography of Lefèvre.[48] The influence of great mystics is probably a cause of Lefèvre's developing a christology of a very transcendent, exalted Christ.

Although Erasmus and Lefèvre detested the scholastics and despite their idealization of the early church, it is possible to state that both christologies have more relationship with the scholastic tradition than with the church fa-

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[44] See above, n. 21.

[45] This article was published in *The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy*, ed. G. Verbeke and J. Jsewijn (Leuven and The Hague, 1972), 112–30.

[46] See P. E. Hughes, *Lefèvre, pioneer of ecclesiastical renewal in France* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1984), 195–96.

[47] See G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Etaples et l'Intelligence des Ecritures* (Geneva, 1976), 17–23.

[48] P. E. Hughes, 38–51. For the influence of Nicolas of Cusa see especially ibid., 46, and G. Bedouelle, 60–70.

thers' view of Jesus. This is convincingly shown by J. D. Tracy in "Humanists Among the Scholastics, Erasmus, More and Lefèvre d'Etaples on the Humanity of Christ."[49] In this article Tracy describes how in the course of time people have looked at the human nature of Jesus, especially at his human emotions. The church fathers did not know how to cope with Bible passages that described Jesus having fear or pain, or being angry or sad. They did not understand how such emotions could be consistent with Jesus' divine nature. The aforementioned[50] passage, Matt. 26, generated great difficulties. Here it is narrated that Jesus prayed that the cup of his suffering might pass from him. In the early church one could not believe that Jesus was really frightened by the prospect of his own suffering, since that would imply that he as human did not want what he as divine obviously must have wished.

At the sixth council of Constantinople monothelitism, which taught that Jesus had only one, divine will, was forbidden. Gradually, it became possible to say that Jesus had been afraid or distressed. Both Erasmus and Lefèvre followed this line of thought. At Matt. 26, they had no objection to attributing fear to Jesus.

Erasmus discussed this theme around 1500 with Colet.[51] Colet considered it an impossibility that Jesus would have been afraid of his passion, just as the church fathers did in former times. Erasmus thought it perfectly natural that Jesus was afraid. He was now a common man and knew he would suffer. He would not have been a man if he had not been frightened of suffering and death.

Both Erasmus and Lefèvre indicated the moment at which they decided to devote themselves wholly to bible studies, in 1504[52] and in 1509[53] respectively. They both considered this a very important decision in the light of their conviction of the necessity of bible study and of the great importance they attached to the acquaintance of all people with the bible. Given this common evangelical aim, the fierceness of their dispute becomes more comprehensible. They were aiming at the same target but each came to see the other as an opponent, because for Erasmus and Lefèvre respectively the depth of Jesus' humiliation and the inviolability of Jesus' divine position were essential and, moreover, mutually exclusive.

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[49] This article was published in *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* (1985), 30–51.

[50] See above, n. 30.

[51] This dispute was published for the first time in *Disputatiuncula de tedio, pavore tristicia Jesu* ... (Martens, Antwerp, 1503).

[52] See P. S. Allen et al., *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, vol. I (Oxford, 1906), Ep. 181, 403–6.

[53] See Lefèvre's preface to his first edition of the *Quincuplex Psalterium*, dedicated to Guillaume Briconnet. E. F. Rice, Ep. 66, 192–201.

Summary

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Erasmus and Lefèvre engaged in a polemic over the interpretation of Heb. 2:7, where Erasmus translated: "you [God] made him [Jesus] for a little while lower than the angels." He wanted to emphasize the depth of Jesus' humiliation, and thereby increase admiration for Jesus' exemplary attitude in his misery. Lefèvre's version was: "you made him a little less than God" with which Lefèvre called attention to the inviolability of Jesus' divine position. As concerns their background, both studied the classics, the church fathers and the scholastics. It is clear that Lefèvre had more mystical and devotional elements in his thinking than Erasmus. Despite their mutual idealization of the early church, they had no objection to attributing emotions to the incarnate Jesus. Both were less Platonic than one would expect.

Leiden

Die Carlias *des Ugolino Verino und ihre volkssprachlichen Vorbilder*

NIKOLAUS THURN

Die *Carlias*, das Lebenswerk des florentinischen Dichters Ugolino Verino, ist bisher nur in Handschriften vorhanden gewesen; meine Edition macht erstmalig ihren Text einem wissenschaftlichen Publikum zugänglich,[1] und ich hoffe, dem Text noch einen Kommentar folgen lassen zu können. Die Lektüre dieses Ritter-Epos wirft viele Fragen auf, aber die Frage, wie die so andersartig scheinenden italienischen Karlsdichtungen sich in ihm widerspiegeln, ist wohl die faszinierendste.

Einem neulateinischen Epos, das sich weder der Antike widmet—wie Petrarcas *Afrika*—noch dem Lob eines Renaissancefürsten, wie Basinis *Hesperis* oder die *Borsias* des Tito Strozzi, sondern einer Domäne der Volkssprache, den Geschichten und Legenden um Karl den Großen, einem solchen neulateinischen Epos hätte eigentlich die Aufmerksamkeit der Forschung sicher sein müssen, und sei es nur als einem Curiosum, als Beispiel für die Mischung zwischen Volkssagen, italienisch-sprachiger Literatur und neulateinischen Wiederbelebungsversuchen.[2] Aber es war wohl gerade diese unzulässige Grenzüberschreitung, die dazu führte, daß dem Epos kaum die Beachtung geschenkt wurde, die es verdient, ja, daß in einem Standardwerk für die Romanisten, der Literaturgeschichte von Emilio Cecchi und Natalino Sapegno, dieses Werk unter den übrigen lateinischen Ugolino Verinos erwähnt wird als eines in "volgare."[3]

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[1] Nikolaus Thurn, *Ugolini Verini Carliados libri XV*, Diss. (Hamburg, 1991).

[2] So hat es zumindest der moderne Entdecker der *Carlias* gesehen: Antoine Thomas, "Notice sur la 'Carliade,' poème épique de Ugolino Verino," in *Annales de la faculté des lettres de Bordeaux, IV* (Bordeaux, 1888), 37: "Elle nous offre un phénomène littéraire intéressant, un essai de fusion entre le poème chevaleresque du moien âge et le poème épique l'antiquité, et a ce titre, c'est une oevre curieuse par le seul fait de son existence."

[3] Emilio Cecchi, Natalino Sapegno, *Il Quattrocento e l'Ariosto* (Milano, 1966) III:456 " . . . il

Und dabei setzte sein Dichter gerade in die *Carlias* all seine Hoffnungen auf ewigen Nachruhm.

Ugolino Verino, der 1438 in Florenz geboren wurde und 1516 ebendort starb, begann das Epos um den Frankenkönig 1465 und beschäftigte sich sein ganzes Leben über mit dessen Vollendung. Aus dem Jahre 1480 hat sich eine erste vollständige Fassung erhalten, ihr schließen sich vier weitere, immer veränderte, nie ganz vollendete Fassungen bis spätestens ins Jahr 1507 an; darunter ist ein Widmungsexemplar an Karl VIII von Frankreich aus dem Jahre 1493, das sich der Autor aber nach dem überraschenden Tod des Königs wieder zurückerstatten ließ.

Der Forscher Antoine Thomas, der auf das Epos im Jahre 1882 aufmerksam machte, und Alfonso Lazzari[4] in seiner 1897 erschienenen Biographie des Dichters haben bereits ausführliche Inhaltsangaben gemacht; ich möchte deswegen nur kurz die Handlung des 15 Bücher enthaltenden Epos zusammenfassen: Auf seiner Überfahrt vom Orient nach Italien gerät Karl der Große und seine Flotte in einen Seesturm, der sie nach Epiros verschlägt. Dem dortigen König verspricht der Frankenherrscher, seine Eroberungen im Osten zu erzählen. Das zweite bis vierte Buch enthalten Karls Wiedergabe seines Kreuzzuges, auf dem er zuerst Jerusalem, dann die Stadt Babel in einer Art Alexanderfeldzug erobert. Das fünfte Buch schildert den Aufenthalt der Franken in Epiros: eine Jagd und Wettspiele, nach welchen Karl, dem sein verstorbener Vater Pippin mit diesem Auftrag vom Himmel erschienen ist, sich auf eine Reise durch die Totenreiche begibt. Das sechste bis achte Buch schildern des Königs Weg durch Hölle, Fegefeuer und Himmel. Im neunten Buch nach Epiros zurückgekehrt, begibt sich Karl mit seinem Heer nach Italien, um den Langobardenkönig Desiderius zu bekriegen. Zu ihm fallen die toskanischen und umbrischen Stadtstaaten ab, während der Langobarde Afrikaner und Spanier nach Italien ruft. Nach vielen Schlachten zu Wasser und zu Lande, in Nord- und in Süditalien sind die Heiden vernichtet und Desiderius wird in Pavia gefangengenommen. Der Frankenkönig erbaut darauf das zerstörte Florenz neu, erhält in Rom die Kaiserkrone und feiert schließlich zurückgekehrt in Aachen seinen Triumph.

Das ist die Handlung der achteinhalbtausend Verse des Epos, dessen Vorbild Vergil allein durch diese knappe Zusammenfassung hindurchschimmert: denn auch in der *Aeneis* schließt sich an den Schiffsbruch der Troianer im ersten Buch die Erzählung vom Untergang Trojas und den Irrfahrten der Flüchtlinge an, gefolgt vom Aufenthalt in Karthago, den Wettkämpfen und einer Reise durch die Unterwelt; und auch die *Aeneis* erzählt in ihrem zweiten Teil von Kämpfen in Italien.

Andererseits denkt man bei den Büchern 6–8, welche die christliche Jenseitsvorstellungen widerspiegeln, sofort an Dantes *Divina Commedia*, die

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poema epica-cavalleresco in volgare della 'Carliade,' sulle gesta di Carlo Magno."

[4] Alfonso Lazzari, *Ugolino e Michele Verino* (Torino, 1897), 154–85.

gerade in diesen Jahren von Christoforo Landino neu kommentiert wurde. Landino seinerseits war der wohl wichtigste Lehrer Verinos: in Nachfolge seiner *Xandra* dichtete der junge Ugolino 1464 eine Sammlung von Liebes- und Gelegenheitsgedichten, die *Flametta*, und in einer frühen Fassung der *Carlias* preist er ihn als den geistigen Urheber seiner Dichterschaft.[5] Von ihm hat er nicht nur die Liebe zu den Dichtungen in toskanischem Dialekt, er scheint mir von ihm auch die Art vermittelt bekommen zu haben, wie jene drei Vorbilder zu lesen wären, von denen Verino selbst im Epilog des Epos spricht: Homer, Vergil und Dante.

Hier soll aber nur die Rede sein von den italienischen Vorbildern, die auf die *Carlias* umittelbar eingewirkt haben. Ich will mich auf zwei große Bereich beschränken: die *Divina Commedia* und die italienische "Letteratura Cavalleresca."

Da ist auf der einen Seite das große Werk der *Divina Commedia*. Neben der Dichtung selbst sind die Kommentare des Christoforo Landino und vor allem Boccaccios für die *Carlias* von Bedeutung gewesen. Ich werde mich aber auf einen direkten Vergleich zur Dichtung Dantes konzentrieren. Wie bereits erwähnt, gliedern sich die Totenbücher der *Carlias* in Hölle, Fegefeuer und Himmel, ebenso wie die drei Bücher der *Divina Commedia*. Verino aber fügte vor diese zusätzlich in der zweiten Hälfte des fünften Buches noch den Eingang Karls in die Unterwelt; und es gelang ihm damit, die drei folgenden Bücher in ausschließlich einer Region anzusiedeln, anders als Dante, dessen erstes Buch ja noch auf der Oberwelt anfängt.

Im zweiten Teil dieses fünften Buches befindet sich Karl—ebenso wie Dante im ersten Gesang—in einem dichten Wald, als ihm eben jene Tiere begegnen—der Luchs, der Löwe und die Wölfin—deren Deutung schon Boccaccio so viel Tinte gekostet hat. Sein Führer durch die Unterwelt ist aber keine historische Persönlichkeit, sondern die personifizierte "Justitia," mit Schwert und Waage, die von ihrem Sitz, dem Sternbild der Jungfrau, auf die Erde herabgeflogen ist: eine Allegorie, mit der auch gezeigt sein dürfte, wie Verino seines Helden "Nekyia" verstanden haben will. Mit Karls Überfahrt durch den Fährmann Charon endet das fünfte Buch, einer Szene, die ebenfalls gegenüber der *Divina Commedia* von Bedeutung ist, weil Dante dort zwar den Fährmann sieht, vor seiner Überfahrt aber in Ohnmacht fällt und erst im Inferno wieder zu sich kommt.

Man sieht an diesen Beispielen bereits, daß sich in den Übernahmen Dantes weniger eine Kopie des Dichters zeigt, als vielmehr eine Auseinandersetzung mit ihm. Wenn man im Folgenden die Bücher 6 und 7 betrachtet, dann scheint vieles direkt von Dante übernommen zu sein: sieben

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[5] *Carliados libri XV*, N. Thurn, Anhang c) vv. 193–95:
Landini est proles sacris celeberrima Musis,
Unde ego Pieridum miro perculsus amore
Castalios hausi vivo de fonte liquores.

Kreise der Todsünden gibt es, die Karl bis zum Zentrum durchläuft, ja, er reitet sogar einmal wie Dante selbst auf dem Rücken eines Drachens. Das Purgatorium ist eine Landschaft, in welcher der König sich in stetem Aufmarsch auf einen Läuterungsberg befindet; er träumt wie Dante einen allegorischen Traum; und selbst dem Dichter Statius begegnet er wie Dante in der *Divina commedia*. Aber seine Dido befindet sich nicht—wie bei Dante—unter den Sündern der "Luxuria"—weil eben Vergils Geschichte nach Makrobius und Boccaccio nur eine Erfindung war[6]—sondern unter den Selbstmördern; aber nicht Cassius und Brutus, die Verräter an der "Monarchia universalis," sind mitten im Zentrum, sondern Catilina, der Verräter an der Republik; und Traian und vor allem Konstantin den Großen, beide in Dantes Himmel, sie trifft Karl—mit Erstaunen freilich—im Fegefeuer.

Dieses Zitieren und Umschichten dantischer Personen zeigt Verinos lebendige Auseinandersetzung mit seinem großen Vorbild, aber zeigt vor allem auch, wo Dante im 15. Jahrhundert kritisiert und wie er gelesen wurde. Es kommen dabei unter Verinos Personen keine obskuren Personen, auch keine Zeitgenossen Verinos vor -eine Tatsache, die mit der Feststellung, Karl selber habe ja eben im 8. Jahrhundert gelebt, nur unzureichend erklärt wird, denn in den Kämpfen um Italien spielen eben solche Zeitgenossen oder zumindest ihre Vorfahren gleichen Namens eine große Rolle; vielmehr muß man auf die Bemühungen Petrarcas schauen, in seinen *Trionfi* ebenfalls nur durch Sage und Geschichte sanktionierte Persönlichkeiten aufzuzählen: -wohl zu viele der dantischen Sünder waren mit der Zeit in Vergessenheit geraten.

Schließlich beginnt sich Verino am Ende des siebten Buches ganz von seinem Vorbild abzuheben: der Limbus, jener Ort, wohin die Nichtgetauften gehören, die, um es einmal vereinfacht zu sagen, ein anständiges Leben geführt haben, ihn fand Dante noch in der Vorhölle; -wohl nicht zuletzt, aber auch nicht ausschließlich unter Vergils Einfluß, der im sechsten Buch der *Aeneis* eine ähnliche Örtlichkeit beschrieben hatte, versetzt sie der Humanist Verino auf den Gipfel des Läuterungsberges, sicherlich nicht über, doch zumindest neben die Christen. Dies ist gerade bei dem sonst strenggläubigen Jünger Savonarolas ein um so deutlicheres Zeichen seiner Verehrung des Altertums.

Im achten Buch löst sich der Dichter ganz von der *Divina Commedia* und beschreibt seines Helden Weg in den Himmel in Anlehnung an Alain de Lilles *Anticlaudianus*, vielleicht durch Vermittlung seines Schwagers Leonardo Dati, der in seinem Epyllion *De elevatione boni genii* ein ähnliches Werk bereits geschrieben hatte. Dieses Buch ist aber nicht zuletzt deswegen eine Besonderheit innerhalb der *Carlias*, weil Verino mit ihm auf sein 1469 geschriebenes Kleinepos *Paradisus* zurückgriff -eine Tatsache, die vielleicht am

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[6] Macrob. *Saturnalien* 5, 17, 5; G. Boccaccio, *Opere volgari XII–XIV, Il comento alla divina commedia e gli altri scritti intorno a Dante*, ed. Domenico Guerri (Bari, 1918), 121–24.

besten die Entfernung von Dante, auch hinsichtlich der beiden vorangegangenen Bücher erklärt. Hier leben die Heiligen nicht gestuft in die verschiedenen Planetensphären, sondern alle gemeinsam im heiligen Jerusalem, der Stadt im Empyreum.

Hat die *Divina Commedia* nun sich wie ein Stempel auf das Epos gelegt, so ist sein Verhältnis zu den Karls-Dichtungen nicht ganz so auffällig: die Vers- und Prosaromane gaben der *Carlias* zwar nicht die Gestalt—denn diese hat sie doch fast ausschließlich von der *Aeneis* erhalten—die Farbe aber haben sie ihr wohl verliehen. Bei meiner Suche nach Vorbildern für die *Carlias* habe ich keine Beziehungen zu französischen oder franko-italienischen Werken ausmachen können; Verinos Quellen sind ausschließlich italienische Romane des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, und zwar die folgenden:—der italienische *Oggiero-* oder *Rinaldo-* Roman in Prosa oder in Ottava Rima;—die *Reali di Francia* und der *Aspramonte*, beide in Prosa vom Florentiner Schriftsteller Andrea da Barberino;—die *La Spagna* in Ottava Rima;—der *Morgante* von Luigi Pulci;—der *Ciriffo Calvaneo* von Luca Pulci.[7]

Man muß, um das Verhältnis der *Carlias* zu den genannten Werken zu charakterisieren, zuerst einen wichtigen Unterschied zu ihnen feststellen: Es fehlt nämlich jegliches selbständige Handeln der Paladine. Nicht nur, daß in der *Carlias* keine Liebesgeschichte aufkommt—dies hatte mit poetischen Erwägungen des christlichen Dichters zu tun—die Ritter bewegen sich vielmehr meist wie Schachfiguren in den Händen des vollendeten Feldherren Karls.

Der eigentliche Mittelpunkt des Epos ist ja auch Karl der Große, und gerade seine Gestalt hat so gar nichts mit dem "Carlomagno" der Sage zu tun: er ist nicht der alte Lehnsherr, der von seinen Vasallen bekämpft und sogar verspottet wird und dem Gano der Verräter immer wieder um den weißen Bart streicht, vielmehr ist er der strahlende König, der kein Duell verliert, um keinen Rat verlegen ist und vor der List seiner Gegner nichts zu fürchten hat. Er ist das Ebenbild der "Virtus." Zu seinem Lob ist das Epos geschrieben.

Daneben bleibt wenig Raum zur Charakterisierung seiner Ritter, und auf den ersten Blick scheint es sogar, als wären selbst so ausgeprägte Persönlichkeiten wie Gano, Orlando und Rinaldo nichts als anachronistische Heroen.[8] Es ist auch in vielen Fällen besonders schwierig, das alte Gesicht der

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[7] Der *Oggiero*-Roman in seiner Prosa-Fassung ist mir bekannt aus dem Codex Laurentianus XLII, 37; *Andrea da Barberino, I Reali di Francia*, ed. Giuseppe Vandelli und Giovanni Gambarin (Bari, 1947); *Andrea da Barberino, L'Aspramonte*, ed. Marco Boni (Bologna, 1951); "La Spagna," ed. Michele Catalano, in *Nuova Collezione di opere inedite o rare* (Bologna, 1939–40); *Luigi Pulci, Morgante*, ed. Franco Ageno (Milano-Napoli, 1955); meine Kenntnis des Ciriffo Calvaneo danke ich dem Aufsatz von Nicola Zingarelli, "Luca Pulci" in *Enciclopedia Italiana* XXVIII, S. 527 (Roma, 1935).

[8] A. Lazzari, *Ugol. e Mich. Verin.*, 184 "Carlo Magno non è altro che il 'pius Aeneas', Orlando è chiamato dal poeta stesso 'Francorum magnus Achilles', Rinaldo è un altro

einzelnen Ritter wiederzuerkennen. Anspielungen auf ihre Vergangenheit werden selten unverkleidet gemacht, so daß man schon mit den Ritterromanen zu Verinos Zeit vertraut sein muß, um sie zu verstehen. Ein besonderes Beispiel hierfür bietet eine Stelle im ersten Buch der *Carlias*, wo bei der Nennung der wichtigsten Paladine Karls Orlando mit Achilles, Rinaldo mit Aiax und Namo mit Nestor verglichen wird, der Däne Oggiero aber mit Odysseus. Die ersten drei finden sich in dem Vergleich gut getroffen, wie jedenfalls Antoine Thomas bemerkte,[9] Der Vergleich Oggieros mit Odysseus ist dagegen auf den ersten Blick schwierig zu verstehen: Mußte Verino willkürlich irgendeinen antiken Helden herausgreifen, um jedem Ritter einen Heros aufzuzwingen? Oder kann man hinter dem Namen eine Anspielung auf jene Szene im III. Buch, Kapitel 8 des *Oggiero*-Romans vermuten, wo Oggiero den Heiden Bravieri als Einziger bezwang, dessen von 300 Dämonen auf seinem Rücken hervorgebrüllter Kriegsschrei ihm nur deshalb nicht zum Verhängnis wurde, weil er sich die Ohren vor der Schlacht mit Pech verstopft hatte? Solche Anspielungen sind jedenfalls üblich in der *Carlias*, und allein die Häufigkeit ähnlicher Fälle macht diese Erklärung wahrscheinlich.

Die wenigen Zeilen aber, die Verino seinen Nebengestalten gönnte, erhellen sie dennoch in eben dem Licht, in welchem sie auch in den übrigen Karls-Romanen, natürlich vor ihrer Umgestaltung durch Pulci, Boiardo und Ariost, erscheinen:—Orlando, der stets dem Kaiser treu ergeben nichts als die Märtyrerkrone erwerben will;—Rinaldo, der stets aufsässige, unbeherrschte, immer über das Ziel hinausschießende Kraftmensch;—die feige Sippe der Mainzer, mit ihrem Erzverräter Gano, dem hier wie in der *La Spagna*[10] einen ehrenvoller Sohn gegenübergestellt wird;—aber auch die Feinde, die nicht wie in antiken Epen menschlich geschildert werden, sondern wie die meisten Karlsromane sie verzerren: treulos und grausam, das Schwert ist ihr Gott;—und schließlich die bekehrten Heiden, wie der Riese Burrato, dessen etwas tappsige Art ihn beinahe das Leben kostet, als er bei einem mißlungenen Schlag mitsamt seiner Keule zu Boden fällt. Burrato selber ist übrigens eine Gestalt des *Oggiero*-Romans, von wo er zum Vofbild des Riesen Morgante wurde, kann also nicht mit dem Morgante Pulcis direkt in Verbindung gebracht werden.

Während der historische Karl niemals im Orient gewesen ist, erzählt die *Carlias* von seinen Eroberungszügen bis hin nach Babylon. Dies wirft die

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'Telamonius Aiax', e le loro gesta non hanno quasi nulla comune con quelle che loro si attribuiscono nei poemi cavallereschi."

[9] A. Thomas, *Notice sur la Carliade*, 36 "La comparaison d'Achille avec Roland et de Nestor avec le duc Naime de Bavière est tellement conforme à la nature des choses, ch'elle s'est imposée, à quatre siècles de distance, à M. Léon Gautier, comme à Ugolino Verino."

[10] *La Spagna*, canto 34, stanze 11–13 stirbt der Sohn Ganos, Baldovino, in Roncisvalle; *Carlias* XIII, 372ff. rettet der Sohn Ganos, Antonius, seinen Vater, und wird von ihm alleingelassen umgebracht.

Frage auf, ob der erste Teil der *Carlias* nicht eher auf Kreuzzugslegenden zurückgreift, zumal im Laufe des Epos ein Tancredi und ein Goffredo eine Rolle spielen.

Das erste Vorbild eines Kreuzzuges fand aber Verino im dritten Buch der *Reali di Francia*, wo ein legendärer Vorfahre Karls, Ottaviano da Leone, bis Babylon vordringt. Auch erzählen die Ritterromane immer wieder von Paladinen wie Orlando, Rinaldo oder Oggiero, die im Alleingang eben die beiden wichtigsten Eroberungen Karls, Jerusalem und Babylon, zum Christentum bekehren.

Stammen die Eroberungen Karls im Orient also nicht nur von Kreuzfahrerlegenden ab, sondern auch von Streifzügen der Paladine Orlando, Rinaldo und Oggiero während ihrer Verbannung vom Hof, so wäre die Figur des Tibaldo, jedenfalls, wenn sie aus Luca Pulcis *Ciriffo Calvaneo* stammt, ein arger Anachronismus, da sie dort zur Regierungszeit Ludwig des Frommen ihr Unwesen treibt. Es ist aber nicht ganz auszuschließen, daß Verino aus mir unbekannten Quellen mit der Handlung der französischen *Enfance Guillaume*[11] bekannt war, die den Araberkönig in der Greisenzeit Karls der Großen gegen Willhelm von Oranien kämpfen lassen.

Dennoch hat Verino die Chronologie der Sagen mißachtet, wo immer es dem Ziel einer geschlossenen Handlung dienlich war: so sind die von ihm geschilderten süditalienischen Kämpfe Rolands gegen Agolante und Almon zwar Gegenstand des *Aspramonte* von Andrea da Barberino, dort aber verdient sich Roland das Kind noch die Sporen, indem es seinen König vor dem sicheren Tod errettet.

Aus der *La Spagna*, einem häufig gelesenen Werk in Ottava Rima, das die Eroberungen Karls bis hin zur Niederlage bei Roncisvalle erzählt, exportierte der Dichter zwei Heiden-Krieger der ungeheuersten Sorte, Serpentino della Stella und Ferraguto, sozusagen von Spanien nach Italien.

Die *La Spagna* bietet übrigens das interessanteste Beispiel einer direkten, oder doch annähernd direkten Übersetzung eines Verses vom Italienischen ins Lateinische innerhalb der *Carlias*. Dieser Vers ist auch deswegen von besonderer Bedeutung, weil er dabei hilft, einen Fehler im Aufsatz von Antoine Thomas zu korrigieren. Dieser hatte zu Recht vermerkt, daß die Personen der *Carlias* häufig auch aus anderen Quellen als den Karlsepen stammen. Er nannte als Beispiel unter anderem auch den König Arthur von Britannien.[12] Im fünften Buch der *Carlias* wird dieser vermeintliche Arthur, für den Verino den Namen "Astur" gebraucht, in einem Turnier vom Pferd geholt (V,387ff.):

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[11] Vgl. *Die Prosafassung der 'Enfance Guillaume,'* Inaugural-Dissertation, Heinrich Theuring (Halle, 1910).

[12] A. Thomas, *Notice sur la Carliade*, 37: "En dehors des noms de ses personnages, Verino n'a pas emprunté beaucoup aux poèmes chevaleresque; ces personnages mêmes, il les a pris un peu partout, sans se soucier de leur provenance."

> Ac primum Asteropes ab equo deiecit Alardum/ Quam longa hasta fuit, ceciditque Britannicus Astur/ Arcados incursu Alcidae....

Dieser mittlere Vers, besonders die unklassische Formulierung "Quam longa hasta fuit," findet sich in der *La Spagna* (canto 3, stanza 6, Zeile 7–8) wieder wie folgt:

> Quanto fu lunga l'aste per misura
> rovescio cadde Astolfo alla pianura.

Mit diesem Fund erklärt sich die Person des Astur; sie ist eben nicht der sagenumwobene Arthur, sondern die bekannte, schillernde Gestalt des Astolfo, welche in Ariost's *Orlando Furioso* Rolands Verstand vom Mond herabholt.

Der *Morgante* selber scheint zu meinem Erstaunen so gut wie überhaupt keinen direkten Einfluß auf die *Carlias* ausgeübt zu haben, obschon er doch zeitgleich von einem Mitbürger Verinos verfaßt wurde und ein Brief Michele Verinos, Ugolinos Sohn, wenigstens für jenen belegt, daß er ihn gelesen hatte.[13] Es ist dabei um so interessanter, daß eine Stanze des *Morgante* umgekehrt auf das erwartete Erscheinen der *Carlias* Bezug zu nehmen scheint.[14] Ich nehme deshalb an, daß Verino ihn tatsächlich gekannt haben muß, doch sich mit seinem Werk bewußt von ihm absetzen wollte, um seine Originalität zu wahren.

Abschließend muß man die Frage wenigstens aufwerfen, inwieweit sich wiederum die *Carlias* auf die späteren Werke ausgewirkt hat. Dafür nicht ohne Belang ist die Tatsache, daß sich eine Abschrift des Epos in der Biblioteca Estense in Modena[15] befindet. So ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß Ariost selber das Werk gelesen hat, und daß die *Carlias* nicht ganz so vergessen geblieben ist, wie es anhand der wenigen Handschriften erscheint. Im Lichte dieser Möglichkeit mögen sich einige Szenen im *Orlando Furioso* als von Verinos *Carlias* inspiriert erweisen: so besonders der Tod Rhodomontes im letzten Gesang, der außergewöhnliche Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Tod Serpentinos im elften Buch der *Carlias* aufweist; man denke aber auch an die Abenteuer Astolfos im 23. und 34. Gesang, die ihn zur Hölle, dem irdischen Paradies und schließlich auf den Mond bringen.

Ich fasse zusammen: Ich habe zwei Bereichen meine Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet: der Verarbeitung der *Divina Commedia* und den Karls-Romanen des 14–15. Jahrhunderts.

Dante ist für den Mittelpunkt der *Carlias*—die Totenbücher—von gestaltender Bedeutung gewesen. In seiner Abhängigkeit formulierte Verino über

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[13] Codex Riccardianus 915, fol. 117r. In einem Brief an Gregorio da Spoleto: "Miraris me evolvere fabellas pulcianas, Burchiellique salsas nugas ..."; erwähnt wird der Brief in A. Lazzari, *Ugol. e Michele Ver.*, 157.

[14] *Morgante*, canto XXVIII, stanza 82; vergl. dazu den Kommentar von Franco Ageno.

[15] Cod. Estensis 713 G 4, 12 (Fondo Campori).

das Umschichten einiger Sünder vom einen zum anderen Ort auch Kritik an der *Divina Commedia*; und wenn er im Himmelsbuch aus seinem Schatten tritt, dann nur, um in den eines anderen, Alain de Lille, zu wechseln.

Dieser Abhängigkeit gegenüber bieten die Karls-Romane des 14–15. Jahrhunderts nur die Färbung, die sie der von Vergil geformten Handlung verleihen. Diese Farbe zeigt sich von Ferne in der Wahl typischer Schlachtfelder: Jerusalem, Babel, Pavia und Apulien; im Detail hingegen in der Charakterisierung der untergeordneten Personen.

Universität Hamburg

Jean Pic de la Mirandole et le retour au Style de Paris: *Portée d'une critique littéraire*

LOUIS VALCKE

I. Portrait de l'Homme idéal selon l'humanisme cicéronien—et selon Jean Pic:

Laurent le Magnifique avait soumis quelques vers de jeunesse au jugement de Jean Pic de la Mirandole. Celui-ci prend occasion de sa réponse[1] pour brosser le portrait de l'homme idéal selon les critères de l'humanisme, qui sont ceux que Cicéron énonçait dans le *De officiis* et dans le *De oratore*, en particulier.

Pic voit en Laurent l'incarnation de cet idéal cicéronien et humaniste, parce que sa vie et son oeuvre littéraire se conforment très exactement aux exigences fondamentales de cet idéal. D'une part, en effet, lorsque Laurent s'adonne aux lettres, ses poèmes reflètent cette harmonie en laquelle fond et forme, parfaitement accordés l'un à l'autre, se mettent réciproquement en valeur—ce que ni Dante, ni Pétrarque n'ont su réaliser, le premier privilégiant le contenu au détriment de la forme, le second, en ne se préoccupant que d'élégance formelle. D'autre part, et c'est là le second critère, Laurent ne consacre aux lettres que les rares moments de loisir, l'*otium*, qu'il réussit à dérober aux soins de la République, qui, eux, font l'objet de ses soucis

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Les références renvoient aux éditions suivantes des oeuvres de Pic: Pour l'*Oratio*, l'*Heptaplus*, le *De ente et uno* et les *Disputationes*: *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno*, a cura di Eugenio Garin, Firenze, Vallecchi Ed., 1942, (Réf.: *Garin* I); — *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, a cura di Eugenio Garin, Firenze, Vallecchi Ed., livres I–V: 1946 (Réf.: *Garin* II), livres VI–XII: 1952 (Réf.: *Garin* III); Pour les autres écrits: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Gian Francesco Pico, *Opera Omnia*, Ripr. anast., Hildesheim Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969.

[1] Cf. *Opera Omnia*, pp. 348–51.

premiers et constants, auxquels va son *negotium*. Par conséquent, c'est au fil de son expérience personnelle que Laurent a forgé ses conceptions théoriques, tandis que "nous autres, dit Pic, piliers d'école, nous ne faisons que singer les vrais philosophes."[2]

On l'entend: Pic se range d'emblée dans la catégorie des "piliers d'école." C'est déjà indiquer que, sans doute, l'homme exceptionnel qu'est Laurent peut avoir l'ambition de réaliser l'idéal humaniste, par contre, le simple mortel qu'est Pic devra se contenter d'un idéal moins élevé. Ce qu'est cet idéal personnel et concret, d'autres lettres de Pic nous l'apprennent.

Il y a d'abord la lettre à Andrea Corneo, dans laquelle Pic n'hésite pas à prendre le contre-pied de l'idéal cicéronien, en ce qui concerne le service de la République. Corneo, fidèle en cela à Cicéron, avait conseillé à Pic d'abandonner l'étude de la philosophie pour se mettre au service de quelque prince italien. Ainsi, prétendait Corneo, ferait-il enfin oeuvre utile.... Touché au plus profond de son être, Pic réplique que les philosophes sont eux-mêmes rois parmi les rois, et qu'ils n'ont donc pas à se soumettre aux coutumes serviles. Il poursuit: "fidèle à cette vision de la réalité, j'ai toujours, aux cours princières, aux charges publiques, au désir de plaire et aux faveurs des curies, préféré ma cellule et mes études, les délices de mes livres et la paix de mon âme."[3] C'est donc en toute lucidité que Pic exalte la vie contemplative et qu'il lui accorde la primauté sur la vie active.

Quant au juste équilibre entre fond et forme, si merveilleusement réalisé par le Magnifique dans son oeuvre littéraire, Pic réalisera très vite que cet idéal est hors de son humble portée: entre poésie et rhétorique, d'une part, et philosophie de l'autre, il aura donc à choisir. S'adressant à Ange Politien, il écrit que, tentant de recueillir l'estime des poètes et des rhéteurs, en se donnant pour philosophe, et celle des philosophes en se faisant passer pour poète, il craint à présent que "voulant, comme on dit, m'asseoir sur deux selles à la fois, je ne me trouve ni sur l'une, ni sur l'autre, et il advient, pour le dire en peu de mots, que je ne serai ni poète, ni rhéteur, ni philosophe."[4] Pic est donc lucide, il connaît ses talents, et leurs limites. Aussi brûlera-t-il ses poèmes de jeunesse, pour s'adonner pleinement à la philosophie: choix radical auquel il restera toujours fidèle.

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[2] "Adde quod illi suas poëses in recessibus, in umbra, in summa studiorum tranquillitate, tu tuas inter tumultus, curiae strepitus, fori clamores, maximas curas, turbulentissimas tempestates, occupatissimus cecinisti ... At ... haec tu (proh, felix ingenium!) in aestu Reipublicae, in actuosa vita es assecutus, quae nos philosophorum non discipuli, sed inquilini in umbratili vita & sellularia sequimur potius quam consequamur," ibid., 350.

[3] "In hac ego opinione perstans cellulam meam, mea studia, meorum librorum oblectamenta, meam animi pacem, regis auliis, publicis negotiis, vestris aucupiis, curiae favoribus, antepono," ibid., 378.

[4] "Et ego utar perfugio ut poetis, rhetoribusque me approbem, propterea quod philosophari dicar; philosophis quod rhetorissem & musas colam (...) Quippe ego dum geminis (ut aiunt) sellis sedere volo, utraque excludor, fitque demum (ut dicam paucis) ut nec poeta, nec rhetor sim, nec philosophus," *Ep.*, 364.

Il n'abandonnera jamais tout-à-fait la poésie, mais elle ne sera plus pour lui qu'un passe-temps agréable, simple délassement d'un esprit occupé à une tâche autrement importante, comme il l'écrit, dès 1485, à Philippe Beroaldo. Pic lui avait envoyé quelques poèmes "qui, dit-il, m'échappèrent alors que j'étais occupé à d'autres choses. Lis-les donc en ayant à l'esprit que je n'ai à l'égard de ces activités humanistes qu'un souci inconstant, et que je ne leur accorde que le temps dérobé aux affaires importantes, de façon à pouvoir donner aux philosophes mon attention première et à leur accorder, comme on dit, mes veilles sérieuses. J'espère ainsi obtenir auprès d'eux, un succès égal à celui que tu atteins, toi, auprès des rhéteurs et des poètes."[5] Ici encore, le choix est clair, la dichotomie est nette.

On voit donc Pic abandonner, ou, plutôt, inverser l'idéal cicéronien: non pas harmonisation de l'élégance formelle et de la gravité du contenu, mais scission radicale, opposition entre l'une et l'autre; reprise apparente de la distinction entre *otium* et *negotium*, mais glissement et inversion de son contenu, puisque Pic, dédaignant toute activité civique, fait de la philosophie spéculative l'objet exclusif de son *negotium*, alors qu'il relègue le culte des Muses au peu d'*otium* qui lui reste.

II. Rhétorique et philosophie: la lettre à Ermolao Barbaro

C'est sur cet arrière-plan que se profile la célèbre épître *De genere dicendi philosophorum*, que Pic adressa en juin 1485 à Ermolao Barbaro.[6] On sait que, dans cette lettre, Pic prend fait et cause pour les scolastiques, même si, comme Jean Scot, ils écrivent *insulse, ruditer, non latinis verbis*.[7] C'est que, à ses yeux, et Pic le souligne à diverses reprises, seules importent chez le philosophe, la profondeur des vues, la rigueur de la démarche, la dignité de l'objet et la précision du discours. C'est pourquoi Pic maintient qu'en matière philosophique, il faut avoir recours au latin techniquement précis de la scolastique, au *stilus parisiensis*, si âpre et rude soit-il à l'oreille romaine, car au fil des siècles, ce langage et son vocabulaire avaient été débarrassés des ambiguïtés inhérentes au langage commun.

On a souvent voulu minimiser l'importance de cette lettre à Barbaro: comment, en effet, concilier la critique de la rhétorique qu'elle implique, avec le statut exalté qui avait été accordé, peut-être trop hâtivement, à son

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[5] "(. . .) versiculos quosdam addidi, qui per hos dies etiam agenti alia mihi exciderunt. Tu haec ita leges, ut memineris in humanioribus his studiis me tumultuaria cura, & subcisivis esse temporibus, ut qui philosophis operam primariam, & ut dicitur, seriosas addiderim lucernas. Apud quos ut id profecerim quod tu apud rhetores & poetas, quos inter (loquor ex animo) non video cur tibi primas, iure non vindices," ibid., 347—Notons en passant la condescendance de Pic à l'égard de ces "activités humanistes," auxquelles il assimile la poésie. . . .

[6] *Opera omnia*, 351–58.

[7] Ibid., 358.

auteur, en qui on avait voulu voir le porte-parole exemplaire de l'humanisme du Quattrocento? Passons sur les différentes tentatives, d'ailleurs en sens très divers, qui furent effectuées en vue de "récupérer" Jean Pic au profit du courant humaniste, et notons que, quelles que soient les interprétations plus tardives qui en seront données, les contemporains avaient, quant à eux, vu dans la célèbre controverse l'expression d'une opposition radicale entre les deux épistoliers. On en verra déjà la preuve dans le fait que Mélanchthon lui-même estimera encore nécessaire, en 1558, de prendre la défense des belles-lettres, au nom de Barbaro, et contre les critiques de Pic.[8] De plus, il semble bien, tant sont transparentes ses allusions, que ce soit également à cette lettre qu'Érasme se refère, lorsque, à son tour et tout à l'opposé de Pic, qu'il estime par ailleurs, il se fera le critique virulent de la scolastique, de son style et de ses méthodes.[9]

III. L'alternance systématique des styles

Concluons donc que le *De genere dicendi philosophorum* consacre un dualisme radical, une dichotomie, entre discours philosophique et rhétorique, entre les élégances latines et le "style de Paris."

Or, confirmation remarquable de la lettre à Barbaro, on constate que cette ligne de partage court à travers la totalité de l'oeuvre de Jean Pic de la Mirandole. En effet, *tous* les traités proprement doctrinaux écrits par Pic l'ont été dans le style scolastique, alors que son épistolaire et les présentations de ses traités brillent des plus vifs éclats de la langue latine, et, comme pour mieux en souligner l'importance, la transition de l'un à l'autre style est souvent explicitement soulignée par Pic. Ainsi en est-il de ses *Conclusiones*, qu'il voulait exposer et défendre publiquement à Rome en un débat dont il espérait retirer une gloire immortelle. Dans leur concision, ces thèses offrent un survol des grandes questions philosophiques, et, comme elles auraient dû faire l'objet d'une discussion, il importait que leurs énoncés soient compris correctement. En conséquence, Pic tient à prévenir son lecteur qu'il ne

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[8] On trouvera la traduction du plaidoyer de Melanchthon dans l'étude de Quirinus Breen, "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on the Conflict of Philosophy and Rhetoric," dans *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13 (1952): 385–426.

[9] Pic avait affirmé: "Certains grammairiens me font vomir, qui, pour avoir trouvé l'origine d'une couple de mots, tant se rengorgent, tant se font valoir, tant de partout étalent leur jactance, que par rapport à eux il faudrait compter les philosophes pour rien" (*Epist.*, 358), mais Erasme répliquera: "Ils jugent indigne d'eux de s'abaisser à ces subtilités de 'grammairiens': c'est le nom qu'ils ont l'habitude de donner à ceux qui ont étudié les belles-lettres, car ils tiennent cette appellation pour une injure" (Léon-E. Halkin, *Erasme parmi nous*, Paris, Fayard, 1987, 43), ou encore: "Ils prétendent que les mystères de leur discipline ne sont pas accessibles à ceux qui entretiennent le moindre commerce avec les Muses ou avec les Grâces. Si tu as goûté aux belles-lettres, il te faut désapprendre. Ce que tu as reçu à l'Hélicon, il te faut le vomir . . ." (ibid., 41).

trouvera pas ici "l'éclat de la langue romaine, mais la façon de parler des maîtres parisiens les plus célèbres, car c'est ainsi que s'expriment à peu près tous les philosophes de notre temps."[10] On peut remarquer que Pic égratigne au passage ses collègues humanistes, car souligner que les *philosophi plerique omnes* utilisent le style scolastique revient à exclure de leurs rangs la majorité de ceux qui attachaient tant d'importance aux élégances formelles.

Le débat tant attendu n'aura jamais lieu, et Pic se verra invité par la Commission d'enquête instituée par Innocent VIII, à clarifier le sens de treize de ses thèses, dont l'orthodoxie paraissait douteuse. Il sera ainsi conduit à rédiger une *Apologia*, ouvrage particulièrement précieux, puisque Pic s'y explique sur la portée de certaines de ses propositions parmi les plus controversées. Or, ici encore, Pic fait choix du "style de Paris" pour la précision dans l'expression que ce style permet. Ajoutons que, à nouveau, en sa jeune arrogance, Pic ne peut se retenir de décocher une flèche acérée, cette fois à l'endroit des théologiens de la Commission pontificale, pour lesquels il n'a jamais caché son profond dédain. Ce n'est plus parce que la majorité des philosophes contemporains utilise ce langage qu'il y aura lui aussi recours, mais au contraire, dit-il, parce qu'il est maintenant forcé de "s'adresser aux Barbares, et, comme le dit le proverbe, les bègues ne comprennent que les bégues: '*balbi non nisi balbos intelligunt.*'"[11]

Et finalement, le *De ente et uno*. Pic avait à plusieurs reprises exprimé l'intention d'écrire l'ouvrage tant attendu qui démontrerait une fois pour toutes l'accord fondamental des doctrines de Platon et d'Aristote. Il n'eut jamais l'occasion de mener à bien ce grand dessein, mais le *De ente* aurait dû en faire partie. C'est dire l'importance que cet opuscule revêtait a ses yeux. Or, Pic se sent à nouveau obligé, pour exprimer sa pensée avec la précision requise, d'abandonner toute prétention littéraire. L'ouvrage est dédié à Ange Politien et, jouant du nom de son ami, dont il fait le *linguae politioris vindicem*, Pic s'excuse de devoir faire appel à certains termes que le latin classique n'aurait pas reçus. Il prévient donc son ami de ne pas s'attendre à quelque élégance de style en cet ouvrage qui aborde une matière particulièrement neuve et ardue. Dernière référence classique avant de plonger au coeur de la question, Pic cite Manilius: "*ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri.*"[12]

Le *De ente*, les *Conclusiones* et l'*Apologia* sont des ouvrages dont la matière même est aride et ne prête guère aux élans oratoires ou poétiques. Il en va tout autrement de l'*Heptaplus*, ample christologie qui aurait pu donner lieu

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[10] "(. . .) in quibus recitandis, non Romanae linguae nitorem, sed celebratissimorum Parisiensium disputatorum dicendi genus est imitatus, propterea quod eo nostri temporis philosophi plerique omnes utuntur," *Opera omnia, Conclusiones*, 63.

[11] *Opera omnia, Apologia*, 125.

[12] "Liceat autem mihi per te, linguae politioris vindicem, verbis uti quibusdam nondum fortasse Latii iure donatis. Quae tamen ipsa rerum novitas et quaedam prope necessitas expressit, nec elegantioris stili lenocinium quaeras." Ut enim Manilius inquit, "ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri," *De ente et uno* (*Garin* I, 388).

à l'exaltation d'un chant cosmique, comme à l'intériorité d'une prière mystique. Mais ce n'est pas sur le mode personnel ni, encore moins, à titre d'expérience vécue que Pic aborde cet ouvrage. Tout au contraire, il s'en tient, en quelque sorte, à ce qui pourrait être la justification *théorique et doctrinale* d'une telle mystique. Par conséquent, comme tout autre exposé doctrinal, Pic le rédige avec la technicité et la précision du langage scolastique, dont l'aridité, ici encore, contraste fortement avec la fluidité et la souplesse oratoire de son Proème, qu'il adresse à Laurent le Magnifique.

Mais, dira-t-on, qu'en est-il alors de l'*Oratio de hominis dignitate*, ce texte sublime en lequel Burckhardt saluait "un des plus beaux legs de cette époque de culture intellectuelle,"[13] en lequel Garin voulait voir "le manifeste de la Renaissance?"[14] Cette glorification de l'homme, par l'exaltation de sa liberté et de sa mission cosmique, n'est-elle pas un des plus beaux monuments oratoires que nous ait légués toute la littérature néo-latine?

Incontestablement, mais il faudra d'abord rappeler que ce discours n'est précisément pas un exposé dogmatique; il n'a jamais été, dans l'intention de son auteur, que le préambule par lequel il aurait ouvert la discussion des *Conclusions*. Parce qu'il s'agissait d'un préambule, Pic pouvait donc, avec volupté, s'adonner aux plus belles envolées oratoires, faire preuve de son extraordinaire maîtrise des élégances latines, étaler sa connaissance profonde des meilleurs auteurs, émailler son discours de citations ou d'allusions d'autant plus raffinées et subtiles qu'elles sont seulement suggérées. Quoique Pic ait pu, par après, insérer une partie de son *Oratio* dans la présentation de l'*Apologie*, il ne faut pas oublier que la gloire de cette "elegantissima quaedam oratio"[15] fut tout entière posthume, puisque la dispute romaine n'eut jamais lieu. Ce n'est que bien plus tard, en fait avec Burckhardt, que l'on crut découvrir en ce texte d'occasion la quintessence de la pensée mirandolienne, symbole, à son tour, de l'esprit de la Renaissance.

IV. Le néoplatonisme et la valorisation de la Parole

Il importe ici de noter un paradoxe.

A l'exclusion des *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, ouvrage posthume, toutes les oeuvres théoriques de Pic furent rédigées alors que sa pensée subissait l'influence prédominante du néoplatonisme, tel qu'il avait pu le découvrir en sa source authentique, par la lecture des *Ennéades* de Plotin. Or, le statut que le néoplatonisme accorde à la sphère du langage est très

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[13] Jacob Burckhardt, *La civilisation de la Renaissance en Italie*, trad. de H. Schmitt, revue et corrigée par R. Klein, Paris, Plon, 1958, 2:286.

[14] *Introduzione, Garin* I, 23.

[15] C'est ainsi que Jean-François Pic, éditeur des oeuvres de son oncle, la présente: *Opera omnia*, 313.

particulier, et diffère essentiellement de celui qui va de pair avec une conception aristotélicienne.

Pour Aristote, en effet, l'image ne représente qu'une forme inférieure de la connaissance, étape intermédiaire entre les données sensibles et le concept qui, à partir de ces données sensibles, se formera par abstraction dans l'âme intellective. Le concept signifie l'essence, mais sa genèse présuppose cette démarche abstractive qui, elle-même, se nourrit des données sensibles. C'est pourquoi, selon Aristote toujours, il ne peut y avoir d'intuition directe des essences, le "détour" par le sensible étant d'abord nécessaire. En d'autres mots, les essences, principes réels des choses, doivent d'abord avoir "informé" la matière, avant que nous ne puissions les conceptualiser dans l'intuition intellectuelle. Quant au langage, nécessairement postérieur à la pensée, il ne sera que l'expression sensible donnée aux concepts en vue de leur communication. De l'essence au concept, il y a donc interposition de la chose concrète, de même qu'entre le concept et la parole qui l'exprime ou les images qui le représentent, il y a dégradation linéaire, affaiblissement graduel de notre emprise intellectuelle.

Le néoplatonisme, par contre, souligne les liens réciproques qui unissent en un tout les différents niveaux hypostatiques. Ainsi se tisse, à partir de "l'Un qui est au delà de l'Etre," un réseau de participations et d'affinités réciproques, ensemble organique et vivant. C'est l'"animal cosmique" de Plotin, en lequel chaque élément témoigne de la totalité qui l'englobe, en lequel, aussi, et par conséquent, toute *ressemblance* devient *équivalence*.

Cette conception "orphique" de la nature conduit directement à une valorisation de la Parole, de l'analogie et, partant, de la pensée et du discours symboliques. Si, en effet, la chose matérielle n'*est* à proprement parler, que la somme de ses participations aux *essences*, la représentation de l'essence, dans l'imaginaire ou dans le discours, nous mettra en contact avec l'être même de cette essence, mieux et plus intimement que si nous avions à l'abstraire hors de la matière où elle se perd et dont elle subit les contraintes. L'essence est donc plus immédiatement présente dans la parole qu'elle ne peut l'être dans la matière et ses lourdeurs. Le discours est alors le reflet plus fidèle de l'Etre même que ne l'est la réalité sensible, et le dévoilement des virtualités de l'image devient ainsi le dévoilement des relations et des affinités authentiques qui tissent la trame de l'univers.

Porteurs d'une intelligibilité propre, et non pas seulement seconde ou dérivée comme le voulait Aristote, les symboles renvoient immédiatement aux essences secrètes dont ils sont, autant ou mieux que les choses, les signes. Le poète, qui lit les signes, est donc aussi prophète qui dévoile les structures secrètes de l'Etre. C'est cette justification doctrinale du discours prophétique que l'*Heptaplus* résume dans le passage suivant:

> Parce que les mondes sont réciproquement liés par le lien des affinités, ils échangent profusément leurs natures, *mais aussi leurs dénominations*. C'est de ce principe que découle toute l'herméneutique des

allégories—*totius allegorici disciplina*—et les Anciens n'auraient pu représenter chaque chose par l'image qui lui convient, s'ils n'avaient connus les sympathies et les affinités occultes de la nature entière. *Sinon, il n'y aurait eu aucune raison de représenter telle chose par telle image, telle autre par telle autre, plutôt que l'inverse.*[16]

C'est en cette affinité entre la nature et ses dénominations que Pic voit le fondement *réel* du discours analogique, puisque l'on comprend ainsi que "souvent, les dénominations célestes, reproduites dans les étoiles, les roues animales et les éléments, s'appliquent tant aux choses divines qu'aux choses terrestres."[17]

Tel est aussi, toujours selon l'*Heptaplus*, le fondement de cette participation mystique que suppose la vision de l'homme-microcosme, que Pic expose en ces termes:

Pensons aux trois parties de l'homme: la plus haute est la tête; vient ensuite cette partie qui va de la nuque jusqu'à l'ombilic; la troisième, à partir de l'ombilic, rejoint les pieds (. . .) Admirons comme ces trois parties correspondent de manière précise et exacte aux trois parties du Monde. Le cerveau, source de connaissance, est situé dans la tête. La poitrine est l'habitacle du coeur, source de mouvement, de vie et de chaleur. Les organes génitaux, principes de la génération, se trouvent dans la partie inférieure. Et ainsi en va-t-il du Monde, où la partie la plus haute, le monde angélique ou intellectuel est la source de toute connaissance, car cette nature a été créée en vue de la compréhension. La région intermédiaire, celle des Cieux, est principe de vie, de mouvement et de chaleur; le Soleil y règne, comme le coeur dans la poitrine. Et comme chacun sait, c'est dans la région sublunaire que se trouve le principe de génération et de corruption. Admirez avec quelle harmonie ces diverses parties se correspondent l'une l'autre dans le Monde et dans l'homme.[18]

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[16] "(. . .) hinc et terrenis saepe caelestia nomina. Quoniam scilicet astricti vinculis concordiae uti naturas ita etiam appellationes hi omnes mundi mutua sibi liberalitate condonant. Ab hoc principio (. . .) totius sensus allegorici disciplina manavit. Nec potuerunt antiqui patres aliis alia figuris decenter repraesentare, nisi occultas (. . .) totius naturae et amicitias et affinitates edocti. Alioquin nulla esset ratio cur hoc potius hac imagine aliud alia quam contra repraesentassent," *Heptaplus, Aliud Prooemium* (*Garin* I, 190–92).

[17] "Hinc saepe divinis caelestia cognomenta, saepe etiam terrena, dum nunc per stellas, nunc per rotas et animalia, nunc per elementa figurantur; hinc et terrenis saepe caelestia nomina," ibid., 190.

[18] "Cogitemus igitur in homine tres partes: supremam, caput; tum quae a collo ad umbilicum protenditur; tertiam quae ab umbilico extenditur ad pedes. Sunt enim et hae in hominis figura varietate quadam disclusae et separatae. Sed mirum quam pulchre, quam examussim per exactissimam rationem tribus mundi partibus proportione respondeant. Est in capite cerebrum, fons cognitionis. Est in pectore cor, fons motus, vitae et caloris. Sunt in parte postrema genitalia membra, principium generationis. Itidem autem et in mundo suprema pars, quae est

V. Conclusion: le dualisme mirandolien

Cette théorie du langage propre au néoplatonisme, que Pic reprend et développe ici, aurait pu lui permettre de réintégrer le pendant rhétorique et poétique du discours, à son pendant rationnel. C'est d'ailleurs la démarche suivie par plusieurs parmi les plus grands noms du néoplatonisme. Pic les connaît, il les a lus et, à cette époque, il admire leur style et leur doctrine. C'est ainsi que, dans l'*Oratio*, après avoir fait l'éloge de Porphyre, de Jamblique, de la "fécondité asiatique" de Proclus, il n'hésite pas à affirmer:

> chez Plotin, il n'y a rien qu'on puisse admirer en priorité, puisque c'est partout qu'il s'offre à l'admiration; car comme il parle divinement des choses divines et tient sur les choses humaines un langage qui, par sa docte ambiguïté, dépasse l'homme de loin, les platoniciens, même en se donnant bien du mal, le comprennent à peine.[19]

§ § §

Ainsi donc durant cette phase de son développement intellectuel, particulièrement à Florence où Ficin, "prince des (néo)platoniciens," régnait en maître incontesté, tout aurait dû inciter Pic à abandonner le cloisonnement rigide qu'il avait établi entre fond et forme, à effacer l'opposition entre rhétorique et philosophie, finalement, à unifier intellect et affectivité. Or, et c'est là le paradoxe, même en sa période néoplatonicienne, Pic refuse ces accommodements, et il maintient cette dissociation, si clairement annoncée par le *De genere dicendi philosophorum*, entre ce qui relève de la doctrine, et est philosophique, et ce qui revient à l'art oratoire, et est rhétorique. C'est la césure entre les deux styles, délibérément voulue et soulignée par Pic, parce qu'à chacun d'eux correspond une intention radicalement distincte. La Vérité est l'être même des choses, et le philosophe, qui a pour mission de la dévoiler, doit la dire telle qu'elle se présente à lui. C'est pourquoi, dit Pic, "la philosophie se montre nue, visible de partout, offerte à tous les regards."[20] Le

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mundus angelicus sive intellectualis, est fons cognitionis, quia facta illa natura ad intelligendum est. Pars media, quae est caelum, principium vitae motus et caloris, in qua sol uti cor in pectore dominatur. Est infra lunam, quos omnibus notum, generationis principium et corruptionis. Videtis quam apte omnes hae mundi partes et hominis invicem congruant," ibid., *Exp. primae dictionis*, 380–82.

[19] "... in Plotino primum quicquam non est quod admireris, qui se undique praebet admirandum, quem de divinis divine, de humanis longe supra hominem docta sermonis obliquitate loquentem, sudantes Platonici vix intelligunt," *Oratio*, 140–42. Par ces *sudantes Platonici*, Pic vise sans doute Ficin et ses contemporains néoplatoniciens. Par ailleurs, l'allusion à l'obscurité des textes plotiniens n'est pas nécessairement ironique. Si elle l'est, elle indiquerait que même à l'époque de l'*Oratio*, Pic conservait une attitude critique à l'égard du néoplatonisme.

[20] "Nudam se praebet philosophia, undique conspicuam, tota sub oculos, sub iudicium venire gestit, scit se habere unde tota undique placeat," *Ep.* 356.

discours philosophique devra être fidèle à la réalité, il devra donc être *normé par l'Etre* et, dans toute la mesure du possible, sans qu'intervienne la coloration personnelle que lui prête la subjectivité de l'observateur. Au discours sur l'être s'impose donc une précision "objectivante," et c'est bien pourquoi il faut alors éviter cet appel aux sentiments qu'implique toute rhétorique. Nulle part sans doute, cette juxtaposition des styles et des intentions qui leur correspondent n'apparaît plus clairement que dans la célèbre apostrophe que Pic, interrompant l'exposé du *De ente et uno*, adresse à Ange Politien:

> Mais considère, Angelo, la folie qui nous tient. Tant que nous sommes prisonniers du corps, nous pouvons aimer Dieu plus que nous ne pouvons le dire ou le connaître; l'aimer nous demande moins d'effort, nous est plus profitable et nous permet de l'honorer davantage. Pourtant, nous préférons toujours ne jamais atteindre ce que nous cherchons par la connaissance, plutôt que de posséder en amour, Celui qu'il serait vain de trouver sans amour.[21]

Et le contraste de cette brève parenthèse, tout empreinte d'une émotion vivement ressentie, est d'autant plus significatif, que, de tous les traités doctrinaux écrit par Pic, le *De ente* est sans conteste le plus abstraitement métaphysique, le plus froidement rationnel.

Tout à l'opposé de cette aridité stylistique, les épîtres de Pic sont toutes écrites dans une langue admirable, truffées d'allusions classiques. Sans doute, on l'a dit, Pic voulait-il ainsi établir hors de tout doute, aux yeux de ses confrères humanistes, sa parfaite maîtrise de l'éloquence latine, mais cette maîtrise même souligne que c'est par choix délibéré qu'il en revient au latin "barbare," dès qu'il traite de questions doctrinales. Il y a autre chose encore. Même si elles étaient manifestement destinées à circuler dans un public plus vaste, ce que Barbaro lui reprochera d'ailleurs,[22] ces lettres formaient la correspondance privée de Pic. Elles relevaient de ses relations personnelles et il pouvait donc y donner libre cours à sa "subjectivité." Elles n'avaient pas valeur de traité, elles ne proposaient pas de doctrine, ou encore, elles relevaient du for intérieur seulement. Et l'on comprend par là le statut ambigu et paradoxal que ne pouvait manquer de prendre la lettre à Barbaro: c'est que Pic y défend une opinion personnelle qui, cependant, possède à ses yeux, une valeur doctrinale. Objectivité et subjectivité, deux

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[21] "Sed vide, mi Angele, quae nos insania teneat. Amare Deum dum sumus in corpore plus possumus quam vel eloqui vel cognoscere. Amando plus nobis proficimus, minus laboramus, illi magis obsequimur. Malumus tamen semper quaerendo per cognitionem numquam invenire quod quaerimus, quam amando possidere id quod non amando frustra etiam inveniretur," *De ente*, 418.

[22] "Multa sunt, etsi non respondeam, incommoda, praesertim quod libellum tuum vagari et in multorum esse manibus intelligo," Ermolao Barbaro, *Epistolae, Orationes et Carmina*, ed. crit. a cura Vittore Branca, ibid., Ep. LXXX, 1:100.

styles donc, s'y rejoignent et s'y opposent: dans ce cas unique, la forme devait nécessairement contredire le fond.

§ § §

Affirmation du dualisme de la réalité, qui se dédouble en sphère du sujet, face à la sphère de l'objet, dualisme parallèle des langages correspondants, telle nous paraît maintenant la portée ou la signification profonde de cette ambivalence de l'oeuvre de Jean Pic, dont l'alternance des styles était l'expression la plus immédiatement évidente. Sans vouloir du tout faire de Jean Pic de la Mirandole un précurseur de la modernité, sans vouloir aucunement se livrer à quelque facile rétroprojection, on peut néanmoins signaler comme un parallélisme, une affinité d'esprit entre Jean Pic et René Descartes. Ce parallélisme pourrait sans doute donner lieu à une analyse plus fine. On verrait que, dans des contextes historiques très différents, l'un et l'autre ont adopté une attitude du même ordre, face à la nature, face à la recherche, face aussi à son expression la plus adéquate.

Université de Sherbrooke

Was Agrippa von Nettesheim an Erasmian Humanist? *

MARC VAN DER POEL

Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535) is both an historic figure and a myth. He is famous as the author of one of the most influential Renaissance books on magic, the *De occulta philosophia*, and as the author of a large rhetorical volume, a declamation on the role of arts and sciences in society. This is the famous work *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium*, or *De vanitate*. These two works are the basis for the principal characteristics of his legendary reputation. In 1584, almost fifty years after Agrippa's death, André Thevet wrote in his biographical dictionary that Agrippa is justly considered as a blasphemous and atheistic author because he wrote these two works. As for Agrippa's biography, Thevet sets the tone for the centuries to come when he draws the picture of a man in contact with evil spirits, who was constantly accompanied by the devil in the shape of a dog.[1]

The well-known nineteenth-century biographies by Morley and Prost still leave some of these legendary features unimpaired. Scholarship had to wait until the biography of Nauert, published in 1965, for an historically sound story of Agrippa's life.[2] Likewise, Agrippa's works have been the object of unbiased research only within the last decades. Thanks especially to the work of Ms. P. Zambelli it has become clear that Agrippa is a syncretistic thinker, deeply influenced by the Neoplatonist movement of Marsilio Ficino and with a special interest in the writings of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Nonetheless, it is still very difficult to give a complete picture of Agrippa as an intel-

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[1] *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens* . . . , (Paris, 1584), 2 fols. 542r–544v.

[2] Ch. Nauert Jr., *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1965).

lectual in the world of humanism. One could say that scholarship wavers between two opposing viewpoints. On the one hand, Agrippa is represented as a "speculative" humanist like Reuchlin and Franck on account of his philosophical works (such as *De occulta philosophia*); on the other hand, he is considered to be a "literary" humanist like Erasmus and Vives on account of his rhetorical writings (such as *De vanitate*).

In a number of studies, Zambelli has analyzed the relationship between Agrippa and Erasmus. There is ample biographical evidence to justify such a study. In 1519, Agrippa wrote to a friend to ask for certain books by Erasmus. This is the starting point of what Zambelli has called the Erasmian period in Agrippa's life. Agrippa not only talked about Erasmus to his friends and read his works, but between 1531 and 1533 he also exchanged letters with him. Nine letters of this correspondence survive. In a contribution published in the *Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia* of 1972, Zambelli shows convincingly that Agrippa was especially interested in Erasmus's views on contemporary theological questions.[3] Agrippa's writings of his Erasmian period, such as his polemical work on the monogamy of Saint Anne from 1519, his *Dehortatio gentilis theologiae* and the *De vanitate*, both of 1526, have an Erasmian tone. For instance, Agrippa claims, like Erasmus, that not only specialists but also the general educated public must reflect on theological issues, and he follows the Erasmian method of discussing theological issues. The church fathers are often cited with approval and there is a general hostility towards a theology which gets entangled in logical subtleties, that is, scholastic theology (Zambelli 114, 123). On top of that, Zambelli stresses that Agrippa likes to use the literary form of declamation, which she considers a typically Erasmian form of writing (114). Thus, Agrippa's Erasmian writings must in general be distinguished from his earlier works, such as his *Dialogus de homine* and the *Praelectio in Pimandrum*, which are written under the influence of the Cabala and the Hermetic writings (123). In the last pages of her article, Zambelli briefly mentions Agrippa's *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus* (1509, partly rewritten for publication in 1529) and *Declamatio de sacramento matrimonii* (1526). Both works, it is stated, take an Erasmian stand in praising women and family life (138). Erasmus's *Declamatio de laude matrimonii* and *Christiani matrimonii institutio* are mentioned among the writings which influenced Agrippa's views (139).

This paper takes Zambelli's thesis as the starting point of a brief and partial comparison between Agrippa's *Declamatio de sacramento matrimonii* and Erasmus's *Declamatio de laude matrimonii*. It cannot be denied that Agrippa was very familiar with Erasmus's theological works. Indeed, Agrippa's correspondence contains a letter in which the author discusses some of the critical remarks made by theologians on his *Declamatio de sacramento matrimonii*.

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[3] P. Zambelli, "Corneille Agrippa, Erasme et la théologie humaniste," in *Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia* (Paris: Vrin, 1972), 1:113–59.

This letter contains a reference to Erasmus's *Annotationes* to the New Testament and his answer to Lee's attack on that work.[4] However, this does not unequivocally mean that Agrippa must be considered as an Erasmian humanist. The following observations will try to show firstly that Agrippa's use of the literary form of *declamatio* differs widely from that of Erasmus's, and secondly that Agrippa's favorable discussion of the institution of matrimony was probably not written with the same intention as Erasmus's *Praise of Marriage*.

Erasmus wrote his *Declamatio de laude matrimonii* or *Encomium matrimonii* at the end of the fifteenth century for his student, the young Lord Mountjoy, who was about to get married or had recently got married. It was published as late as 1518, and was often reprinted after that date, both as an individual text and as a part of Erasmus's treatise on letter writing, published for the first time in 1522.[5] Thus, as Zambelli stresses, it is very likely that Agrippa knew Erasmus's *Laus matrimonii* when he wrote his declamation in 1526. As for Erasmus's *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, while it is true that it appeared in the same year as Agrippa's declamation, it is unlikely that Agrippa could have used it because it appeared several months after the completion of Agrippa's writing.[6]

Erasmus's declamation is cast in the form of an *epistula suasoria*. It sets out to persuade a young man, son and only heir of his noble family, to get married. In spite of the pleading of his friends and relatives the young man remains unwilling, even if his bride is a beautiful girl of noble background, who loves him very much and who has a large dowry. In other words, Erasmus's declamation treats a particular *causa* or *hypothesis*. The declamation is built on three main grounds, three main *loci argumentorum*, namely, the virtue of marriage (*honestum*), its utility (*utile*) and its pleasantness (*iucundum*). Each point is treated in detail. Erasmus makes use of all the weapons afforded by rhetoric: he not only tries to convince the young man on rational grounds, but also uses moral and emotional arguments. Thus he makes use of the three kinds of proof traditionally studied in the theory of rhetoric. In accordance with the rules for *decorum*, the style is attuned to the character and the social position of the person who is addressed.

Agrippa wrote his declamation during his French period (1524–1528), more specifically in the first months of 1526. It was dedicated to Princess Margaret, the sister of King François I. The declamation was published

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[4] Epist. IV,7, in *Opera* (1600; reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), 2:787–89.

[5] *De laude matrimonii* as an individual text in ASD I,5 (1975), 385–416; as a part of *De conscribendis epistulis* in ASD I,2 (1971), 400–29. Both texts were edited by J.-Cl. Margolin.

[6] Erasmus's *Christiani matrimonii institutio* was printed by Froben in August 1526. Several months earlier, on April 2, a friend wrote to Agrippa to inform him that some intellectuals were criticizing several passages in his *Declamation on Matrimony* (Ep. IV,2, in *Opera* [1970], 2:782–83). Consequently the writing must have been completed, and perhaps already printed, for some time.

with a French translation by the author,[7] and reprinted without the translation in a 1529 edition including a number of Agrippa's small tracts.[8] Agrippa's declamation is a brief essay in defense of the institution of marriage. In contrast with Erasmus's declamation, it is scholarly in structure and style. Although Agrippa does address himself directly to the reader ("Tu igitur quicunque uis uxorem ducere . . . "; "Tu itaque quicunque si homo esse uis . . . ," fol. E4r; fol. [E6]r), his declamation does not discuss the subject in the framework of a *causa*. Agrippa's declamation consists of two more or less clearly distinguishable parts. First, there is a *theoretical* section, explaining the biblical law concerning marriage. Second, there is a section in which the author criticizes the *practical* attitude towards marriage in contemporary customs and legislation. The form of ratiocination in this declamation is quite distinctive. Indeed, Agrippa supports his theoretical points with testimonies taken from the Bible alone. At various places, Agrippa shows that human laws agree with the divine law by referring to legal sources such as the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and several texts pertaining to canonical legislation. Finally, Agrippa regularly illustrates his statements with examples taken from history. The formal elaboration of Agrippa's declamatio is thus totally different from that of Erasmus. One can affirm without hesitation that Agrippa's work completely lacks the eminently Ciceronian character of Erasmus's work.

Consequently, the tenor of the two tracts is completely different. Erasmus's declamation makes clear how a general thesis works out in a specific situation. Starting from the notion that the Church teaches the preferability of celibacy Erasmus shows that in practice, in real life if you like, marriage can be an equally honorable option for some people. This interpretation of the declamation is not only based on a reading of the text, but it has also been set forth by Erasmus himself in his apologias of 1519 and 1532.[9] In an effort to stress the point that it is not his aim to provide a comprehensively dogmatic or philosophical analysis of the institution of matrimony, but to discuss this topic in the context of the individual who must choose a way of life, Erasmus included a sketch of the counterpart, the *altera pars*, of his declamation in the treatise on letter-writing. In this outline, the *circumstantiae* are reversed. Here, the orator sets out to convince a young man who has made

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[7] *Bresue declamation du sainct sacrement de mariage: compose en latin per Henricum Cornelium Agrippam et par luy traduit en vulgaire francoys* (s. l., s. a.). The translation is published, with an introduction, by E. Droz, *Chemins de l'hérésie. Textes et documents* (Genève: Slatkine, 1971), 2:1–27.

[8] *De Nobilitate & Praecellentia Foeminei sexus, (. . .) De sacramento Matrimonii declamatio (. . .)* (Antwerp: M. Hillenius, 1529), fols. (D5)v–(E6)r. All references are to this edition. The treatise was reprinted in *Opera* (1970), 2:538–49.

[9] LB IX, 105F–112A and *Dilutio eorum quae Iodocus Clithoveus scripsit adversus Declamationem Des. Erasmi Roterodami suasoriam matrimonii*, ed. E. V. Telle (Paris: Vrin, 1968). See for an analysis of Erasmus's use of rhetoric P. Tuynman, "Erasmus: functionele rhetorica bij een christen-ciceroniaan," *Lampas. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse classici* 9 (1976): 163–95.

up his mind or is about to make up his mind to get married that wedlock is the most miserable of conditions.[10]

Agrippa's declamation, on the other hand, does not leave the level of the general issue (the *thesis* or *propositum*) and his observations do not aim to be applicable to a particular individual.[11] What does Agrippa want to accomplish with his declamation? Judging by his method of reasoning, he wants to show, to illustrate, to exemplify (but not to prove by argument), that his thesis is correct by showing that it is compatible with Scripture, especially the Old Testament. Hence the large number of testimonies which he cites and the lack of rhetorical proofs, rational or other. In his *Declamation on Original Sin* of 1518, which is very similar to this declamation in structure, style and method of reasoning, he wrote that the opinion set forth in that declamation is illustrated with *testimonies* (testimonia) and will need confirmation from the *proofs and arguments* (rationes/argumenta) of those who will agree with him. He thus literally invites specialists (that is, theologians) to take up his thesis and put it to the test in a ratiocinative analysis.[12] It is true that he does not repeat this point in the *Declamation on Marriage*, but given the similarity in form and method of exposition in the two writings, it is safe to assume that it is valid for this declamation as well. It is thus clear that the declamation as Agrippa writes it stays, unlike that of Erasmus, very close to the academic setting which was considered appropriate for the discussion of theological topics, namely the academic disputation. In this context, it is useful to remember that Agrippa often claimed that he wanted to be regarded as a theologian, although he never was an academic theologian by profession, and that he wished his scholarly writings to be discussed seriously by academic theologians. Erasmus, on the contrary, stresses in both his apologias of his *Praise of Marriage* that this work is not a theological writing, but a piece of rhetoric. This claim is, of course, not a disavowal of the content of his declamation, as one might think, but a clear statement to the effect that Erasmus is talking on a different level; that he is not, as it were, ad-

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[10] ASD I, 1 (1971), ed. J.-Cl. Margolin, 429–32.

[11] In the dedicatory epistle Agrippa casually remarks : "(. . .) tibi (i.e., Princess Margaret) prae caeteris dedicanda erat (sc. declamatio), ut (. . .) illorum contumeliosae, ac sacrilegae obiectioni, non tam verbis quam operibus responsum sit, qui dicunt sapienti non esse nubendum: (. . .)" (Antwerp, 1529, fol. [D6]r). These words constitute an indirect reference to a well-known fragment on matrimony by Theophrastus, which is preserved in Latin translation in Saint Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, I,47 (*Patrologia Latina*, 23: col. 288–291). Saint Jerome introduces the fragment with the remark that the author investigates the question "an vir sapiens ducat uxorem" (col. 289). Simultaneously, Agrippa's words refer to the standard example of the philosophical *thesis* or *propositum*, well known from the collections of *Progymnasmata* or *Elementary Exercises*, and thus tell the reader what kind of rhetorical writing he must expect.

[12] *De originali peccato disputabilis opinionis declamatio*, (Antwerp, 1529), fols. I3v–K4r; reprinted in *Opera* (1970), 2:551–65. See M. van der Poel, "Agrippa von Nettesheim and Rhetoric: An Examination of the Declamatio de Originali Peccato," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 39 (1990): 177–206.

dressing the same issue as the theologians. In short, one must conclude that in the hands of Agrippa and of Erasmus, the declamation is a totally different kind of writing.

These formal differences correspond with differences in conceptual approach. As is clear from the brief outline given above, Erasmus discusses marriage mainly from an ethical point of view. For him, marriage answers to the natural disposition of man, both physical and psychological, and it is therefore a source of happiness. Agrippa's treatment of the subject, by contrast, strikes the reader as rather dogmatical.

A full discussion of the declamation is not possible in the context of this paper, but a few general observations will illustrate the point adequately. In order to explain God's intention concerning the creation of the special bond between man and woman, Agrippa identifies three formal goals in the institution of matrimony: marriage is necessary because God did not intend man to live a solitary life, because God ordered man to guarantee the preservation of the human race, and finally because it is necessary in order to avoid illicit sexual behavior. These three reasons are supported by biblical testimonies: Gen. 2.18: "Dixit quoque Dominus Deus: Non est bonum esse hominem solum; faciamus ei adiutorium simile sibi"; Gen. 1.28 : "Crescite et multiplicamini"; 1 Cor. 7.9: "Quod si non se continent, nubant; melius est enim nubere quam uri." The three-fold division reflects the view of marriage as the image of trinity and is very common in scholastic sources, which discern three elements in the essence, in the institution, in the cause, in the benefits and in the impediments of marriage.[13] It seems safe to say that Agrippa's line of approach is inspired by the medieval, more specifically by the scholastic literature on matrimony, although it must be stressed that this statement does not necessarily imply that the medieval scholarly literature has in fact influenced Agrippa's views. Furthermore, Agrippa's dogmatism is manifest in the way that he considers marriage, in the light of the three Biblical testimonies, as a categorical obligation for human beings. His dogmatism can be clearly illustrated if we take a look at Agrippa's discussion of the first reason ("God did not intend man to live a solitary life"). Interestingly, Agrippa does here talk about the human values connected with marriage, such as *caritas coniugalis*, yet not so much in human terms, as the attainment of happiness, but rather in theological terms, as obedience to the divine law. The closing statement of this discussion illustrates this point. Those who choose to remain unmarried or to break up their marital relationship, Agrippa warns the reader, will necessarily lead an unhappy life because they trespass against the law of God. Similarly, when Agrippa discuss-

[13] An excellent example of this kind of treatment is provided by Anselmus von Laon (ca. 1050–1117), one of the leading figures of the early scholastic period, in the *Sententie* (*Systematische Sentenzen*, herausgegeben (...) von Prof. Dr. F. P. Bliemetzrieder, [Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1919], 112–13).

es the contemporary abuses of the institution of matrimony, he juxtaposes the absolute necessity of marriage and the equally absolute compulsion to freely choose a partner on the basis of *consensus amoris*. His point is to criticize on dogmatic grounds the arrangement of marriages by parents or guardians, who act for the sake of financial gain or social advancement and who thus frustrate the freedom of matrimonial consent required by the sacrament. Fully in line with orthodoxy, Agrippa condemns these parents and guardians as grave sinners. This position is also forcefully expressed when Agrippa discusses the intervention of secular authorities in marriage contracts and the existing legal obstacles to marriages, such as the levy of a tithe on the dowry. Those who are responsible for these rules are called, in the uncompromising phraseology so familiar from the *De vanitate*, enemies of God, blasphemers of Jesus Christ, destroyers of the Church, and contaminators of sacred rites.[14]

Thus, the difference in outlook between Agrippa and Erasmus is evident. For Agrippa, a good marriage has an objective value, to be judged in terms of biblical orthodoxy. According to Erasmus's *Praise of Marriage*, a good marriage has a clearly vocational aspect, defined in terms of human conditions, both individual and social.

If the biblical commandment to get married is valid universally, as Agrippa claims, what about those who are engaged by vows to a monastic life? In other words, is Agrippa a proponent of marriage in contrast with monastic celibacy? Agrippa is quite clear on this point. He writes that the biblical command does not pertain to these people, because their vow of chastity "makes them immune," just as those who are impotent are exempted because their "natural weakness excuses them":

> Duo tamen hominum genera a contrahendo matrimonio excipi possunt, qui scilicet ob naturae imbecillitatem ad hoc penitus inepti sunt, utputa frigidi, maleficiati, furiosi, pueri, impotentes, & eunuchi: atque qui acti spiritu Dei perpetuam castitatem delegerunt. [fol. E2v]

The point is repeated in the last paragraph of the declamation, where Agrippa stresses that every human being must be united in wedlock,

> nisi illum (sc. hominem) aliquid minus homine natura impedita produxerit, uel aliquid maius homine humanas uires transcendendo angelicam castitatem perpetuo seruare delegerit. [fol. (E6)r]

This specification seems important on two accounts. First of all, it is yet another demonstration of Agrippa's dogmatism in that it shows that he sees marriage predominantly as a remedy for concupiscence. Throughout his works, Agrippa displays an extremely negative attitude towards sexuality. In

[14] In this passage Agrippa also attacks the custom of charivari, which is, according to Agrippa, inspired by the public disapproval of second marriages.

this, he is diametrically opposed to Erasmus, who had written in his declamation:

> Nec audio qui mihi dicat foedam illam pruriginem et Veneris stimulos non a natura, sed peccato profectam.[15]

The position Erasmus criticizes is the generally negative attitude to sexuality in Christian thinking, but it is all the more a rejection of the opinion of Agrippa, who had gone so far as to identify sexuality with original sin in his declamation of 1518.

It is clear that Agrippa's attitude to marriage must be seen in the context of his view of monasticism. In his *Sermo de vita monastica*, a short address of unknown date, Agrippa depicts a hierarchy of ways of living, based on scriptural exegesis.[16] At the bottom of the hierarchy he places the *vita peccatrix* of those who do not accept any religion. The middle part of the hierarchical structure is taken up by those who do have faith; they live either a purgatorial life striving for purification (*vita purgatoria, activa*) or a life of discipline enjoying the experience of divine wisdom (*vita disciplinae, contemplativa*). The top of the hierarchy is formed by those who are monks in the true sense of the word, that is, those who imitate the life of Christ (*vita perfecta, exemplaris*) in that they sublimate the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*. Like Christ, the true monk, untroubled by any vice, both enjoys the contemplation of the divine, and sets by his actions an example for his fellow men to imitate. The details of this address do not matter in the present context, but it is important to remark that Agrippa considers the monastic vows, and especially the vow of chastity, as the key external characteristic of the most excellent way of life. This view is also expressed in the *Declamation On original Sin* from 1518. Thus it is clear that, however much he considers marriage a valuable institution, Agrippa believes that monastic celibacy is a higher form of living because it brings man closer to God.

The above remarks hardly constitute a full interpretation of Agrippa's *Declamation on the Sacrament of Matrimony*, nor do they contain all the elements necessary to provide a full answer to the question mentioned in the title of this paper. For example, it would be interesting to examine in detail Erasmus's views on specific dogmatic points which Agrippa supports, such as the indissolubility of marriage (only to be annulled in the case of fornication), the view that children are not a *meritum naturae* but a *benedictio et mysterium omnipotentis Dei*, or the advocacy of second marriage for widows and widowers.

Furthermore, it is important to realize that a fair assessment of Agrippa's views must include a reflection on the question whether the wide range of extra-biblical literature on marriage with which Agrippa was so familiar (the

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[15] ASD, I,5, ed. J.-Cl. Margolin, 398–400.

[16] This *sermo* appears for the first time in a reprint of the small tracts (see note 8 for the first edition), published in 1532. It was reissued in *Opera* (1970), 2:565–75.

church fathers and the extensive and multifarious post-classical dogmatical and canonical literature) exerted any positive influence on the formation of his thought on marriage. In this context his philosophical and anthropological views should be carefully taken into account. Agrippa believed, in Neoplatonic fashion, that man is created in the image of God as a microcosm constituted by a vegetative world, a celestial world, and a spiritual world. God is present in all three worlds, and therefore human love (not to be understood as sexual passion) and procreation are divine, as Agrippa explains in his early *Oration on Love*.[17] This philosophical background should be taken into account if we wish to understand the full purport of Agrippa's statement at the end of the declamation that marriage is necessary in order to realize one's humanity as the image of God. Thus, it does not need explanation that a thorough assessment of Agrippa's views on marriage in the light of his anthropology and philosophy will probably have a very un-Erasmian tenor.

University of Nijmegen

[17] *Oratio in Praelectionem Convivii Platonis, Amoris laudem continens*, in *Opera* (1970), 2:1074–88. This is the first of ten orations which were published in Cologne, 1535. It is probably one of Agrippa's early writings, because it mentions the *De praecellentia et nobilitate foeminei sexus* (1509) as a work that the author is planning to write.

The Allegorical Meaning of the Chrysopoeia *of Ioannes Aurelius Augurellus*[1]

ZWEDER VON MARTELS

In his poem *Chrysopoeia* the Italian Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli explains how gold can be made from base metals. Jacob Burckhardt mentioned it in his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*. His belief was that alchemy did not play an important role in the Italian Renaissance, and he supported this view with the following story. When Augurelli dedicated his poem to Pope Leo X in 1515, a beautiful but nonetheless empty leather purse was given in return; the pope added that it would not be difficult for Augurelli to fill it with gold.[2] Thus the great historian depicted Augurelli as a fool and alchemy as a foolish art. However, Burckhardt would not have used this story if he had known it was a forgery. Actually, Augurelli was given a canonicate in Treviso.[3] Should we change our opinion of Augurelli, and alchemy, and the pope?

We still know very little about alchemy at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. This secret art had become popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but afterwards was held in great contempt by men like Dante and Petrarch. In Augurelli's time it was probably practiced here and there, sometimes in the shadow of a lively industry producing glass, artificial pearls, gold and other industrial products. The decree against alchemy issued by the Venetian senate in 1488 may also be significant.[4]

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[1] This research has been made possible by a fellowship funded by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[2] J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Stuttgart, 1976), 516.

[3] R. degli Azzoni Avogaro, "Notizie di G. A. Augurello Canonico di Trivigi," *Nuova raccolta d'opsucoli scientifici e filologici* 6 (Venice, 1760): 153–315, see esp. 180–90.

[4] Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science. IV: The Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1934), 349.

More important to us is the change in attitude toward alchemy which was taking place in the last part of the fifteenth century. It was brought about by the growing influence of Neo-Platonism, which prepared the ground on which alchemy would thrive for a second time through the works of men like Paracelsus, Michael Maier, Johan Baptista Van Helmont and Isaac Newton.

Let us look at what Marsilio Ficino, the leader of the so-called Florentine Platonic Academy, said about alchemy. We know he was more openly interested in subjects like medicine, astrology and magic. Some of his remarks, however, show that he agreed with the main principles of the alchemical tradition.[5] But elsewhere, in a letter to Joacopo Antiquari, Ficino gives an allegorical meaning to alchemy: he expresses contempt for those vain and greedy alchemists who were trying to transform base metals into gold; according to him only those succeed who "... as far as possible subject concupiscence, irascibility and action to contemplation—so much so that they achieve gold in place of other metals, that is in place of the vilest things, the most precious, and in place of the transitory the eternal."[6]

But does the influence of Ficino's Neo-Platonism also explain the popularity of Augurelli's alchemical poem in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? And if this may be our conclusion, does it mean that we should regard Augurelli as one of the first to bring alchemy back to the attention of a broader public? These are interesting questions. But in modern literature the poem has never been associated with Neo-Platonism. For a long time there has been uncertainty about the author's intention. One interpretation considers the poem to be a joke. Others regard it as an allegory or an exercise in style.[7] In order to solve this problem, Augurelli's *Chrysopoeia* will be related to his earlier poetry, and also to Virgil's works, as they were interpreted in the Renaissance.

Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli was born in Rimini in about 1450. While still quite young he stayed for some time in Rome and Florence, but the greater part of his life was spent in Padua, Venice and Treviso, where he died in 1524.[8] There are three printed editions of his Latin poetry. The second one, dating from 1505, contains most of the poems of the first edition of

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[5] C. V. Kaske and J. R. Clark, eds. Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life. A Critical Edition and Translation with Introduction and Notes.* Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. 57 (Binghamton, New York, 1989), 256, 288, and 502 (s.v. "metalla").

[6] Ficino, op. cit., 53. The editors, C. V. Kaske and J. R. Clark, did not see the allegorical meaning in Ficino's judgment.

[7] Georg Roellenbleck, *Das epische Lehrgedicht Italiens im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur literaturgeschichte des Humanismus und der Renaissance.* Münchener Romantische Arbeiten, vol. 43 (Munich, 1975), 123–25. See also R. Weiss's informative article: "Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli," *Dizionario Biografico Italiano* 4 (Rome, 1962), 578–81, see esp. 580.

[8] There is a short summary of the literature related to Augurelli's life in Roellenbleck, op. cit., 245–46.

1492, but also the poems found in a manuscript of 1495, and many new poems as well. The third edition from 1515 contains the text of the *Chrysopoeia*.[9] Augurelli's poems deal with subjects such as love, philosophical and moral issues, style and language, and natural history. From them we learn much about his life and thought. As has already been suggested, the poet was strongly influenced by Neo-Platonism. Probably during his stay in Florence he became friends with Marsilio Ficino, to whom he dedicated one of his poems.[10] Augurelli's study of Platonism was mentioned more than once by his friend Girolamo Bologni.[11]

If we turn our attention to the very first poem of the 1505 collection of Augurelli's poetry, its title strikes the eye. It reads: "Poetas Divino Furore excitari, et prope felices esse." This poem demonstrates a very important element of Ficino's doctrine. The poet is seen as a seer inspired by God and as a consequence he is believed to enjoy divine vision in a state of inspired frenzy.[12] The Platonic idea of the *furor poeticus*, which we also encounter in Augurelli's *Chrysopoeia*, helped to pave the way for another important feature of Italian Neo-Platonism, namely its concern with the vernacular. Dante's *Divina Commedia* and the Italian poems of Petrarch were often read and imitated.[13] In this, too, Augurelli followed their example, writing many Italian poems in Petrarch's style.[14]

The *furor poeticus* doctrine also influenced the extensive commentaries on Dante and Virgil by Christoforo Landino, professor of poetry in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century and a keen disciple of Ficino. During the Middle Ages Virgil's *Aeneid* was not read as a national epic, designed to celebrate the origin and growth of the Roman Empire, but rather in an allegorical way. This allegorical interpretation was refined by Landino, first in the fascinating third and fourth books of his *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, then in his commentary on the first six books of the *Aeneid* together with the *Georgics*.[15] The *Disputationes Camaldulenses* are discussions mainly between Al-

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[9] Printed editions of Augurelli's poetry: *Carminum Liber primus* (Verona, 1491); *Poemata* (Venice, 1505); *Chrysopoeiae libri III et Geronticon liber primus* (Venice, 1515). See also n.14 (Italian poems).

[10] See the twenty-third poem in *Carminum liber I* (Verona 1491): "Ad Marsilium Ficinum Platonicum in liuorem." Ficino's published correspondence includes some letters to Augurelli (see Ficino, *Opera Omnia* [Basel 1576], 609, 651, 754, 870).

[11] R. degli Azzoni Avogaro, op. cit., 202.

[12] For the *furor poeticus* doctrine see: August Buck, *Der Einfluss des Platonismus auf die volkssprachliche Literatur im Florentiner Quattrocento*, Schriften und Vorträge des Petrarca-Instituts Köln, vol. 19 (Krefeld, 1965), 15, 24–26.

[13] See Buck, op. cit.

[14] For the editions of Augurelli's Italian poems, see Weiss, op. cit., 281. For Augurelli's interest in the vernacular language, see R. Weiss, "G. A. Augurelli, Girolamo Avogadro, and Isabella d'Este," *Italian Studies* 17 (1962): 1–11.

[15] For Landino's interpretation of Dante and Virgil see: Eberhard Müller-Bochat, *Leon Baptista Alberti und die Vergil-Deutung der Disputationes Camuldulenses. Zur allegorische Dichter-Erklärung*

berti Battista and Lorenzo il Magnifico. Alberti explains Aeneas's long wanderings from Troy to Latium as follows: Troy stands for the "vita voluptuosa" (voluptuous life), which of course should be left behind; Carthage corresponds to the "vita activa"; Latium, the aim of Aeneas's journey, symbolizes the "vita contemplativa," where the hero will find the highest form of felicity, the "summum bonum." Aeneas's descent into the underworld, in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, was seen as a process of catharsis by way of contemplation and of confrontation with the vices. Wisdom, "sapientia," was the highest virtue which could be reached. It was symbolized by the golden branch given to Aeneas in order to open the entrance to the underworld, as gold was the most precious of all metals. Landino, of course, drew parallels between Virgil's sixth book and Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

It is clear from his work that Augurelli knew these allegorical interpretations. He, too, used the allegory of the underworld as a catharsis of the soul in his own poetry. Let us therefore first cast a glance at one of his smaller poems. It is known as the *Chrysopoeia Minor* (not to be confused with the didactic poem of the same title).

In this poem and in a second called the *Vellus Aureum* the theme of the golden fleece was linked to alchemy for the first time, by about 1495.[16] The poet first refers to a dream. Albertus Vonicus, to whom the poem is dedicated, is asked to hear what the poet happened to see in a moment of leisure; he should not think of it as a dream, but as something real; a wise man is able to see many things after the removal of the veil which often prevents our eyes from discerning the precise differences between things. In my view, these words characterize the story which follows as an allegory. Note how Augurelli imitates Dante's *Divina Commedia* from the very beginning. He writes how, in the middle of his journey, having endured horrendous dangers courageously, he felt inclined to abandon his difficult life. He would already have returned, if his terrible struggle had not moved the gods to support him. What follows is a journey through a dark world, similar to the underworld and full of hardship and suffering. His path leads upwards and he arrives in a shadowy valley where he finds a sheep with a splendid fleece. In love with the sight of the fleece, he begins to follow the sheep and he feeds it with grass and water. Its fleece changes color, more or less in accordance with the alchemical process and finally it becomes a golden fleece.

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bei Christoforo Landino, Schriften und Vorträge des Petrarca-Instituts Köln, vol. 21 (Krefeld, 1968); Manfred Lentzen, *Studien zur Dante-Exegese Christoforo Landinos, Mit einem Anhang bisher unveröffentlichter Briefe und Reden* (Cologne & Vienna, 1971); Roberto Cardini, *Christoforo Landini. Scritti critici e teorici*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1974); Christoforo Landino, *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, ed. P. Lohe, Istituto Internazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Studi e Testi, vol. 6 (Florence, 1980).

[16] The 1495 manuscript makes first mention of the *Chrysopoeia* (written in Greek letters); it was first printed in the 1505 edition (see following note). The *Vellus Aureum* was first published in 1505 (*Iambicus liber* I, *Carmen* V).

When this sheep dies, he carries the golden fleece away on his shoulders and takes it to his native country like a second Jason.[17] The allegorical sense of this poem seems clear if we remember what has been said of Landino's interpretation of the *Aeneid*. We may consider the golden fleece to be an allegory of wisdom and the knowledge of God. The long journey stands for the purification of the soul after a period of contemplation.

Now we shall discuss Augurelli's main work, his *Chrysopoeia*. This poem was first announced in the 1505 collection of Augurelli's poetry. In this interesting poem the poet expresses his wish to emulate Virgil's *Georgics*. His subject will not be the things living above the ground; on the contrary, he has chosen a far more difficult one: lifeless matter in the depths of the earth.[18] Without a doubt he already had his alchemical poem in mind, because at the beginning of the third book of the *Chrysopoeia* he speaks again of the "depths of the earth" as the subject of this poem.[19]

The meaning of the *Chrysopoeia* is explained in four very obscure lines at the very end of the third and last book. Having summarized the poetical genres used by him in the past, he continues as follows (*Chrysopoeia*, III, 689–92):

> ... nunc lusi somno velut excitus arcto,
> Qua data porta inter geminas, quae somnia servant:
> Cornea nec patuit, nec prorsus eburna.
> Emissus cecini falsis insomnia verbis.

What do these words mean? They certainly do not refer to the poem as a joke as has been suggested by some because of Augurelli's use of the word "lusi"; it is no coincidence that we find the same word used by Virgil at the very end of his *Georgics* where it means to write poetry. In order to explain Augurelli's lines, we must concentrate on the meaning of the two gates of sleep, one of horn, the other of ivory. This image is derived from the end of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. There, as Anchises predicts the glorious future of the Roman empire to his son Aeneas, just before the hero leaves the underworld, we read the following words:

> Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur

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[17] See 1505 edition, *Sermonum liber* II, *Sermo* XI:

[v.10] Transieram medium sub iter iam mille feroci
Ipse animo horrendis perpessus monstra periclis,
Cum me difficilis ceperunt taedia uitae.
Et iam terga locis vertebam fessus iniquis,
Numina ni tanti mouissent sancta labores.
Nam quis tot uastas potuisset repere rupes
Vi sine coelesti? [etc.]

[18] See *Iambicus liber* II, *Carmen* XXXI in the edition of 1505: "Ad Musam, quod in scribendis iis, quae sub terra gignuntur, liceat Virgilium imitari, qui quae supra pullulant, felicissime cecinit."

[19] *Chrysopoeia*, III, v. 21.

> Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
> Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
> Sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.
> His ubi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
> Prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna,
> Ille viam secat ad naves sociosque revisit.
>
> (*Aeneid*, VI, 893–99)

There is nowadays much uncertainty about the meaning of these lines on the two gates. But in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Servius was still a helpful authority for this passage. According to him, Aeneas's passage through the ivory gate meant that the story was fictitious.[20] And what did Landino say? In his substantial commentary on the first six books of the *Aeneid* Landino followed Servius and Macrobius in regarding the gate of horn as a kind of veil which covers divine truth, but which at the same time allows the eye of the soul to look through it and acquire knowledge. The ivory gate, however, was regarded as a veil impenetrable by the eye and Aeneas's departure from the underworld through the ivory gate meant that everything which was written about the underworld was to be understood as fictitious, in other words as allegorical.[21] So now we are able to translate the final lines of the *Chrysopoeia*:

> Now I have written a poem, as if I had awoken from a deep sleep by the twin gates that guard sleep. The gate of horn did not open for us, and the ivory gate only opened a little. Having passed through, I sang this dream with fictitious words.

What, then, is the allegorical meaning of the *Chrysopoeia*? This can best be shown by a short summary of some crucial passages. Not surprisingly, the opening of Augurelli's first book reminds us of Virgil's *Georgics*. He deals with the question whether it will be possible to make gold. A theoretical explanation is given of the origin of metals under the ground, with examples of the mining of gold. The poet also discusses men's hunger for this precious metal because of its excellent qualities. The end of the first book is important. Here the author asks for Hermes' assistance, the god who keeps away the unworthy, but encourages the good to pursue what he (Hermes) knows. Hermes teaches the universal medicine which will cure ill people and which will prolong youth. This sacred medicine does not allow us to break our word or cheat. And the man who is allowed to use it, with the help of the gods, will hold in contempt most other things, but will safeguard equity and

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[20] Servius writes: "... Vult autem intelligi falsa esse omnia quae dixit." See Virgil, *Opera Omnia* (Venice, 1544), end of *Aeneid*, VI.

[21] Landino comments on "Porta eburna" (*Aeneid*, VI, 898) as follows: "Vt ostendat quae scribit omnia ficta esse." See Virgil, *Opera* (Florence, Printer of Benignus, 1487).

justice; being richer than the rich, he will pretend to be poor and he will support the poor, etc.[22]

In the second book the poet indicates that the true alchemist should search for a substance which is hidden in secret places. This powder is like gold but even purer and the alchemist needs it to change base metals into gold. The poet then portrays an alchemist who mixes all kinds of things together, but without success, because only equal things can bring forth equal things. Fraudulent and greedy people will never be able to make gold. Only a wise man who honors the gods and who is really interested in the causes of things, should pursue this art with all his strength. Experience will teach him. His journey will be long, and, making slow progress, he will feed his eyes and mind with the marvels which unfold, until he discloses a hidden treasure of gold and silver in a secret place in the earth.[23] The poet de-

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[22] *Chrysopoeia*, I, 591–616. See especially:

[593:]

Nec latuit [sc. Hermes] tanto duxit quos munere dignos,
Edoctos sed iam docuit, penitusque remotos
Rebus ab his, tanquam non dignos, terruit omnis
Ne peterent, quae non unquam contingere possent;
Jamque probos tandem accendens, ut quaerere vellent
Quae sciret, [etc.]

[608:]

Hoc sed qui poterit diis adspirantibus uti,
Et praestare etiam quoties defecerit, ille
Plurima contemnens, et servantissimus aequi
Hinc erit et frugi, curasque eludet inanes;
Et dites supra gradiens ditissimus omnis,
Pauperiem simulabit ovans, ac saepe benignus
Proderit, et miseris latitans succurret egenis:
Innocuusque aliis sibimet gaudebit adesse,
Et facilem ducet momenta per omnia vitam.

[23] *Chrysopoeia*, II, 153–82:

[v. 153:]

Quare agite exemptam tenebris hanc cernite lucem
Mortales, caecisque viis avertite gressum,
Ac prohibete nefas tantum, et depellite virus,
Infectum quo vulgus iners se posse per artem
Divinam miscere manus putat, abdita rerum
Quae valet et causas adeo spectare latentis.
Hanc non impuris manibus fraudator avarus
Attingat, decoctor item, quisquisve fabrili
Arte valet, [etc.]

[v. 167:]

At sapiens, superos in primis qui colat, et qui
Noscendis penitus causis modo gaudeat, huc se
Conferat, hanc totis sectetur viribus artem.
Huic comes haerebit gravis exploratio rerum
Intima naturae passim vestigia servans: . . .

[v. 177:]

scribes a hole in the ground which leads to a cavern. A narrow, steep and thorny path leads to this place. In front of the entrance to the cave there is a flat and level place surrounded by terrifying shadows, a river and a border of stone. The man who enters happily will lose all human stain and mortal weight, his spirit will be pure and light. There he will find a nymph surrounded with things of gold. Here he must search for the first beginnings of his great enterprise, and he will receive a metal purified from all squalor. In this metal lives a spirit, a "spiritus," which is waiting to be freed.[24] After many digressions the poet explains that there are more caves like this one. And those who go there will be sent back with generous gifts by the nymphs that live there, provided that they come with pure hands and heart to this place where nymphs comb off the golden fleeces found by Jason and Hercules after a long search.[25]

Ille igitur tanto comitatu septus inibit
Longum iter, et lento pervadens omnia passu
Continue miris oculos mentemque repertis
Pascet, et assiduum fallent spectata laborem;
Donec in arcana tectos tellure recludet
Thesauros ignotum argenti pondus et auri.

[24] *Chrysopoeia*, II, 259–90:

[v. 259:]
Est lucus summo secreti in vertice montis,
Fons ubi decurrit nitidis argenteus undis,
Et specus exesum tendens aperitur in antrum.
Intus habet praestans divino numine Virgo;
Iuricolae Glauram prisco quam nomine dicunt.
Huc densos inter vepres angustus et asper
Acclivisque aegre perducit callis euntem.
Vestibulum ante ipsum speluncae laevis et aequa
Planicies, non ampla tamen, horrentibus umbris
Cingitur, ac fluvij ripis, et margine Tophi;
Obducta viridi musco spissisque Corymbis.
Ingreditur vero siquis feliciter, omnem
Continuo labem humanam, mirabile dictu,
Exuit, ac pondus subito mortale relinquit;
Et purus penitusque levis fit spiritus illi,
Quique aditus lustret cunctos, agilisque feratur
Per cuneos: quibus in mediis sedet aurea Nympha,
Aureus et circum thalamus, supraque renidet; [etc.]

[25] *Chrysopoeia*, II, 347–62:

[v. 347:]
Nam non una tibi regio dabit, aut locus unus:
Montibus at multae spaciantur Oreades altis,
Antra quibus cura est servare, ingentiaque intus
Munera, iam quorum venientes saepe remittunt
Participes, manibus puris et pectore si qui
Accessere illuc, dites ubi pectine eburno
Aurea perpetuo depectunt vellera Nymphae,
Quae prima heroum pubes rate sancta petivit;

In the second part of the second book and in the third book, the poet explains at length how the true "artist" can reach his goal. Very important elements for the artist's eventual success are seclusion and secrecy (*Chrysopoeia*, II, lines 27ff.). In the end he will gain his reward: gold in great quantity, but only if he follows closely the method indicated by the poet (*Chrysopoeia*, III, vv. 537ff.).

These are the main points of this poem. Clearly Augurelli was not so much interested in the making of real gold, but rather in the purification of the soul and in the path which leads to the greatest happiness. This must be the meaning of the alchemical process. I believe there is a striking similarity with Landino's interpretation of Aeneas's wanderings till he reached the "summum bonum." Furthermore the condition of the "vita contemplativa" is fulfilled. But reading Augurelli's poem is like a dream. Often its essential meaning seems clear to us, but then, only a few lines later it disappears, becomes vague and faint, when concrete information about furnaces, glassware and the alchemist's house introduces confusion and distracts us from the internal message of the poem and the real intention of the poet. Here I should like to remind you of Ficino's pronouncement on alchemy, quoted above. Both Ficino and Augurelli are interested in the soul, not in gold, which is the object of greed. In Augurelli's poetry many more examples can be found which reflect his interest in morals and the virtuous life.[26] It must also be emphasized that Augurelli's poetry follows Virgil's *Georgics* very closely. Landino saw the *Georgics* as an encouragement to return to a way of life in which vices such as avarice and deceit did not occur. Farming, as described by Virgil was in his view similar to a heaven on earth.[27]

It seems to me that the image of Jason's search for the golden fleece was the starting point from which Augurelli developed his wish to write a didactic poem on the bowels of the earth. Of course, the whole enterprise was to a great extent a serious attempt to emulate Virgil's poetry, his style and language. This is reiterated time and time again in the poem itself.[28] But I am

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Nec timuit tantos per fluctus quaerere summis
Tum ducibus ditem sub Iasone et Hercule Colchon.
Alter inauratam noto de vertice pellem,
Principium velut ostendit, quod sumere possis.
Alter onus quantum subeas, quantumque laborem
Impendas crassam circa molem, et rude pondus,
Edocuit; neque enim quam debes sumere, magnum
Invenisse adeo est, habilem sed reddere massam.

[26] See, for instance, the 1505 edition of *Sermonum Liber* II, *Sermo* II: Ad Ioannem Antonivm Scholam Franchi Pontificis Nepotem: Exhortatio ad uirtutem; ibid., *Carminum Liber* II, *Sermo* IX: Ad semet adhortatio.

[27] See Landino's introduction to his commentary on the *Georgics* in Virgil, *Opera* (Florence, Printer of Benignus, 1487).

[28] See *Chrysopoeia*, II, 6ff.; III, 11ff.; III, 107ff. etc.

also convinced that both the allegorical message of this poem, which made the text so attractive to his contemporaries, and the study of alchemy itself were very serious matters for Augurelli, though I doubt whether he ever entered a laboratory to make gold himself.

Groningen, the Netherlands

Ein lateinisches Gelegenheitsgedicht des 16. Jahrhunderts aus Siebenbürgen

LORE WIRTH-POELCHAU

In Archiven und Bibliotheken Siebenbürgens sind noch heute bemerkenswerte Schätze an lateinischen Schriften und Drucken vorhanden, die das Interesse der neulateinischen Forschung sehr wohl verdienen. Durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch gab es, abgesehen von den ungarischen Bildungszentren, im deutschen Milieu der Städte Kronstadt/Brasov, Hermannstadt/Sibiu, Schässburg/Sighisoara, Mediasch/Medias, Bistritz/Bistrita, Klausenburg/Cluj sowohl eine alle Gebiete der Literatur und Wissenschaft umfassende lateinischsprachige Produktion als auch eine rege Sammeltätigkeit. Daher bedarf es keines aussergewöhnlichen Spürsinnes, um eine Fülle von Gelegenheitsgedichten jeder Art aufzustöbern, die teils in grossen Convoluten zusammengestellt sind, teils in Tagebüchern und Briefen verstreut aufgesucht werden können.

Ein besonderes Exemplar dieser Gattung ist fraglos das von Johannes Sommer für den Senator Antonius Jungk in Hermannstadt 1568 verfasste Hochzeitsgedicht "Hortulus ingenui amoris."[1] Es ist ebenso durch seinen Umfang von 328 Versen (164 elegischen Distichen) wie auch durch den von den üblichen Lobsprüchen, erotischen Anspielungen, usw. abweichenden Inhalt bemerkenswert und weist Elemente altrömischer Hochzeitsgedichte wie auch der emblematischen Dichtung auf.[2]

Der Dichter beginnt damit, dass ihn zur Zeit der Ernte in Bistritz die

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[1] Ioannis Sommeri Pirnensis Reges Hungarici et Clades Moldavica, cuius etiam Hortulus amoris cum Colica, in formam Dramatis scripta, ad finem adiectus est. Omnia studio et opera Stephani Helneri, Senatoris Bistriciensis, in Transylvania, collecta et in lucem edita. Witebergae 1580.

[2] Ich möchte an dieser Stelle nur kurz den Inhalt des Gedichts referieren, um einen Vorgeschmack von Idee und Form dieses Werkes zu vermitteln. Eine genauere Behandlung soll einer zukünftigen Ausgabe vorbehalten bleiben.

Kunde von der bevorstehenden Vermählung seines Freundes Antonius mit der Jungfrau Barbara erreicht.

Nuper ut excussis flaventes area spicas,
Et iacuit culmis libera facta Ceres:
Tempore quo Titan sitientes prospicit agros,
Subque colorato plaustra Leone trahit.
Prodiga sermonum, pernicibus aera pennis
Findebat, liquidas Fama profecta vias.
Huc ubi Bistricium cognominis alluit amnis,
Principis Hunnyadae moenia clara domo.
Deque tuis passim narrabat garrula toedis
Antoni magnos inter habende viros.
Omnia vulgatu peragrabat compita rumor,
Multorumque tuus vox fuit una torus.[3]

Sommer möchte sogleich den Schulpflichten entrinnen und nach Hermannstadt an den Cibin eilen, kann jedoch seinen Posten nicht verlassen und will deshalb mit Hilfe der Erato ein Gedicht verfassen und den Freunden schikken. Er versetzt sich dazu in Gedanken in den Garten des Stephan Helner, draussen vor der Stadt, am Bistritzfluss.

Hortulus irriguos inter blandissimus amnes
Non ita vicina distat ab urbe procul
Ipsa loci genium natura habet: aurea florum
Copia, paessanas aequat odore rosas.
Ille vel Alcinoi certaverit aemulus horto,
Blandiciisque suis, deliciisque suis.
Quodque magis pulchrum, Domini virtute superbit,
Et decus ex illo nobilitatus habet.[4]

Dort trifft er auf die Göttin Pomona, die Helner, dem Besitzer des Gartens, hilft, Baumschösslinge auszugraben, die als Geschenk für die Hochzeit in Hermannstadt bestimmt sind. Der Dichter nennt die Bäume und beschreibt sie mit Deutungen, die sich auf Ehe und Hausstand beziehen.
— Die Frucht des *Zitronenbaumes* ist nur angenehm, wenn sie von kundiger Hand zubereitet wird. So können auch die Freuden der Liebe Genuss bereiten, sonst Missvergnügen.
— Der *Epheu*, der alles umschlingt und mit immergrünem Laub umgibt, ist ein Sinnbild der ehelichen Umarmungen und Küsse und der nie aufhörenden Liebe.
— Auch der *Buchsbaum*, dessen Blätter der Winterkälte Trotz bieten, ist ein Zeichen der immer blühenden, lebendigen Liebe.

[3] Hortulus, Vers 1–12.
[4] Hortulus, Vers 55–62.

— Von allen Bäumen wird allein der *Lorbeer* von Jupiters Blitz nicht getroffen. An diesen Baum hält sich die Klugheit des Bräutigams, die alle Zufälle vorausbedenkt und übersteht.
— Der *Maulbeerbaum*, der spät seine Blüten treibt, sei ein Vorbild dem Bräutigam, der für alle Dinge die passende Zeit wählen muss.
— Es folgen *Mandel-* und *Feigenbaum*, die ihre Blüten tragen, bevor sie noch Blätter haben. So gleichen sie dem Bräutigasm, der ohne vorherige Versprechungen das Nötige tut.
— Die *Zypresse*, seit je der Totenbaum, ist ein Zeichen für den langlebigen Ruf. Wie die Zweige aus ihrem Stamm gleich lang bleiben, soll ein Vater alle Kinder aus seinem Blut in gleicher Weise lieben.
— Für die Braut sind die den Atem verschönernde *Quitte* und der Schmuck der *Myrthe* passende Geschenke, für den Bräutigam Ölbaum und *Eiche*.
— Dagegen muss die *Steineiche* aus dem Garten entfernt warden, die sich spaltend und ausbreitend auf Streit hindeutet; sie soll der ehelichen Behausung fernbleiben.
— Doch auch die *Weide* darf nicht zugelassen werden, denn der Genuss ihres Samens verhindert das Entstehen einer Nachkommenschaft.
— Den Eingang des Gartens aber sollen Esche und Pappel behüten, die *Esche*, die so, wie sie die Schädlinge vom Garten abwehrt, das Eindringen schädlicher Einflüsse in die Ehe verhindert; die *Pappel*, deren stets sich bewegendes Laub den Menschen an die Veränderlichkeit des Schicksals und an die Vergänglichkeit des Lebens erinnert.
Mit einer Mahnung:

Haec bene si reputes, crescat feliciter hortus,
Vester et aeterno foedere crescat amor,[5] und guten Wünschen für das junge Paar: Vive decus patriae, cum dulce coniuge vive,
Et facili nostram suscipe fronte Deam.[6]

Schliesst der Dichter mit dem Gedanken an die Endlichkeit des Lebens und die bleibende Dauer der Dichtung:

Forsitan exiguo delebitur hortulus aevo,
Ceu nihil haec nobis vita perenne parit.
At non Pieria morientur sculpta Cupresso
Nomina, vitabit posthuma fama rogum.
Donec erunt homines, donec Phoebeia lampas,
Te mea vivaci carmine Musa feret.[7]

Alles, was Johannes Sommer gedichtet und geschrieben hat, ist in Siebenbürgen entstanden und von der Geschichte und den Personen dieses Landes

[5] Hortulus, Vers 307/308.
[6] Hortulus, Vers 317/318.
[7] Hortulus, Vers 323–28.

nicht zu trennen. Er war kein gebürtiger Siebenbürger Sachse, sondern wurde 1542 in Pirna/Sachsen geboren. Nach dem Studium in Frankfurt/Oder (1561) erschien er am Hof des Moldauischen Fürsten Jacobus Basilicus Heraclides (Despot Voda), der ihn bald zum Leiter der neuen protestantischen Lateinschule in Cotnari machte. Als der Fürst 1563 ermordet wurde, musste Sommer fliehen, kam nach Kronstadt, wurde dort 1565 zum Rektor des Gymnasiums ernannt, war 1567 im gleichen Amt in Bistritz tätig und lebte seit 1570 in Klausenburg, wo er bereits 1574, nur 32 Jahre alt, an der Pest gestorben ist.

In Sommers Leben und Schriften klingen viele Themen an, die für die siebenbürgische Literatur typisch sind. Sein erstes grosses Gedicht behandelt einen historischen Stoff: die "Reges Hungarici" besingen in über 1300 Versen die ungarischen Könige, ein Epos, das allerdings in elegischen Distichen verfasst ist. Es folgen die 15 Elegien der "Clades Moldavica" über die Moldauische Herrschaft des Jacobus Despota und sein unglückliches Ende. Freundschaften aus der Kronstädter Zeit lassen Gelegenheitsgedichte entstehen wie die auf Calixt Honterus, den Sohn des Reformators, und auf den gelehrten Stadtpfarrer Petrus Bogner. In Bistritz dann verbinden Sommer seine humanistischen Interessen mit Stephan Helner und seinem Kreis. Damals entsteht der "Hortulus ingenui amoris," und hier wird Sommer mit Ovid verglichen. Ausserdem nehmen seine Beziehungen zu den Unitariern in Klausenburg ihren Anfang, für deren Begründer, den Arzt Georg Blandrata, Sommer den satirischen Dialog "Colicae et Podagrae tyrannis, ad imitationem tragoediarum veterum breviter descripta" (1568) verfasst. Aus den letzten Lebensjahren in Klausenburg sind ausser einer "Oratio funebris" auf Johann II Sigismund Zápolya, nach ciceronischem Vorbild, und einer Prosavita des Jacobus Despota vor allem theologische Schriften erhalten, in denen sich Sommer mit der Lehre der Unitarier auseinandersetzt.[8]

Johannes Sommer kann also als durchaus repräsentativ für die Literatur Siebenbürgens gelten, auch wenn er nicht in diesem Lande aufgewachsen war. Ein Blick auf seine literarische Umgebung soll dies deutlich machen, freilich mit der Beschränkung auf die lateinischsprachigen Schriftwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, die vorwiegend in den Kreisen der deutschen Bevölkerung entstanden sind, deren kulturelle Zentren in Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, Schässburg, Mediasch, Klausenburg, Bistritz und Weissenburg (Alba Julia) lagen. Literatur aus dem ungarischen Milieu bleibt hier ausser Betracht; lateinisch schreibende Rumänen gab es zu der Zeit praktisch nicht, bildeten doch die Rumämanen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Siebenbürgen eine soziale Unterschicht, die auch politisch keinerlei Mitspracherecht besass.[9]

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[8] A. Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürgischen Antitrinitarier um 1570* (Budapest, 1961). A. Pirnát, "Der antitrinitarische Humanist Johannes Sommer und seine Tätigkeit in Klausenburg," in Joh. Irmscher (Hrsg.), *Renaissance und Humanismus* II (1962): 49ff.

[9] Im folgenden wird auf den bibliographischen Nachweis für die angeführten Schriften

Historisches Schrifttum ist aus der aussergewöhnlich bewegten Geschichte Siebenbürgens in grossen Mengen hervorgegangen. Lang ist die Reihe der Chroniken, Diarien, Turmknopfschriften, Monographien, Epochen- und Gesamtdarstellungen in lateinischer Prosa, deren Autoren oft verantwortliche Positionen in der Leitung des Landes einnahmen. Auch historische Dichtungen wie die des Johannes Sommer waren beliebt: Stephanus Taurinus (Stieröchsel) "Stauromachia" 1519, Johannes Lebel "De oppido Thalmus" 1542, Christian Schesaeus "Ruinae Pannonicae" 1571, ein Epos von Leonhard Uncius von 1579 über die ungarische Geschichte sind die bedeutendsten.

Das Interesse der Zeit für Kosmographie (Johannes Honterus), Geographie (Georg Reicherstorffer), Entdeckungen (Maximilianus Transylvanus), fremde Länder und Völker führen zu wissenschaftlichen Schriften, die mitunter auch didaktischen Zwecken dienen sollen. Die Begegnung mit fremden Völkern freilich schlägt besonders dann in eine existentielle Gefährdung um, wenn es sich um die Türken handelt. Am Anfang der reichhaltigen Türkenliteratur steht so das sog. Türkenbüchlein von 1481 des Ungenannten Mühlbächers (auch: Captivus Septemcastrensis) "De moribus et ritu Turcorum," neben dem auch das Tagebuch des 1661 in Geiselhaft in Konstantinopel verstorbenen Sachsencomes Johann Lutsch zu nennen ist.

Reiseberichte von Studenten, Beamten, Diplomaten, etc. in Brief-, Tagebuch- oder Berichtsform sind zahlreich, darunter zwei lateinische Dichtungen in elegischen Distichen: ein "Hodoeporicon itineris Argentoratensis" 1589, womit der spätere Rektor des Hermannstädter Gymnasiums, Georg Deidrich, seine als Student unternommene Reise von Siebenbürgen nach Strassburg schildert;[10] und von Johann Kinder von Friedenberg ein Diarium Itinerale seiner Reise von Hermannstadt nach Wittenberg, das "Hodoeporicum Topographicum" von 1693.

Die Zentren der Kultur lagen in den Städten mit ihren Kirchen und Schulen, wo die Aufnahme und Verarbeitung neuer geistiger Strömungen stattfand und die literarische und wissenschaftliche Aktivität gedieh. Da es in Siebenbürgen nie zu einer Universitätsgründung kam, zog die studierende Jugend an die Universitäten Europas, wodurch ein intensiver Austausch stets gewährleistet war, zumal mit den deutschsprachigen Ländern. Dass auf diese Weise sowohl humanistisches als auch reformatorisches Gedankengut nach Siebenbürgen gelangte, ist an den Schriften so bedeutender Männer der Kirche wie Johannes Honterus, des Reformators, und seines Freundes und Nachfolgers Valentin Wagner abzulesen, die durch die von Honterus gegründete Druckerei verbreitet wurden. Dieser schrieb unter anderem eine

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verzichtet. Sie sind in der Regel in den Archiven oder Bibliotheken Siebenbürgens vorhanden.

[10] Zu Deidrich vgl. H. Wiegand, *Kodoeporica. Studien zur neulateinischen Reisedichtung* (Baden-Baden, 1984) (Saeculum Spiritalia 12), 478f.

"Cosmographia" (1530; 1542 versifiziert), eine Schulordnung "Ordinatio studii Coronensis" (1543), eine Kirchenordnung "Reformatio Ecclesiarum Saxonicarum in Transylvania" (1547), ein "Compendium iuris civilis" und auch die Sammlung "Odae cum harmoniis."—Von Valentin Wagner, dem ersten Rektor des Kronstädter Gymnasiums, sind ein (nicht erhaltenes) Schuldrama "Amnon incestuosus" und, neben zahlreichen Büchern für den Schulunterricht, die 16 Elegien der "Praecepta vitae christianae" (1554) und die "Imagines mortis" (1557) zu nennen, das sind 17 zehnzeilige Gedichte zu Holzschnitten von Hans Holbein.

Ein späterer Stadtpfarrer von Kronstadt, Magister Marcus Fronius, entfaltete eine reiche literarische Produktion. Aus seiner Wittenberger Studienzeit stammen theologische Disputationen, aus seiner Lehrtätigkeit am Gymnasium Abhandlungen zu allen Wissenschaften, eine Schulrede "De impedimentis studiorum" (1691) und eine Schulordnung "Consilium de schola" (1704). Als Geistlicher verfasste er Schriften zum Katechismus und zur Predigtpraxis im "Diaconus Barcensis" (1705) und behandelte mehrfach die Hauptstücke des christlichen Glaubens, die auch den Haŭptinhalt seiner "Tusculanae Heltesdenses" (1704) bilden. Lateinisch geschriebene Tagebücher, historische Darstellungen und Gelegenheitsgedichte runden sein Werk ab.

Zu den im 16. Jahrhundert auch in Siebenbürgen virulenten religiösen Problemen und konfessionellen Streitfragen erschienen Stellungnahmen von so bemerkenswerten Autoren wie Franz Davidis, Caspar Helth, Christian Schesaeus. Dessen Rede auf der Synode 1580 "Historia repurgatae doctrinae coelestis in Transylvania et vicina Hungaria" behandelt die Thematik der Reformation ebenso wie auch später die "Concio sollenis et extraordinaria" (1650), die Andreas Oltardus in Hermannstadt hielt. Religiöse Dichtungen existieren von Valentin Wagner, Christian Schesaeus, Sebastian Listh und anderen.

Akademische Disputationen und wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, juristische und medizinische Schriften ebenso wie pädagogische oder moralische Erörterungen und vor allem Bücher für den Schulgebrauch—von Sentenzensammlungen aus antiken Autoren bis zum "Donatus Latino Germanicus" (1693) des gelehrten Magisters Valentin Greissing—liegen in grosser Zahl noch heute in den siebenbürgischen Archiven und Bibliotheken. Besonders finden sich dort auch ungezählte Gelegenheitsgedichte, von privaten Gratulations- und Kondolenzgedichten bis zu politischen Huldigungen. Beispielshalber seien nur die an den Sachsengrafen Valentin Franck von Franckenstein gerichteten und im sogenannten "Rosetum Franckianum" (1693) zusammengefügten Gedichte erinnert.

So lässt sich abschliessend feststellen, dass neulateinische Forscher mit Sicherheit ein reiches Material und ein lohnendes Arbeitsfeld antreffen würden in den Staatsarchiven in Kronstadt/Brasov, Hermannstadt/Sibiu, Klausenburg/Cluj, Tîrgu Mures, in der Brukenthal-Bibliothek in Hermann-

stadt, im Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche in Kronstadt, in der Biblioteca Batthyaneum in Alba Iulia und in der Bibliothek der Akademie in Klausenburg, wo überall gute Arbeitsmöglichkeiten bestehen und liebenswürdiger Empfang die Regel ist.

Hermannstadt / Sibiu

Alchemy, Astrology, and Ovid—
A Love Poem by Tycho Brahe

PETER ZEEBERG

The famous Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) was a scientist and a nobleman.[1] In the society of the day that was not a suitable combination. Indeed he was forced to make a choice between his allegiance to science and his allegiance to his class and its norms and ideals. When, at an early age, he decided to devote his life to astronomy and chemistry, he went so far as to make actual plans for emigration to some great city in central Europe where he would feel the ties to his background less.

That this did not happen was due to the Danish government. Someone must have seen Tycho's greatness, and they decided to invest enough money in him to reconcile science with nobility. He was offered the island of Hven (in the Sound between Zeeland and Scania) as a fief for life, the money to build a palace designed for his purpose, plus an annual grant to run a scientific academy in a style becoming to a nobleman. This was in 1576. Tycho accepted the offer, and for the next twenty years Hven was the center of the Danish Renaissance. Not only was it a scientific institution on an international level. The place had a sophisticated, international style, which was not found elsewhere in Denmark. Apart from some letters this sophistication is most clearly recognized in Tycho's Latin poetry—and that

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[1] A new standard biography of Tycho Brahe has recently appeared: Victor E. Thoren, *The Lord of Uraniborg* (Cambridge, 1990). This deals in much greater detail than earlier biographies with the problems involved in Tycho's noble status. Other biographies are: J. L. E. Dreyer, *Tycho Brahe, a Picture of Scientific Life and Work in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1890; repr., New York, 1963), and Wilhelm Norlind, *Tycho Brahe, En levnadsteckning med nya bidrag belysande hans liv och verk* (Lund, 1970), (in Swedish). Tycho's complete works have been published in fifteen volumes: *Opera Omnia Tychonis Brahe Dani*, ed. J. L. E. Dreyer, Hans Ræder and Eiler Nystrøm (Copenhagen, 1913–29; repr., Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1972).

is what I want to illustrate here through one of the finest examples: the Ovidian Heroid *Urania Titani*.[2]

"Urania's letter to Titan" pretends to be a letter from Tycho's sister Sophie (or Sophia) to her fiancé Erik Lange. Therefore I have to begin with a few words about her.[3] Sophie Brahe is quite famous in Denmark, both because she was one of the first learned ladies in Denmark, and because of her romantic love story. (It is the sort that you write novels about. And indeed there have been.) Although she was thirteen years younger than Tycho,[4] they were very close. Especially after she became a widow, at the age of twenty-nine, she spent much time with him at Hven. By that time it seems she was already well versed in both chemistry and astrology. According to Tycho he helped her to a certain degree, but when he refrained, believing that the topics were too difficult for a woman, she bought books and learned it all by herself. And then of course he had to surrender. Indeed he seems to have had a high opinion of her abilities, because we know that he intended to print one of her letters in the second volume of his *Astronomical letters* (which in the event never appeared). The letter has not been preserved, but we have his very eloquent introduction to it, which testifies both to his feelings for her and to his willingness to accept her as a woman scientist.[5] At Hven she must have met Erik Lange. He too was a nobleman, but his science was alchemy, goldmaking. Alchemy, as you will know, does not produce gold, in fact, it does quite the opposite. And very soon he had to leave Denmark in order to escape from his creditors. Sophie waited in vain for years. But finally she joined him, and in 1602 they were married, and lived together in Northern Germany in extreme poverty. In a famous

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[2] *Opera Omnia*, 9:193–207. See: Peter Zeeberg, "Kemi og kærlighed: naturvidenskab i Tycho Brahes latindigtning," in *Litteratur og lærdom. Dansk-svenske nylatindage april 1985*, ed. Marianne Alenius and Peter Zeeberg. Renæssancestudier, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1987), 149–61; Karsten Friis-Jensen and Minna Skafte Jensen in *Dansk litteratur-historie*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1984), 404–12; Oluf Friis, *Den danske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1937), 448–50. A new edition with translation, commentary and introduction in Danish by me is forthcoming. Other treatments of Tycho Brahe's Latin poetry are: Peter Zeeberg, "Amor på Hven, Tycho Brahes digt til Erik Lange," in *Renæssancen—Dansk, Europæisk, Globalt*, ed. Minna Skafte Jensen and Marianne Pade. Renæssancestudier, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1988), 161–81; Peter Zeeburg, "Adel og Lærdom hos Tycho Brahe," in *Latin og nationalsprog i Norden efter reformationen*, ed. M. Alenius, B. Bergh, I. Boserup, K. Friis-Jensen, and M. Skafte Jensen. Renæssancestudier, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1991), 21–31.

[3] The only existing biography of Sophie Brahe is: F. R. Friis, *Sofie Brahe Ottesdatter. En biografisk Skildring* (Copenhagen, 1905).

[4] There is some confusion as to the year of her birth. Tycho's first biographer, Gassendi (1655), says that she was ten years younger than him, which would make it 1556, and that is what everybody has believed since then. But Tycho himself refers to her being fourteen years old in 1573 (*Opera Omnia*, 1:131). I have preferred the latter, especially as it seems to be in accordance with the astrological information in *Urania Titani*.

[5] *Opera Omnia*, 9:324–26.

letter she describes how she never even had one decent pair of stockings to wear, and some friends had to get Erik's clothes back from the pawnbroker for their wedding.[6] We do not know when Erik died, but at some time Sophie returned to Denmark, where she lived for many years in Elsinore, and died forty-five years after Tycho, at the age of eighty-seven.

All this is background. *Urania Titani*, as I said, is an Ovidian Heroid. It was written in 1594, in the period when Erik had gone to Germany and Sophie was waiting for him back in Scania. It is a letter of precisely 600 verses, exhorting Erik, or Titan, to return to her, Urania. The names are the ones they used at Hven. Sophie was the earthly muse of astronomy. Erik was the sun (we shall see why in a moment). Tycho himself was called Apollo.[7] From the beginning it is obvious that this is an erotic poem. Titan has left Urania in favor of alchemy. Alchemy therefore is her rival. In a very Ovidian way it is described how alchemy steals him from her by molesting the beautiful body which was meant for her to hug and hold, etc. Titan really is in love with his alchemy, just as she is in love with him. And to stress that point, we are given a whole series of parallels between Urania's longing for Titan and Titan's alchemy:

> Ars vana et linquens vacuatas ære crumenas,
> Quam propter vacuo linquor et ipsa thoro. (11–12)
>
> Your science is empty [or vain], and it leaves your purse empty too. I too have been left, and my bed is empty because of your science.

Urania suffers for her love, just as Titan suffers because of his alchemy. When she complains about his desperate toiling night and day to make alchemy friendly towards his wishes, she has just, a few lines before, said that alchemy is jealous of *her* wishes, and that:

> Quam propter sine sole dies, sine sidere noctes
> Orba traho, quod abes, Solque Jubarque meum. (13–14)
>
> Because of that I live alone through days without sun and nights without stars, because you are gone, my sun.

Titan, of course, is a name for the sun. And that is all the more interesting as the sun has an alchemical meaning too. In the system of analogies which, according to the science of the time, tied all parts of the universe together, the sun is analogous to gold.[8] Therefore not only their sufferings but also

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[6] Letter to Margrete Brahe, 23 August 1602: *Danske Magazin* 3 (1747): 28ff. and 43ff.

[7] "Apollo" is found only in *Urania Titani*, but "Urania" and "Titan" are found also in Tycho's correspondence.

[8] Tycho Brahe himself has given a good description of this system in a letter to Christopher Rothmann (17 August 1588): *Opera Omnia* 6:144ff. For introductions to alchemy, with bibliographies see: Wayne Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance. A Study in Intellectual*

their aims are analogous. Urania's longing for the sun is analogous to Titan's longing for gold. And, we may conclude, equally impossible! But Urania does not reach that conclusion. It is hinted at, but not made explicit.

Then follows a description of her anxiety (43–102). She goes through all the things that can go wrong, and all the dangers she can think of. This passage is closely modeled on the first of Ovid's *Heroides*, the letter from Penelope to Ulysses. For example, Tycho shows his Ovidian spirit by making Titan's alchemy into a complete Trojan war. Urania, of course, is the faithful Penelope awaiting her far-roaming Ulysses, Titan. This means that Urania is not only faithful but trusting. She trusts that he will return some time—as of course he will, being a Ulysses—and that he has some good reason for staying away now. The listing of these reasons, or dangers, ends like this:

> Quid multis? cum scire nequit, cur lentior absis
> Mens mea per caussas irrequieta volat.
> Tempora si memores, bene quæ memoramus amantes,
> Nostra querela suam non venit ante diem;
> Nam mihi discedens tremulo es sic ore locutus,
> Pallentes lachrymis cum maduere genæ:
> Sol prius auriferi non tanget velleris astrum,
> Quam tibi me reducem Scania vestra ferat.
> Coelicus is Titan vellus bis terve revisit
> Phryxæum, at Titan Terree noster abes. (101–10)
>
> In short: because I do not know your reasons for staying away my mind wanders from cause to cause. But if you cast your mind back to the times that we lovers remember so well, you will see that I do not complain too soon. Remember what you said at your departure, your lips all trembling, your cheeks all wet with tears: "The sun won't reach the sign of the golden fleece before you have me back in Scania!" But now the Titan of the sky has been twice—even three times—at the Phrixean fleece—while you, the Titan of the earth, still stay away.

He has not kept his promise to return before the sun reached the sign of Aries, i.e., before the vernal equinox.

This too is Ovid, not the first of the *Heroides*, but the second. The second, Phyllis to Demophoon, is not the letter of a trustful wife, rather the half-mad howling of a woman realizing that she has been left forever by a deceitful man. The whole passage is a rewriting of a passage from there. Or rather, Tycho has taken two passages, which in Ovid are separated by two distichs, and switched them around, leaving out the distichs in the middle, in which Phyllis says that she has kept up her hope for a long time, because

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Patterns (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1972), and Charles Nicholl, *The Chemical Theatre* (London, 1980).

we are slow in believing when belief hurts, and that she has been lying to herself.[9]

Has Tycho left out these lines because they would not fit in—or, on the contrary, to emphasize them? I believe we are supposed to know our Ovid, and to observe that the words are missing. I see this as a hint at the doubt which lurks under the surface of Urania's trustfulness. But the passage has more to it. Titan has promised to return before "the other sun" reaches the golden fleece. That too has an alchemical undertone. The twelve signs of the zodiac were used as symbols for the different steps through which the "great work" of alchemy should be performed—so that the beginning of a new year (at Aries) would signify the successful completion of the work. The same was also true of the myth about Jason's quest for the golden fleece. This, of course, once more gives the parallel between his aims and hers. Titan's returning to Scania and Titan's making gold are both covered by the image of the sun reaching the sign of Aries. But there is a bit more to it.

Urania says that the sun of the sky has already been at the golden fleece, while Titan is still far away. That is ambiguous. On the surface, he is far from *her*, but it might just as well mean *far from the golden fleece*, i.e., from making gold—and that is the course Urania now takes. She tries to convince him that alchemy could just as well be performed at her place, in her garden in Scania, where she has an alchemical laboratory: "You are not Jason," she says, "and I am not Medea—but if you want a Colchis it is here."[10] This claim she now sets out to prove scientifically, so to speak. She starts by expounding one of the central alchemical texts, the so called "Emerald Tablet," "Tabula Smaragdina."[11] This text gives some typically opaque prescriptions on how to produce the philosophers' stone (at least that is how it would be read in this period). Urania's expounding is done in rather an offhand manner:

> Sol pater (ut referunt) Lunaque mater erit.
> Sis igitur Titan pater et sim Femina Lunæ
> Persimilis Mater; sexus et ordo juvant. (166–68)[12]

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[9] Ov. *Her.* II, 9–12: "Spes quoque lenta fuit. Tarde quae credita laedunt / credimus. Invita nunc et amante nocent. / Saepe fui mendax pro te mihi, saepe putavi / alba procellosos vela referre notos." Lines 95–100 in *Urania Titani* imitate Ov. *Her.* II, 13–16; lines 103–4 imitate *Her.* II, 7–8; and lines 107–10 imitate *Her.* II, 3–6.

[10] Lines 111–16: "Non puto, quod ratibus secteris Iasonis aurum / Aut furtum lanæ versicoloris ames. / Nec Medæa fui, nec ero, nil fraudibus utor, / Colchida si cupias, hic quoque Colchis erit. / Pergula læta mihi est, pulcher quam circuit hortus, / Vix cui par dabitur, Colchida utrumque vocem."

[11] On this see: Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur.* Heidelberger Akten der von-Portheim-stiftung 16. Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft, vol. 4 (Heidelberg, 1926), with critical edition.

[12] *Tabula Smaragdina,* 4: "Pater ejus est Sol, mater ejus Luna. . . ."

> The sun, so they say, shall be its father, the moon its mother. You, Titan, are the father, and I, being a woman and very similar to the moon, can be the mother—sex and position help.

Similarly the stone is said first to rise towards heaven and then to return to earth. This, says Urania, corresponds to her being "the earthly Urania."[13] Rather unconvincing really. And later on:

> Ventus et hunc utero fertur portasse, vel isto
> Forte etiam possit qui meliora mihi est. (173–74)[14]

> They say that the wind has born it in its womb—and perhaps I have a womb which can bear something even better.

The problem of why she should be called "the wind" is simply left unexplained.

A "normal" explanation of these passages would be that it all has to do with the separation of the spirit from matter. The material you are working with has to be separated into a volatile part (the spirit or "the philosophical mercury"—that must be "the wind") and a fixed part (the body or "sulphur"). This spirit has to "rise towards heaven," and then to descend to earth. The two are to be united again in a new form, spirit and body in one—the philosophers' stone. The stone is the offspring of "the chemical marriage" between the two.[15] This is obviously what Tycho is thinking of. A chemical wedding is what it is all about. And the distinction between mercury and sulphur matches the two personalities quite well. Titan (whose horoscope, as it turns up later, is ruled by Mercury) is restless, hard to catch (volatile, so to speak)—as opposed to the stability of Urania.[16]

Urania then proceeds to the actual chemical processes (179–222). Here again the connection between the production of the philosophers' stone and the production of a child is stressed. The two processes are supposed to be analogous. But Urania is not fettered by the distinction between analogy and identity. She just examines all the points at which the stone can be likened to a child, and concludes that if Titan wants to practice alchemy, he might just as well come back to Denmark, to make a child with her in her garden! The whole passage must be meant as a parody of alchemy, and a witty one, in my opinion. It clearly makes fun of the alchemical tendency to excessive mystification. In reality the fifty verses of alchemy amount to very

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[13] "Scandit is in coelos, iterum terrena revisit; / Sic terrena etiam dicor ego Urania" (lines 169–70). Cf. *Tabula smaragdina*, 8: "Ascendit a terra in coelum, iterumque descendit in terram, et recipit vim superiorum et inferiorum."

[14] *Tabula Smaragdina*, 4: ". . . portavit illud ventus in ventre suo; nutrix ejus terra est."

[15] For a good description of these ideas, see Nicholl, 29ff.

[16] This does not fit exactly, though, as normally mercury is feminine and sulphur masculine. But the opposite can be found: see Maurice P. Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (London, 1962), 18, note 51.

little. Love is alchemy, therefore Titan ought to come home to make love. Also, I think, the confusion of analogy with identity might be a hint at a tendency which Tycho disliked in some of his colleagues. At least that is a topic which was discussed quite a lot by the scientists of this period.[17]

At the same time the passage characterizes Urania. If the hope of Titan's returning is rather feeble, she must create a hope. And she does it by all available means. She may not even believe in the argumentation herself, at bottom. But she does it as an act of will. It therefore appears quite natural that doubt and hesitation crop up immediately after her rejoicing over the good prospects (223ff.). Of course he must not think that she is trying to force him. He can take the time he needs. She trusts in him. "Only, others are suspicious of my trust." And now her doubt shows itself as a second voice, the voice of "the others," which rings in her head. They say that she has been deceived by his eloquence. And as if to signal her wavering, Tycho has put one line from the second of Ovid's *Heroides* into her attempt to answer the attack. "I have not been deceived," she says:

> At non mellifluis, quorum tibi copia, verbis,[18]
> Quod decepta, queror; si qua ea culpa, mea est;
> Sponte tuis cessi votis, te sponte probavi,
> Ut Chalybem magnes attrahit, ipsa sequor.
> Inter tot genere illustres, quos Dania nutrit,
> Solus es, ex imo qui mihi corde places. (237–42)
>
> I do not complain that I have been deceived by all your sweet words. If anyone is to blame it is me. I have followed your wishes of my own free will. I love you of my own free will. I am attracted to you as steel is attracted to a magnet. Among all the noblemen that Denmark has produced, you are the only one I like sincerely.

Here Tycho shows his sister's pride—and her evasiveness. Faced with her lover's possible infidelity, she answers that *she* has not been deceived. She will not tolerate being called naive or credulous. The obvious answer would have been to deny his infidelity, but in this way she manages to evade that question altogether.

But the question is not going to be evaded. As an afterthought she claims that Titan's eloquence is not fictitious at all, as it was given him by nature. It is in his horoscope. It is doubtful whether that is a relevant point at all. Why should he not be able to misuse a gift from nature? Another evasion—

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[17] Brian Vickers, "Analogy versus identity: the rejection of occult symbolism, 1580–1680," in *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 95–163.

[18] Ov. *Her.* II, 49: "Credidimus blandis, quorum tibi copia verbis."

and at the same time an attempt to move the discussion to a field where she feels at home, namely astrology:

Hanc [facundiam] tibi Mercurius Veneri sociatus in ortu,
Ædibus e propriis largus habere dedit;
Nec mirum, Superum Præconi quod Venus adstans
Blanda tibi et pariter verba diserta parit;
Quin simul his Phoebus Geminorum iungitur astro,
Noster et hinc Geminus forte oriundus amor.
Sed levis est Stilbon, levis est Cytheræa, Gemelli
Sunt duplices, constans quid queat inde sequi? (251–58)

This [i.e., eloquence] was given you abundantly by Mercury, united with Venus at the ascendant and in his own domicile. It is no wonder that the spokesman of the gods, standing close to Venus, makes your words both sweet and eloquent. And at the same time Phoebus joins the two in the sign of Gemini. Perhaps this is the basis for our mutual love. But Stilbon [Mercury] is fickle, Cytherea is fickle, the twins are two-faced—what constancy can come from this?

Thus Urania's attempt to get away from the question of Titan's infidelity backfires. His horoscope shows precisely what she did not want to talk about: fickleness, infidelity.

Now she is in dire straits, and her desperation is obvious when she resorts to the impossible wish that Titan's infidelity may at least be a problem to his other girls rather than herself (265–66)! Now the imagined words of "the others" are malicious:

Te procul ex oculis quæ distas, scilicet, unam
Absens, tamque diu, tamque remotus amet?
Quid faciat, quæso, longinquis deses in oris,
Qui, Paris alter ut est, nil nisi amare potest?
Crede peregrino captivus amore tenetur,
Quænam illa Urania est forsan et unde rogat. (269–74)

Do you really think he still loves you, now that he has been so far from you for so long? What do you think he is doing, on distant shores with nothing to do, he who like another Paris, can do nothing else but make love. You can be sure that he is being held captive by the love of someone else. He may even be asking himself who that Urania is, and where she comes from.

I need hardly say that here again was a line from the second of the *Heroides*:[19]

Sic aiunt; surdæ at frustra mihi talia narrant,

[19] Ov. *Her.* II, 106: "Ei mihi, si, quae sim Phyllis et unde rogas."

Et surdam et cæcam me facit Arctus Amor. (275–76)

That is what they say, but they preach to deaf ears. My love stands firm, and makes me deaf and blind.

Her love makes her deaf and blind. That really is sadly appropriate!

For a long time astrology seems like a maze where she keeps moving further in, the more she tries to get out. In an attempt to remedy the threatening position of the virgin, she refers to her own horoscope where the virgin is positively placed—only to realize, of course, that a virgin is not the proper figure to involve in her love life (291–94). When at last she manages to find some details indicating that they will get married after all (329–62), she just sticks to them, discarding, or rather forgetting, all the negative signs—both deaf and blind!

We are by now about halfway through the poem. She has dealt with her rival, alchemy, and counter-attacked with the help of astrology, but has accomplished neither part very convincingly. The following passages concerned with family and friends we shall go into in less detail. In these passages we find several references to *Heroides* I. Urania is comforted by the thought of her son, whose horoscope is very promising. But suddenly she hears a rumor that a common friend of hers, Titan's, and Apollo's (i.e., Tycho's) has died. This brings back her sorrow. She tries not to write about it, but it reminds her of how isolated she and Titan have become. Even her brothers are very hostile towards her affair with Titan. Only Tycho, the eldest brother, is left. He has always supported her, and always will—and that is consonant with all the fine qualities and virtues that can be deduced from his horoscope. Thus, through a neat play of allusions Tycho declares his solidarity with his sister by making her praise him! At the very end all her fears reappear with great force.

Attamen haud credam, quod sint tam Numina sæva
Nuper ut incepta spe spoliare velint.
Id saltem vereor, ne, dum lentissimus absis,
Quod mea sit reduci forma probata minus. (567–70)

I really cannot believe that the gods would be so cruel as to deprive me of my recently acquired hope. I only fear that I will be less attractive to you when you return....

This idea of her getting old is the last reference to the first of Ovid's *Heroides*.[20] But she fears more than that:

Anxietas me multa premit, nec deserit unquam,
Hæc quoque dum scribo, durior, ecce! redit.

[20] Ov. *Her.* I, 115–16: "Certe ego, quae fueram te discedente puella, / protinus ut venias, facta videbor anus."

Nam modo qui fuerat de morte incertus amici
Rumor, en hunc nimium littera missa probat. (575–78)

Anxiety of many kinds haunts, and never leaves me. Even while I write it comes back in even harsher form. For what was earlier an uncertain rumor of the death of a friend, is now shown to be true by a letter.

Urania is shaken. She now reveals that she has had premonitions about it long ago, but, as she says:

Attamen haud potui cito persentiscere, rumor
Quod nimium verus (proh dolor) iste foret. (587–88)

I really could not comprehend so soon that the rumor spoke so very true.

Here the Latin wording definitively recalls not Ovid, but Tycho himself, twenty verses ago when Urania said that she could not believe that the gods would deprive her of her hope. Now that she sees, in another connection, that hope can be frustrated, the wording ("attamen haud . . .") refers back to her own hope! And as if that was not enough, the ominous second poem of the *Heroides* is in the next distich:

Nempe ægre quæ grata minus sunt, credimus, at quæ
Sunt accepta satis, mox meruere fidem. (589–90)[21]

Only unwillingly do we believe what is less welcome, but what is pleasing will soon gain credence.

Not only is this the sentiment of Ovid's second Heroid. These are the words that were so demonstratively left out earlier! Urania's self-deception has come to the surface in a case closely analogous to her hopes about Titan. But still, of course, she does not have to draw conclusions from that analogy. She is as close to giving up as she can be, but she does not. A few lines later the poem ends with the wish that Titan will "live well, so that he can return safe and sound."[22]

The last verses of all provide the date: The letter is written "while the sun on its way back catches the two fishes."[23] That is one month before the vernal equinox, which earlier in the poem was used with its alchemical meaning. Therefore, one could say, the date either signifies that we are in the last phase of the great alchemical work—and that means hope—or it is a

[21] Ov. *Her.* II, 9–10: "Spes quoque lenta fuit. Tarde quae credita laedunt /credimus. . . ."

[22] Lines 603–4: "Quod superest, bene vive diu; ut salvusque revisas / Uraniam; o Titan semper amate, vale!"

[23] Lines 605–8: "Hæc in Erichsholmi perarata est litera Castro, / Cum geminos Pisces Sol redeundo capit. / Di cito dent gemini hic pisces capiamus Amantes, / Tuque redux Titan et tua ego Urania."

reference to Titan's three times broken vow to return before the vernal equinox—and that would mean despair. The end balances. Urania has kept hope living, against all odds, perhaps against all reason.

Through these three languages, so to speak, the language of alchemy, of astrology and of imitation, Tycho has managed to produce a shrewd psychological description of his sister. Here we have a woman who shows great strength, as an act of will, although at heart she is weak and frightened, a woman whose love conquers everything, even her own sense of reality. The element of self-deception may not seem very flattering, but there is an extra side to it. It appears from the manuscript in which the text is preserved[24] that the poem was meant to be signed by Sophie herself and sent to Erik Lange as a real letter. Titan himself was the primary reader of the poem. Therefore the hints that Urania is deceiving herself when she believes that Titan will return some day, are in fact meant as a challenge to Erik. Indirectly he is accused of infidelity. To refute the accusation, he will have to come home. In that way the poem not only shows the high standard of the products from Tycho Brahe's milieu. It also shows the sophistication of the milieu itself, a milieu where a poem like this could form part of the social intercourse.

Copenhagen

[24] The National Library in Vienna: Cod. Lat. 10686^{12}. In the manuscript the first four verses, which contain the name of the addressee, appear after the rest of the text with the heading: "Superscriptio Epistolæ huius, ubi composita et ab Urania obsignata fuerit, hæc erit."

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